THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM
THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM
NEW EDITION
PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS
EDITED BY
C. E. BOSWORTH, E. VAN DONZEL, W. P. HEINRICHS
AND the late G. LECOMTE
ASSISTED BY P.J. BEARMAN AND MM. S. NURIT
UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES
VOLUME IX
SAN — SZE
LEIDEN
BRILL
1997
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:


The preparation of this volume of the Encyclopaedia of Islam was made possible in part through grants from the Research Tools Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent Federal Agency of the United States Government; the British Academy; the Oriental Institute, Leiden; Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences.

The articles in this volume were published in double fascicules of 112 pages, the dates of publication being:

1995: Fascs. 147-150, pp. 1-208

1996: Fascs. 151-157, pp. 209-600

1997: Fascs. 158-162, pp. 601-920

ISBN 90 04 10422 4

© Copyright 1997 by Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publishers.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

For the benefit of readers who may wish to follow up an individual contributor's articles, the Editors have decided to list after each contributor's name the pages on which his signature appears. Academic but not other addresses are given (for a retired scholar, the place of his last known academic appointment).

In this list, names in square brackets are those of authors of articles reprinted or revised from the first edition of this Encyclopaedia or from the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam. An asterisk after the name of the author in the text denotes an article reprinted from the first edition which has been brought up to date by the Editorial Committee; where an article has been revised by a second author his name appears within square brackets after the name of the original author.

Virginia Aksan, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. 134, 414

Hamed Algar, University of California, Berkeley. 111, 168

T.T. Allsen, Trenton State College. 44

Edith G. Ambros, University of Vienna. 354, 896

R. Amitai-Preiss, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 739

L. Ammann, University of Freiburg. 176

Salman Al-Asi, Indiana University, Bloomington. 97

Sarah Ansari, University of London. 636

A. Arazi, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 289, 303, 389, 462, 777, 803, 868

[C. van Arendonk, Leiden]. 905

R. Arnaud, University of Paris. 134, 414

W. Arnold, University of Heidelberg. 499

J.-C. David, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Lyons. 796

J.-C. Chabrier, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 481

J.P. Asmussen, University of Copenhagen. 211

Sarah Atassi, Institut Français d'Études Arabes, Damascus. 795

Khali'd 'Athamina, Birzeit University. 250

M. Athar Ali, Aligarh Muslim University. 181, 193, 195, 196, 339, 738, 846, 909

A. Ayalon, Tel Aviv University. 152, 506

Maha Azzam, London. 746

Roswita Badry, University of Freiburg. 625

R. Arnaldez, University of Paris. 382, 806

R. Arnald, University of Paris. 382, 806

S. Ansari, University of London. 636

W. Arnold, University of Heidelberg. 499

A. Aroui, National Institute of Archaeology, Algiers. 290

C. Bailey, Tel Aviv University. 260

D.W. Brown, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA. 881

J.T.P. de Bruijn, University of Leiden. 5, 212, 221, 239, 298, 415, 434, 467

M.M. van Bruinessen, University of Utrecht. 153, 246, 283

[V.F. Buchner]. 311, 679

R.W. Bulliet, Columbia University. 400

Kathleen R.F. Burrell, Columbia University. 59, 150, 419, 762, 843, 877

P. Cachia, Columbia University. 535, 483

N. Calder, University of Manchester. 36, 326

Y. Callot, University of Tours. 368

J. Calmard, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 192

Sheila R. Candy, British Museum, London. 692

J. Carswell, Sotheby's, London. 417, 648

M.G. Carter, University of Oslo. 360, 531

J.-C. Chabrier, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 20

E. Chaumont, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Aix-en-Provence. 105, 189, 394, 483, 813, 894

the late J. Chevalier, Paris. 113

Mounir Cheikhoun, University of Tunis. 565

V. Christides, Published University of Ioannina. 445

Nathalie Clayer, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris. 156, 300, 876

J. Cler, University of Strasbourg. 121

W.L. Cleveland, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia. 248

[H.S. Colin, Paris]. 375, 734

J. Couls, University of Paris. 522

Patricia Crone, Princeton University. 825

Yolande Crowe, Geneva. 638

F. Daftary, Institute of Ismaili Studies, London. 114, 296, 435

H. Daiber, University of Frankfurt. 247

B. van Dalen, Kyoto Sangyo University. 294

M.W. Daly, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga. 751

R.E. Darley-Doran, Winchester. 203, 599

G. David, États Lorand University, Budapest. 557, 632, 920

J.-G. David, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Lyons. 796
J. SCHMIDT, The Hague. 697
IRENE SCHNEIDER, University of Cologne. 548
GUDRUN SCHUBERT, University of Basel. 859
R. SCHULZE, University of Bern. 913
O. SCHUMANN, University of Hamburg. 814, 853, 877, 893
T. SEIDENSTICKER, University of Jena. 282
R. SELLHEIM, University of Frankfurt. 411
C. SHACKLE, University of London. 637
IRFAN SHAHID, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 28, 425
P. SHINAR, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 764, 858
A. SIDARUS, University of Evora. 309, 849
MOHAMMAD YUSUF SIDDIQ, Islamic University Kushtia, Bangladesh. 84, 576, 611, 728, 877
I.H. SIDDIQUI, Aligarh Muslim University. 297, 448, 667
M.-Cl. SIMEONE-SENELLE, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 811
ELIZABETH M. SIRRIYEH, University of Leeds. 905
G.R. SMITH, University of Manchester. 3, 115, 201, 338, 356, 439, 739, 817
S.C. SMITH, University of London. 647
P. SMOOR, University of Amsterdam. 339
F. SOBIEROJ, University of Giesen. 433, 778, 786
S. SOUCEK, Princeton University. 136, 149, 536, 680, 774
J.L. SPAULDING, Kean College, Union, New Jersey. 651, 698
SUSAN A. TERSPECTORSKY, City University of New York. 772
N.A. STILLMAN, University of Oklahoma, Norman. 769
W. STOETZER, University of Leiden. 55, 113
M.E. SUBTELNY, University of Toronto. 68
R. TALMON, University of Haifa. 551, 603
R. TAPPER, University of London. 225
A.I. TAYOB, University of Cape Town. 731
GONUL ALPAY TEKIN, Harvard University. 123, 917
ABDELJALIL TEMIMI, Zaghouan, Tunisia. 657
M. TERRASSE, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris. 546
G.R. TIBBETTS, Oxford. 828
SHAWKAT M. TOORAWA, University of Mauritius. 576
FAROUK TOPAN, University of London. 918
R. TRAINE, University of Rome. 589
J.L. TRIAUD, University of Aix-Marseille. 23, 26, 122, 148, 760
J.-F. TRON, University of Tours. 912
M.O.H. URSinus, University of Heidelberg. 673
G. VEINSTEIN, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris. 711, 842
J. VERNET, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 557
CH. DE LA VERONNE, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 18, 508, 820
G.H.M. VERSTEEGH, University of Nijmegen. 54, 395
M.J. VIGUEIRA, University Complutense of Madrid. 38, 256
F. VIRE, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 40, 51, 99, 504, 653, 811
F.E. VOGEL, Harvard University. 696
D. WADINS, University of Lancaster. 93, 225, 805
A.T. WELCH, Michigan State University, East Lansing. 889
[A.J. WENSINK, Leiden]. 154, 380, 742, 903
M. WINTER, Tel Aviv University. 316, 398
CHRISTINE WOODHEAD, University of Durham. 132, 149, 212, 348, 414, 610, 630, 631, 713
M.E. YAPP, University of London. 448
E. YARSHATER, Encyclopaedia Iranica, New York. 697
ST. YERASIMOS, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes, Istanbul. 414
ALEXANDRA YEROLYMPOS, Aristotelian University, Thessaloniki. 675
ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU, University of Crete. 69, 211
[K.V. ZETTERSTEEN, Uppsala]. 295
HOSSEIN ZIAI, University of California, Los Angeles. 784
MADELINE C. ZILFI, University of Maryland, College Park. 413
E.J. ZURCHER, University of Nijmegen. 417, 499
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME V

Further information on the Persian Mecca-centred world-map discussed in the article AL-SAMT is included in the article AL-TASA and in the addenda and corrigenda to AL-SAMT.


P. 1169a, MAGHNA'TIS. 2, add at end: The treatise in ms. Berlin Ahlwardt 3811 mentioned on p. 1169b is in fact a late copy of the treatise by the Yemeni Sultan al-Ashraf—see AL-TASA for this and several other additional sources. The various publications by J. Klaproth and E. Wiedemann listed in the bibliography, as well as numerous others, have been reprinted in one volume as Fuat Sezgin et alii (eds.), Islamic geography, xv, Reprint of studies on nautical instruments, Frankfurt 1992.

VOLUME VII
P. 1027, NASRIDS, in genealogical table, for the date of Muhammed XI (el Chiquito), read (1451-2/1453-5), and p. 1027b, l. 7 from foot, for 949/1533-4, read 940/1533-4.

VOLUME VIII
P. 245b, SHAKAK, l. 11, for Idris Bidibi, read Sharaf al-Din Bidibi.


P. 869a, SA'DA QILANI, l. 4 from bottom, delete: his wife.

P. 1056a, AL-SAMT, add at end: In May 1995 a second Persian world-map centred on Mecca came to light and is now in a private collection. It is very similar to the first one, which became available for study in 1989, but more crudely executed. However, it still bears the paraphrasialia for a European-type universal inclining sundial. (The sundial on the first, not necessarily of the same kind, is missing.) It is clear that both maps were copied from others, the original probably bearing more geographical information than either of these.

The first map is still to be dated ca. 1110/1700 (± 20 years); the second is undoubtedly later but bears striking resemblances in calligraphy and appendages (such as screws and feet) to the first, if not in general aspect and finish. Both maps are not necessarily from Isfahan, for Khurasanian forms of the Persian ordinal numerals are found on them. However, apart from various astrolabes by Muhammad Zamân (ca. 1075/1665) of Mağhad, no other astronomical instruments survive from northeastern Persia in late-Safavid times.

The geographical data in al-Khazin's Sandjâri Zîb, which was thought to have been derived from a world-map of the same kind as the first Persian world-map—this was stated in the article AL-SAMT—was in fact derived by calculation, as research in April 1995 established. The longitude and latitude values were indeed read from a map by or in the tradition of al-Birûnî but the kibla-values are inaccurate, not because they were read from a hypothetical Mecca-centred map of al-Birûnî but because al-Khâzîn rounded them to the nearest 20° before finding the kibla. To do this he apparently used a kibla-table (with values for each degree of longitude correction from Mecca up to 60° and each degree of latitude difference up to 30°), which he mentions in the Zîb but which is not contained in any of the known manuscripts; it can further be shown that this kibla-table was carelessly computed. In other words, we must look elsewhere for the inspiration for the Persian world-maps.

The geographical data on both of them (ca. 150 localities on each, the selection being slightly different on the two maps) was taken from a Timûrid geographical table compiled in Kish [q.v.] ca. 850/1450, and the anonymous compiler of that table (extant in ms. London, B.L. Or. 7489, fols. 53a-58b, where, however, the values of the kibla and distance to Mecca for some 250 localities originally given to seconds have been rounded to minutes) is certainly a possible candidate. But the writings of Habash al-Hasib [q.v.] and al-Birûnî [q.v.] particularly with regard to the astrolabe labelled muhaffâzât (with a melon-shaped rete), indicate that already in the 3rd/9th and 5th/11th centuries Muslim astronomers were concerned with mappings preserving distance and direction to a central point (see E.S. Kennedy, P. Kunitzsch and R.P. Lorch, The Melon Astrolabe of Habash al-Hasib, in ZGAIW (1996)), a subject first broached in Europe in the 16th century and first applied to a Mecca-centred map in the early 20th century.

(D.A. King)

SUPPLEMENT

P. 229a, DIJABAL SAYS, add at end: The Arabic inscription of al-Hârîb b. Diabala from A.D. 521 mentioned here is, in fact, the third one before Islam and the only historical one; in other inscrip-
tions, including several of the early Islamic period, going up to the time of al-Walîd I, the ancient form Usays appears.


VOLUME IX

P. 370^a^, **SHâ¹L, ANWAR**, l. 4 from the foot, for the Alliance Française read the Collège A-D Sasson and the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

P. 370^b^, l. 30, for Kuṣṣat hayâtî wâdi ‘l-Râfîdayn read Kuṣṣat hayâtî fi wâdi ‘l-Râfîdayn.

P. 509^a^, **SHURAYH**, l. -23, for al-Ḥakam b. ‘Uyayna, read al-Ḥakam b. ‘Utayba.

SAN\(^3\), from ancient times the chief town of the Yemen \[q.v.\] and present capital of the unified Republic of Yemen. Its present population is reckoned to be just over half a million. The town is situated in the centre of the northern highlands of the Yemen at lat. 15\(^\circ\) 22' N. and long. 44\(^\circ\) 11' E., i.e. about 170 km/106 miles as the crow flies from the nearest point on the Red Sea and 300 km/186 miles approximately from the Indian Ocean port of Aden \[see 'ADAN\].

San\(^\circ\) is located at a height above sea level of more than 2,200 m/7,216 feet. It is all but surrounded by mountains, Djabal Nukum (2,892 m/9,486 feet) in the east, the foot of which the town lies spread, Djabal 'Aytân (3,194 m/10,476 feet) in the west, the highest peak in the immediate vicinity, and the twin peaks of al-Nahdayn (2,513 m/8,243 feet) which lie due south. Its climate is a temperate one, generally very dry and mild. Its rainfall pattern is consistent, with maximum falls in March, April, May and July, August, September (see Acres, Lewcock and Wilson, in Serjeant and Lewcock, San\(^\circ\), 13-19, in Bibl. below).

Pre-Islamic San\(^\circ\)?

Despite the current claim that the name of San\(^\circ\) is derived from the excellence of its trades and crafts (perhaps the feminine form of the Arabic adjective asna\(^\circ\)), it is highly probable that the name is Sabaic and, in keeping with the basic meaning in Sabaic of the root \(\text{sn}\), means "well fortified" (A.F.L. Beeston et alii, Sabaic dictionary, Louvain and Beirut, 1982, 143). It is certainly as a military centre that the town emerges in the pre-Islamic inscriptions, particularly as the headquarters of the Sabaean kings for their military expeditions southwards against Himyar \[q.v.\]. Inscriptions Ja 575, 576, for example, speak of Sabaean campaigns launched from San\(^\circ\) (bn/hgrm/n\(^\circ\)w) (A. Jamme, Sabaean inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis, Baltimore 1962, 64 ff.) and Ja 574, 576, 577 (Jamme, 60 ff.) announce a triumphant return to San\(^\circ\) (\(\text{sn}\)hgrm/n\(^\circ\)w) from the wars. Apart from being a "town" (\(\text{hgr}\)), San\(^\circ\) was also a mahram (\(\text{mhrm}\)) which Beeston (San\(^\circ\), 37) interprets as "a place to which access is prohibited or restricted, no matter whether for religious or for other reasons."

The palace of Qhumdân \[q.v.\] is also mentioned in the pre-Islamic inscriptions (e.g. J. Ryckmans, La Mancie par bbh, in Festschrift Werner Caskel, Leiden 1968, 263 (NNAG 12)) and see San\(^\circ\), 44. Islamic tradition also reports that the mid-6th-century Abyssinian King Abrahah \[q.v.\] built a church in San\(^\circ\) (al-\(\text{Kalas}\)) (al-Tabari, i, 954), for a study of which see San\(^\circ\), 44-9.

Unfortunately, the inscriptions do not tell us when the site of San\(^\circ\) was first settled, nor do they mention the town's ancient name of Azäl (al-Hamdân, 55). The above quoted inscriptions and a very large majority of the texts mentioning the name of the town are all to be dated to the 3rd century A.D. The site must, of course, have been settled a very good deal earlier (see Beeston, in San\(^\circ\), 36-9). Early Islamic and mediaeval San\(^\circ\)?

For the more than two centuries of the early Islamic history of San\(^\circ\), we have little more than a list of the governors despatched to the Yemen by the Prophet, the Orthodox, Umayyad and 'Abbâsid caliphs. A comprehensive list was attempted in San\(^\circ\), 53-4, and Tables 1, 4, 6, 8 and 11 of 'Abd al-Muhsin Mad\(\text{adj}\) M. al-Mad\(\text{adj}\), The Yemen in early Islam, 9-233/630-847, a political history, London 1988, should also be consulted. The remainder of the period can be divided into six as follows: the Yu'fírids, 232-387/874-997 \[q.v.\], the Sulayhids, 439-92/1047-99 \[q.v.\], the sultans of Hamdân, 493-569/1099-1173, the Ayyúbíds, 569-628/1173-1230 \[q.v.\], the Rasúlids 628-783/1230-1381 \[q.v.\] and a period in which the Zaydí Imám controlled San\(^\circ\), 783-953/1381-1546 \[see Zaydíyya\].

A detailed history of this period cannot be given here, and a few notes will suffice. The Yu'fírids, it might be noted, were the first Yemeni dynasty to take other than a purely local control of any part of the Yemen. Descended from Himyar, they regarded themselves as their legitimate heirs and moved into San\(^\circ\) from their original territory in Shibâm when they perceived the weakness of the local 'Abbâsid governors posted there. Their 150 years' rule of San\(^\circ\) came to an end in 387/997, leaving the town in anarchy until the arrival of the Fâtsimí Sulayhids in 439/1047.

Our sources are particularly silent about the Sulayhids during their San\(^\circ\) period. The zenith of Sulayhid rule came later during the period during which they were centred in Dhub Dibîla, which the dynasty settled in about 480/1087. With the death in 492/1098 of the Dâ's Saba\(^\circ\) b. Ahmad, San\(^\circ\) was lost to the Sulayhids.

During the period 492-569/1098-1173 San\(^\circ\) fell under the rule of three families of Hamdân from Yam, also İmânîlîs like the Sulayhids: Banû Hâtim (I), Banû 'l-Kubâyb and Banû Hâtim (II) (G.R. Smith, The Ayyúbíds and early Rasúlîds in the Yemen, London 1974-8, 2 vols., ii, 68, 70-5). Depending almost entirely on the forces which could be mustered from Hamdân \[q.v.\], the three families controlled San\(^\circ\) and were still there to contest authority with the Ayyúbíds after their conquest of Tihâmâ \[q.v.\] and the southern highlands from Egypt in 569/1173. It cannot be said that San\(^\circ\) was constantly in the hands of the Ayyúbíds during their period in the Yemen. Rather, the Ayyúbíds fought from time to time against those in control in the town, firstly the
Handanid sultans, later the Zaydis, and always after fairly elaborate military manoeuvres to secure Dhamar to the south of San'ā. They took over the town for a period of time, but often they also lost it all over again after an interval of time. A similar story can be told of the Rasulid period during the years 628-723/1230-1323. Despite the brilliance of Rasulid administrative and intellectual achievement in Tihama and the southern highlands, they too never succeeded in occupying with anything like permanency the chief town of the country. During approximately the last 130 years of the dynasty, 723-858/1323-1454, San'ā remained in general within the political orbit of the Zaydis and beyond the grasp of the Rasulids and indeed of their successors, the Tāhirīds [g.v.] (see Smith, Some observations on the Tahirids and their activities in and around San'ā (858-923/1454-1517), in Ihsan Abbas et alii (eds.), Studies in history and literature in honour of Nicola A. Ziadeh..., London 1992, 29-37). (See Smith, San'ā, 49-68. 

Late medieval and modern San'ā

Again, elaborate details are not possible here and the following is a very brief outline of dates and political events. From about 954/1547, when the Ottoman Özdemir Paşa [g.v.] advanced on San'ā, until 1038/1629 San'ā was the capital of Ottoman Yemen. Although he did not deal the coup de grâce—that was left to the Imām al-Mu'ayyad—the real hero of the Turks' expulsion from San'ā and the Yemen was al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad, al-Kāsim al-Kābir. Right through to the mid-13th/19th century, the Zaydi Imāms controlled San'ā and northern Yemen with more or less authority. Zaydi rule, however, seriously declined, mainly as a result of internal squabbling, allowing a second Ottoman occupation of the Yemen. The Ottomans had already begun to expand in Arabia and in 1289/1872 Ṭāhir Muhammad Paşa entered San'ā to begin the second Ottoman occupation of the Yemen until about 1337/1918. The post-1337/1918 history of San'ā and the Yemen is that of the Ṭahiri Hamīd al-Dīn house, under the Imām Yahyā, Ahmad and, for a few days only in 1382/1962, al-Badr. The house rose to prominence in Zaydi circles in 1307/1890 in the figure of al-Manṣūr bi 'llah Muḥammad b. Yahyā Hamīd al-Dīn. The Imām Ahmad (1367-82/1948-62), famed for his bravery and learning as much for his ruthlessness and toughness, died from natural causes in 1382/1962. His son, al-Badr, was proclaimed Imām and widely recognised, but was compelled to flee San'-ā after he was attacked by young army officers who had been plotting a military coup. Hamīd al-Dīn rule was brought to an end and the newly-appointed chief of staff, ʿĀbd Allāh al-Sallāl, was pronounced the new president of the Yemen Arab Republic.

The Republic needed vast numbers of Egyptians to prop it up in the face of general opposition. They left the Yemen only in 1967 at the time of the Six-Day War between Egypt and Israel and the Republican government, balanced between the Ṭahiri and ʿĀshūrī religious and tribal interests, the military and a new breed of Western-educated technocrat, continued in power and opened up talks with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on the question of the formation of a unified Yemen. The Republic of Yemen came into being in 1990 with San'ā as its capital (see Serjeant, in Studies in Arabian Studies, II (1993), 175-88, suggests the first construction was in 11/633, p. 184). For a detailed study of the mosques of San'ā, see Serjeant, Lewcock, Smith and Costa, in San'ā, 310-90.

The public baths (hammāmāt) play an important social role in the daily life of San'ā and there are seventeen still in operation today, some possibly pre-Islamic in foundation. The fuel burnt is human excrement (khara, which is reputed to burn giving off great heat. The fuel is collected from the "long drop" (man- tāl) found in every house in the town for this very purpose. Women have their own bath times regulated at each public bath and the baths play a particularly important role at festival times (ṣuyyād) (see Lewcock, Akwa' and Serjeant, San'ā, 501-25).

The market of San'ā

The large market in San'ā has been the subject of some academic studies (see in particular Serjeant, Akwa' and Dostal, in San'ā, 159-302) and the complexities of its administration and organisation are beginning to be understood. A 12th/18th century document entitled Kānān San'ā, which is a collection of market regulations, was published by Husayn b. Ahmad al-Sayaghl in 1964 (Maq BadRequest al- Akwa', 273-307) and it has also been the subject of a lengthy study in San'ā, 179-240. Today's San'ā market is dealt with in some detail by Dostal, in San'ā, 241-73.

The mint of San'ā

The earliest coins which can be assigned to San'ā date from 156-8/772-4, and the 3rd/9th century in particular saw a huge output from the mint, "a substantial proportion of all the gold being coined in the territories of the caliph", according to Lowick (in

SANADJĀT, weights of a balance (in full sanadjat al-mizān); also applied to balances, steelyards; also the weights of a clock (sing. sanā‘a). The forms with sād also occur (sanadjat and sanā‘a) but the former is the more chaste (see Lane, s.v.). There are two recognised plural forms, sanadjāt and sanājūt (in modern Egyptian Arabic sanaj, plural of singa). The word is Perso-Arab in origin, being connected with sān, meaning both stone and weight, since in ancient times weights were non-metallic (cf. the Hebrew of Deut. xxv, 13). According to Muslim tradition, it was a Jew named Sumayr, during the time of al-Hadjādī b. Yūsuf [q.v.], who first proposed to regulate the new dirhams of the reformed coinage of 75/694 by means of the use of fixed weights (Ibn al-Azhīr, iv, 337). Previously, the custom apparently had been to weigh one coin of good quality against another. When a large number had thus been weighed, this lot was weighed against a similar number and the surplus, if any, was carried forward. The first coins of Islam were made of bronze and are excessively rare. Weights of iron are not known: we must seek them in glass, since in ancient times weights were used since they did not change by increase or decrease (al-Dāmirī, Hayāt al-hayātsan, i, 59). This carried on the practice of Trolemaic and Byzantine times. These glass weights, however, were confined to Egypt and were in use from Umayyad until Mamlūk times. The old opinion that they were glass coins, nummi vitrei, was first exploded by Castiglioni in 1847, various collections of these sanadjāt have been published. As they generally bear inscriptions with the names of caliphs, or governors, or in some cases with the names of the minters, they are very valuable, not only for Islamic history and metrology, but also for Arabic epigraphy.

The great physicist al-Khāzinī [q.v.] paid particular attention to the weights used in his balances [see MIZÁN], in which course he achieved a very high degree of accuracy. In his introduction to his description of the Balance of wisdom, he devotes two paragraphs to a discussion of the weights specific to this machine. He does not seem to imply that the sanadjāt—always with sād in his work—can be in mixed units in weighing operations, but simply says that they are to be 'dirhams, miḥkāls or others'. Presumably the units chosen in any particular operation depended upon the mass of the objects to be weighed. For each unit there were nine different weights of sanadjāt: for unities, 2, 4, 8, 10, 20 and 30; for hundreds, 100, 200 and 500. With these values, using different combinations, any required weight could be obtained (Kitāb Mizān al-hikma, Haydārābād 1940, 108-9).

The term sanadjāt is also occasionally used for other kinds of weights such as counterweights or pellets discharged from the mouths of falcons in water-clocks (see E. Wiedmann, Aufsätze zur ärabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Hildesheim 1970, i, 127). More usual terms for weights where the precise value is unimportant are miḥkāl and bayda.


SANĀ‘Ī, Magdīdū b. Adam al-Ghaznawi, Persian poet. In early sources already the kunya Abu ‘l-Magdīd is sometimes added to his name. As a pen name he used Sanā‘ī, only rarely Magdīdū or Magdīdū Sanā‘ī. The former name could have been derived from Sanā‘ī al-Milla, one of the lakabs of the Ghaznawid sultan Mas‘ūd III, but the poet’s actual relationship to this ruler is unclear, because no panegyrics directly addressed to him by Sanā‘ī have been preserved. As a matter of fact, no reliable biographical data outside the poet’s own works are available. However, the many references to the historical context to be found in his poetry, including dedications to a great number of patrons, make it possible to reconstruct his life, at least in its main outlines.

The only known dating of his birth, in 437/1045-6, which is recorded in the Mughal-i Fasihk, is highly improbable. It may be regarded as certain that he was
born at Ghazna about the beginning of the last quarter of the 5th/11th century. In spite of the reputation of the poet, expressed by the epithet hakim commonly added to his name, we know nothing about his formal education beyond the fact that in a prose introduction to the Hadīthak al-haššaš his father is said to have been a mu'allim. According to the picture of his early life sketched in the Kārāmā-yi Balkhā and the panegyrics contained in his Divān, he was during these years a minor poet who maintained connections with patrons from all social groups in the Ghaznavid residence except, as it seems, the court of the sultan itself. We find among them officials of the state bureaucracy, military men, members of the Islamic clergy as well as scholars, scribes and poets. One of his most important protectors was Thīkāt al-Mulk Tāhir b. Āli, the head of the department of correspondence, who also patronised the poet Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān [q.v.]. According to a kī'a in Sanā'i's Divān, he prepared a collection of Mas'ūd’s poetry. There is also mention of his copying the poems of another prominent poet, Ḥūılmān Mūkhtārī [q.v.].

His relations with a few prominent Islamic scholars, belonging to the Ḥanafī school of law, foreshadowed the future course of his literary career. The celebrated story of Sanā'i’s abandoning professional poetry after a meeting with a “drinker of dregs” (īy-khā), first told by Dawlatshāh towards the end of the 9th/15th century, has no historical value, but does reflect an evident break in his career as a poet, more or less coinciding with his departure from Ghazna. First he went to Balkh, and from there to other cities in Khurāsān, which was then under the rule of the Saldžuks. As it appears from the Kārāmā-yi Balkhā, written shortly after he left Ghazna, this event took place before 508/1114-15, the year of Mas'ūd III’s death. He probably did not return to his native city before about 520/1126. During this exile, he almost completely abandoned the secular poetry of the court tradition, seeking instead the patronage of people belonging to the religious class. Of crucial importance was his stay at Sarakhs, where he established a close relationship with Sayf al-Hakk Abu 'l-Mafākhrī Muḥammad b. Maṣūr. This Ḥanafī scholar was, as his title ʿaṣūda 'l-khadīs indicates, also a person of some political weight. Besides, he was a renowned preacher (wadāʾī), who delivered his sermons in Sarakhs, which led to his bearing of the most remarkable poems for Muḥammad b. Maṣūr, addressing him both as a protector and as a spiritual guide. There are further references to the poet’s visits to Nīḥāpur and Harāt. In the latter town, he met with the descendents of Shaykh Bahā al-Anṣārī [q.v.]. This is in fact the only contact of his with a Sufi community for which there exists reliable evidence. The tradition that Sanā'i was a pupil of Shaykh Yusuf al-Makhzūmī, which left to his inclusion in the Sufi affiliations (cf. R. Gramlich, Die sächsische Denkwürden Persiens, i, Wiesbaden 1965, 8), is certainly unhistorical.

The reasons for his return to Ghazna are not known to us. However, again a remarkable change in his career can be noticed. While he was still in Khurāsān, Sanā‘ī had become a celebrated writer of religious poetry for which there appeared to exist a lively interest among the ruling classes, who hitherto had only patronised court poetry. For the first time in his entire career, Sanā‘ī drew the attention of a royal patron when the Ghaznavid sultan Bahramshāh [q.v.] invited him to the court. Although he clearly stated his determination to stay aloof from the affairs of this world, he nevertheless wrote his major maṭnawī as well as a number of short poems for this sultan. Very different dates are suggested in later sources for the year of his death. The latest date, 553/1157, known from a reference in July 1131, mentioned in a notice on the last day of his life, which became attached as an appendix to a prose introduction to the Hadīthak. The same date is mentioned in the Nafṣābāt al-uns of Dżamī [q.v.].

The works of Sanā‘ī encompass the entire range of classical Persian poetry. Though most poems deal with religious subjects, specimens of purely secular poetry are by no means absent. Even the religious poems often contain panegyric elements showing the poet’s dependence on the material support of patrons throughout his career. The Divān of Sanā‘ī is preserved in a number of ancient manuscripts, the oldest dated of which is Velieddīn 2627 (Bayezit Library, Istanbul), copied in 684/1285. They show great differences, as far as the order of the poems, variant readings and the number of verses are concerned. It is, therefore, impossible to establish which of them could be taken to represent a genuine textual tradition going back to the time of the poet himself. In one strain of the early tradition, the poems were grouped into a few sections marked by generic indications. The most important genres thus distinguished are the zuhdīyat, “ascetic poems” (most of them long kāsidas) and the kalandariyyāt, poems characterised by the use of antimonic motives referring to the debauchery of beggars and drunks. Of considerable interest is also the group of the ghazalīyat because this is the earliest sizable corpus of this kind of poems known in the history of Persian literature.

As a writer of maṭnawīs, Sanā‘ī is best known for his long didactical poem which is usually entitled Hadīthak al-haššaš wa-šārī‘at al-tarīqa, “The garden of truth and the law of the right path”. The history of this text is even more complicated than that of the Divān. To all appearances, the poet died before he could give the poem its final form. At least one early version, however, was prepared for Sultan Bahramshāh, when the poet was still alive. A copy of this version, under the title Fatḥir-nāma, has survived in the manuscript Bağdatlı Vehbi 1672 (Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul), which was copied at Konya on 7 Shawwal 552/12 November 1157. It contains about 5000 bayts, i.e. approximately half the amount of lines found in most later copies. It is not likely, however, that all the rest of the poems of this manuscript are unauthentic. The textual tradition has preserved a few documents which indicate that intensive editorial work was done on the poem soon after the first version was completed, including a rough copy (muṣawwādah) of 10,000 bayts prepared by the poet to be sent to Khūndā Būrḥān al-Dīn, a scholar from Ghazna who lived at Baghdaḍ, after the poem had come under attack for its alleged pro-ʿAlid tendencies. After Sanā‘ī’s death, Būrḥān al-Dīn copied the poems of Sanā‘ī for Muḥammad b. ʿAli al-Rafṣī to make yet another redaction. As a result of these initial rearrangements, as well as of subsequent editorial interference, the Hadīthak was transmitted in several different forms. As late as the 11th/17th century, the Indian scholar ʿAbd al-Laṭif al-ʿAbbāsī made an attempt to harmonise the various traditions of the text; he also wrote a commentary, entitled Fatḥiyyāt al-haššaš wa-šārī‘at al-tarīqa. Later a few other commentaries were composed (cf. J. Stephenson, The enclosing garden of mysticism, London: Longmans, 1945, 1978). One of the selections made from the poem, which is sometimes entitled Laṭifat al-ṭarfān, has been ascribed to Sanā‘ī as well as to Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [q.v.], but its real author is probably Nīẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Husayn Shīrāzī.
a poet of the 9th/15th century also known by the pen name of Dā‘ī. The Ḥadhār al-bāḥisṭa is the first specimen of a mystical maṭnawī in Persian literature and has had a considerable impact on later writers in the same genre, notably on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [q.v.], whose Maṭnawī-yi ma‘nawi was composed after the example given by Sanā‘ī. The great number of manuscripts known to exist bears witness to an immense popularity lasting throughout the centuries. It is a didactic poem conceived as a continuing discourse on a wide variety of ethical and religious subjects. In the early Fakhn-ndma version, the vague outline of an allegory, comparable to that of his earlier work Sayr al-‘ibdād tī ‘l-ma‘ād, appears when the poet tells of a meeting with a spiritual guide, who is the personification of the Active Intellect. In later redactions this feature was almost obliterated and replaced by a division of the text into chapters. The text contains numerous references to philosophy and the sciences and has therefore often been held an "encyclopaedia of Sufism". This is a misleading qualification because these elements are always subordinated to the didactic discourse. The same applies to the narratives, which take a far less important part in Sanā‘ī’s poem than they do in the works of later writers of Persian didactic maṭnawīs.

Sanā‘ī left two other maṭnawīs, of a much smaller size. The first, Kamānā-yi Bākhrī, sometimes also called Maḍīnahrā-nāma ("Book of jest"), is a completely secular poem of no more than 435 bayts. It was written at Balkh shortly after Sanā‘ī had left Ghazna. In a mixture of praise and satire, this topical poem reviews the people who were the poet’s patrons during his early years, arranged according to their social position. The second, the Sayr al-‘ibdād tī ‘l-ma‘ād ("The journey of the devotees to the place of return") is Sanā‘ī’s most interesting work. Two-thirds of its 800 lines describe the development of the narrator’s soul in the allegory of a spiritual journey. From his conception onwards, he climbs the ladder of existence, partly under the guidance of the Active Intellect. He reaches the goal of this quest when he meets with the preacher Muhammad b. Maḥṣūr, his actual patron during his stay at the city of Sarāḵš, whose praise fills the remaining part of the poem. The Sayr al-‘ibdād is written in an enigmatic style with only few explanations provided in the text. So skilfully is it constructed as to resemble to philosophical allegories in Arabic, such as Ibn Sīnā’s Ḥayy ibn Yaqūn [q.v.] and the Lughāt kābi by Miskawayh [q.v.]. An anonymous commentary is extant, the oldest version of which is contained in the ms. Nāfī Naṣa Público 410 (Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul), dated 674/1275.

All genuine maṭnawīs of Sanā‘ī were written in the metre ḍaffī, which, through his example, became one of the patterns most often used for didactic mystical poetry. In the same metre, a number of other short maṭnawīs occur in manuscripts of his works, which are falsely attributed to him. Some of these were works by other poets which were manipulated in order to pass them off as genuine texts by Sanā‘ī, e.g. Ṭabhrī-nāma, which actually is a verse commentary on the Sawā‘id of Ahmad al-Qazvīni [q.v.], and Ṣafī al-shinābī, written in imitation of the Ḥadhār by Ahmad al-Nawawī [q.v.]. It might be dated to the 14th century (on these and other poems of this group, see B. Utas, Ṭabīcī ut-tahqīc, Lund 1973, passim). Others, like Tahrīnāt al-kalām and Ṣafī-nāma, both appearing for the first time in the Velieddin manuscript of 684 A.H., were deliberately composed as pseudo-Sanā‘ī texts (cf. Of petty and poetry, 113–18). A small collection of letters by Sanā‘ī was published by Nādhīr Ahmad (Makātīb-i Sanā‘ī, Aligarh 1962). There are two prose introductions to his works containing his name as the author. One of these, which is in fact the same text as the introduction by al-Ra‘īfī, is almost certainly spurious.

Sanā‘ī’s great impact on Persian mystical poetry has given rise to the view that he was a prominent Sūfī himself. There is little historical evidence available to substantiate this view. The most important patrons of his art were Islamic scholars, many of whom were also renowned as preachers. The predominantly homiletic style of his religious poetry fits this social environment extremely well. With its characteristic blend of ethics, wisdom, mysticism and praise of the Prophet and other great men of Islam it appealed to the community of the Muslims as a whole rather than to a restricted circle of Sūfī adepts only. This also explains the varied use made by later generations of his verse.


held together with milk, in flour and in wood, in pagan Arabia" (see refs. in Fahd, op. cit., 28-9). "It was in the mid-3rd century A.D. that the Na'aman and Syro-Palestinian influences affected, in the urban centres, the evolution in form of the Arab pantheon, and it was then that the stone betyle became an idol". Wellhausen correctly affirmed this when he wrote that the images were not genuinely Arabic, since waqfán and sanam were imported words and things. See his Reste, 102; D. Nielsen, Die allarabischen Mondreligion und die mosaische Überlieferung, Strassburg 1904).

According to al-Azraki, there was no house in Mecca without its idol. Those carved out of stone and wood seem to have been those of the high-born and rich, as were imported products. Ibn Hisháms states (Síra, 303-4) "'Amr b. Dája', who was one of the sappers of the Banú Salama and one of their leaders, had taken into his house a wooden idol (sanam), called Manáit, according to the account of notables of that time; he considered it as a god, and worshipped and purified it". "Ihrizma, son of Abá Dája [q.v.], the fierce enemy of the Prophet, made idols. Traders went and offered them to the Bedouins, who bought them and placed them within their tents (al-Azraki, 77-8).

After the triumph of Christianity in the Orient, the Hijádz had remained a stronghold of paganism, where idol carvers could still gain a living. It was not surprising that, when the Prophet entered Mecca in triumph, he had 360 idols in the Ka'ba immediately destroyed (ibid., 77; Ibn al-Athlr, ii, 192; cf. Fahd, Panthéon, 3). According to a leading Arabian historian, met by the author in Kuwait shortly after the explosion and revealed a pile of statues buried below the ground; the Saudi authorities hastened to dispose of them.

Thus the religions of pagan Arabia, from betyles to carved idols, retained their primitive internal structure, and although social conditions and artistic influences might affect the actual forms of representation, this had no effect on the conceptual development of the cults there. A list of the Arab gods can be found in Fahd's Panthéon, with all the known information about some 90 of them, and showing that these Arab cults were static and characteristic of the desert and nomadic life, in which betyles, idols and sacred trees were the dominant features.

Bibliography: This article is based on T. Fahd's Le panthéon de VArable Centrale à la veille de I'hegire, Paris 1968; see also idem, in Mythes et croyances du monde entier, ii, Paris 1985, section "Le panthéon arabe avant l'Islam". Amongst references used in the above, still of value, are: Wellhausen, Reste, Berlin 1897; E. Dhorme, Religion primitive des Semites, in RHR, cxxviii (1944), 1-27; Idem, Les religions arabes présislamiques, review of G. Ryckmans, in ibid., cxxixiiii (1947), 34-48; G. Ryckmans, Les religions arabes présislamiques, Louvain 1953 ( = Bibl. du Muséon, xxvi = A. Quillet, Hist. gén. des religions, Paris 1960, ii, 199-228); Dürjí Záydan, Anáb al-Arab al-kudámá, Cairo 1906. See also Hubal; Isáf Wá-náhíyá, Káwá'í Kuháj, Al-táh, Mánáf, Rábí, Sai'd Wá-náhíyá, Sháms. (T. Fahd)

SANÁM KADÍS, see KÁDI, at vol. IV, 583-4, and add to the Bibl. there: Abú Hámíd al-Qarnáni, ed. Ferrand, the main reference, now tr. Ana Ramos, Abú Hámíd al-Qarnáni (m. 565/1169), Táhfa' al-álháb (El regalo de los espiritus), Madrid CSIC-ICMA 1990, (fuentes Arabico-Hispanos 10), 46-7, for the passage in question (= ed. Ferrand 69-70), with representation here of the plate (= Ferrand, between 200 and 201) showing the "object", i.e. the lighthouse (which Ramos renders by "statue", estatua). See also P. Marínez Montes, Miracles de la ciudad de Córdoba, Cat. Córdoba, 1974; Sahar al-Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azíz Sálih, Madinat Kadís wa-dauruhu fi 'l-ta'ífí al-siyási wa-l-hadari li 'l-Andalus fi 'l-táh al-islámi, Alexandria 1990; D. Brámn, El mundo en el siglo XII. El tratado de al-Zahrí, Sabadell 1991 (= Span. tr. of the K. al-Djafaríyá, ed. M. Hadi-Sadok). (J.-P. Molenat)

SANANDADJ, or SINANDADJ, older form SINNA, the administrative capital of the modern Persian province of Kurdistan and the general name for the district round it.

1. The town. The name Sinna came into historical prominence only from the 9th/15th century onwards, the main urban centre of the district having previously been Sisar [q.v.], as the seat of the Kurdish waíls or local rulers of Ardalan [q.v.]. Under the year 988/1580, the 10th/16th century historian of the Kurds, Sáhar al-Dín Bání Dídísí [q.v.], speaks in his Sharaf-námá (ed. V. Vallamref-Zernot, St. Peters- burg 1860-2, i, 88) of a land grant held by Timúr Khán of Ardaláín, which included Hasanábád, Sína, etc., but the local historian of Sanadzánd, 'Alí Akbar Munští Wákáyí-nígar (wrote ca. 1310/1892-3, see Storey, i, 1300, cf. also 369), in his ms. work on the geography and history of Sanadzánd, the Hadíyíkí Náisírt (Fr. résumé by B. Níkitine, in RMM, xiii, 70-104), says that Sinna was built by the wáli Sułáymán Khán on the ruined site of an earlier settlement; the Persian ta'firí or chronogram for this event is given as ghamhá "sorrows" = 1046 in aqfib (1636-7).

The wáli, being near the Perso-Turkish frontier, took an active part in the wars between the Safawids and the Ottomans, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other; during this period, Ardáland enjoyed, like 'Arabíštán and Luríštán, a semi-independent existence. During the Afghan invasion of Persia, in 1132/1720, the Kurdish chief of Sułáymáníyyá [q.v.] seized Sinna, but the wáli of Ardalán Subhán Werdí Khán recovered it in the time of Nádir Sháh. Amán Alláh "the Great" (1212-40/1797-1825) much improved the town of Sinna, and entertained there Sir John Malcolm and J.C. Rich, but his grandson Amán Alláh b. Kháruz Aýnánání (1265-84/1848-67) was the last hereditary wáli of Kurdistan, since the central government in Tehran under Náṣir al-Dín Sháh [q.v.] in 1892 extended its direct control over the western provinces.

The town lies between the right bank of the Kishkí river (which eventually flows down to the Díyálá and then the Tigris) and Mount 'Awídar, which separates Sinna from the old capital Hasanábád. The citadel of the wáli, described by such 19th century travellers as Malcolm, Rich and Çirkov, is on a hill some 21 m/70 ft. high in the centre of the town. The town's population at that time was largely Kurdish, but with a substantial Jewish minority and a few Chaldæan Catholic and Armenian Christians, and it was a lively commercial centre, exporting oak-galls, tragacanth, furs and carpets. In modern Persia, Sanadzánd (lat. 35° 19' N., long 47° 01' E.) is the administrative capital of the province (uştán) of Kurdistan, with a population in 1991 of 244,249 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). Senna carpets remain a principal product of the town and its hinterland.

2. The district. The older district of Sinna corresponds with the heartland of the modern Kurdistan province, with high, treeless plateaus in the northeast and southeast, whilst its central part is intersected by
numerous valleys, sloping down to deciduous forests
in the east. The main mountain massif is ...
Süleyman was Guran. In addition to the ma-

3,658 m/12,000 ft.) to the north of
Cihil Cashma

for a detailed survey of topography, see Minor-

westerns to the 'Irāk frontier.

[see MUSANNAF] like those

Islamic world, amongst the 'Irākis Yahyā b. Mašīn (d. 233/848) and Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241/855), two famous hadīth scholars of the 3rd/9th century. The reputation of 'Abd al-Razzāk was first of all based on his book or books. The oldest informa-
tion about his works comes from historical notices above (Ibn 'Abd al-Latīf, 'Ili, iii, 3882, Cairo 1990).

There is a difference of opinion as to the titles of his book or books. Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995), for in-

stance, mentions a Kitāb al-Sunan fi 'l-fikhr and a Kitāb al-Musannaf (Fihrist, Cairo 1929-30, 318), Ibn Khayr
(d. 575/1179) claims to have known several riwayāt of a work called Musannaf—which is probably identical
with the Kitāb al-Sunan quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm—and the Kitāb al-Maghdūbi, which according to him was
originally a part of the Musannaf. He further refers to
a book annexed to the Musannaf called Dā'imī which he describes as a work of Ma'mar b. Rāghid merely
transmitted by 'Abd al-Razzāk (Fahrasa, Saragossa
1894, 127-30). Al-Dhahabi (d. 748/1347) mentions a
Dā'imī al-kabīr (Mīzān, i, 126), al-Saḍāfī (d. 764/1362-
3) a Taṣfir (Nātāt al-hikmat, Cairo 1911, 192), and Ibn Ḳaḍīr (d. 774/1372-3), finally, alongside the Mu-

Sanandadj, going up to and slightly across the frontier

of Ardalan were

Christian

Christians

was

Christian

ethnically, the population is mainly Kurdish, Sun-

in (d. 233/848) and Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 642/1049)

originally a part of the

of the Banu Himyar.

dicates that he was a

In the last quarter of the 2nd century A.H.,

According to the biographical sources, he was of Per-

his works comes from his pupils mentioned

Abd al-Razzāk received his training as a scholar in

from his teacher (Ibn Sa'd, v, 399).

Abd al-Razzāk received his training as a scholar in

where he studied for a period of about eight

years with Ma'mar b. Rāghid (d. 153/770) (Ahmad b.

Hanbal, al-'Ilāt wa-maṣūfat al-rīḍāj, Beirut 1988, ii,

no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa

years with Ma'mar b. Rāghid (d. 153/770) (Ahmad b.

Hanbal, al-'Ilāt wa-maṣūfat al-rīḍāj, Beirut 1988, ii,

no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa

years with Ma'mar b. Rāghid (d. 153/770) (Ahmad b.

Hanbal, al-'Ilāt wa-maṣūfat al-rīḍāj, Beirut 1988, ii,

no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa
dil, no. 2599; Ibn Abl Hatim, Sahība al-Djarh wa

these materials came for the most part from their books. In general, 'Abd al-Razzak’s transmission from these teachers of his seems to be reliable (see Motzki, *op. cit.*, 56 ff.). Access to the oldest compilations of legal traditions which are not limited to prophetic hadith—as ‘Abd al-Razzak’s *Musannaf* offers—opens new venues for researching both the origins of Islamic jurisprudence as well as the development of hadith in general.


(H. Motzki)

AL-ṢAN’ĀNI, DIYĀ’ AL-DĪN SHĀBĀN b. SALĪM b. ʿŪDḤMIḤ AL-ḤASĪK AL-RUMĪ, Yemenite poet and physician (1065-1145/1655-1736). His father was an Ottoman trooper from the town of Hassaka on the river Khabur [?]. P., and his mother was Yemeni by birth. Shaḥābīn was held in high esteem by his contemporaries, above all in his capacity as a panegyricist and man of letters but he was also known for his stirring sermons of exhortation. For some time, he lived by trade, but later he devoted himself to medicine and henceforth earned his livelihood out of medical practice (*tādabbaḥ*). In his fifties, he was struck by hemiplegia (*ṭālq*) which increasingly isolated him as he grew older. A poor man, he died in his home town Ṣan’ā’ī [q.v.] aged 81.

Most of Shaḥābīn’s œuvre fell into oblivion after his death, including an anthology entitled *Divān Badr Shābān*. Except for some fragments of poetry as preserved by his biographers, only two pieces from his pen have come down to us, sc. a dispute about rank (*falāḍīf*) between the poet and master-cook to Sayf al-Dawla, and an extensive didactic poem on dietetics and hygiene designed for domestic use (see *Bibi*).


(O. Kahl)


Born in Antioch before ca. 275/888 (if Ibn Abī ‘Abbās, *Divān al-Ṣanawbārī*, Beirut 1970, poem 231, v. 67 is to be taken literally), he died allegedly in Aleppo in the year 334/945. Since his chronicle is consonant with neither the *Aḥādīr* nor the *Tayīma*, very little is known about his life. He was a close friend of Kushāḥīḏī [q.v.], the poet and master-cook to Sayf al-Dawla, and eventually became his son-in-law, exchanging several verse epistles with him, as was the practice of the time (see J. E. Montgomery, *Aḥī Firās’s poetic correspondence with Abu ʿUṣayn*, in *The Occasional Papers of the School of Arabic Studies*, St. Andrews, ii [1988], 1-45). The tradition that al-Ṣanawbārī was himself a keen gardener may be aetiological, based on his fame and pre-eminence as a nature poet. As Mez, loc. cit., explains, the *lakāb* al-ṣanawbārī presumably means that either he or his father traded in pine nuts (ṣanawbārī). Al-Ṣanawbārī, however, according to Ibn ʿAṣākir, *Tādālīḥ Ta’ādāl Dimāšq*, Damascus 1329, i, 456, claimed that the name had been given to his grandfather by the caliph al-Maʾmūn [q.v.], on account of the keenness of his reasoning in disputations (?). His poems in praise of the aḥl al-bayt [q.v.] point to his ʿAbābī affiliations, but as this is not attested by any later authorities it may simply be that these poems were composed to harmonise with, or on behalf of, the ʿAbābī Handānīs [q.v.]. Among his rāzīs were Abu ʿI-Ḥasan al-ʿAdīb and Abu ʿI-Ḥasan Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿIssāk, in *Diwdn Badr*, Beirut 1971, poems 27-37, indicate. The *diwdn* contains the full panoply of poetic types encountered in the collections of other contemporary poets (panegyrics and vituporations [50 pieces], love poems [especially *muddakkarāt*, poems composed about boys, 80 pieces], and occasional snippets composed to order, etc.) but is justly famous for its 40 nature poems, both epigrams and ḥāṣālās [q.v.]: *rabīyyāt* (verbal poems), ẓuhāriyyāt (floral poems), raḍūriyyāt (meadow poems) and even ṭabdīlīyyāt (snow poems). Whilst al-Ṣanawbārī is heavily indebted to his poetic forebears, especially Ibn al-Muʿtazz [q.v.], he is acknowledged as the creator of the fully independent nature ḥāṣāla, doing so much for horticultural poetry as Abu Nuwās [q.v.] did for viticultural poetry. His achievement is that he not only liberated nature as a theme of the Arabic poetic répertoire, establishing it as a genre in its own right, but that he also enlarged its scope to encompass other genres, such as the ḥāṣāliyya [q.v.]. The key-note of this poetry is the striving after wonderment and effect, being very much the product of the *badd* [q.v.] style and being heavily dependent upon “phantastic” (*takhyili*) imagery, as later defined by ‘Abd al-Kahir al-Djurdjani (d. 471/1087) and became the full panoply of poetic types encountered in the collections of other contemporary poets (panegyrics and vituporations [50 pieces], love poems [especially *muddakkarāt*, poems composed about boys, 80 pieces], and occasional snippets composed to order, etc.) but is justly famous for its 40 nature poems, both epigrams and ḥāṣālās [q.v.]: *rabīyyāt* (verbal poems), ẓuhāriyyāt (floral poems), raḍūriyyāt (meadow poems) and even ṭabdīlīyyāt (snow poems). Whilst al-Ṣanawbārī is heavily indebted to his poetic forebears, especially Ibn al-Muʿtazz [q.v.], he is acknowledged as the creator of the fully independent nature ḥāṣāla, doing so much for horticultural poetry as Abu Nuwās [q.v.] did for viticultural poetry. His achievement is that he not only liberated nature as a theme of the Arabic poetic répertoire, establishing it as a genre in its own right, but that he also enlarged its scope to encompass other genres, such as the ḥāṣāliyya [q.v.]. The key-note of this poetry is the striving after wonderment and effect, being very much the product of the *badd* [q.v.] style and being heavily dependent upon “phantastic” (*takhyili*) imagery, as later defined by ‘Abd al-Kahir al-Djurdjani (d. 471/1087) [q.v. in Suppl.], imagery which involves the invention of the conventional leading to an anthropomorphisation of nature. These effects are directed at the auditor/reader’s appreciation of the poet’s display of “linguistic ingenuity ... a style in which the probable is made improbable, the familiar enigmatic, the ordinary miraculous” (S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1989, 156). In modern scholarship, al-Ṣanawbārī’s nature poetry has been studied from the exclusive viewpoint of the imagination, as literary (mannerist) artifice devoid of any connection with reality. This is to overlook the nature of much of this poetry: it is not the poetic exercise of the imagination, but was presumably composed for the garden banquet-cum-*madājah* ‘when the caliph or a grandee would invite the habitués of his salon to a Sans-souci
in the gardens at the edge of town” (G.E. von Grunebaum, Aspects of Arabic urban literature, in Islamic Studies, viii [1969], 293). Hence the repeated, witty shifts in register, from the “phantastic” to the ontological, i.e. from the imaginary to the real. His influence on Andalusian poetry was such that Ibn Khašfāja [q.v.] crown the Sanawbarī of the West.

A commentary on Dhu ’It-Rumma’s Ba‘yya was also penned by al-Sanawbarī.


Sanābil, a town said to be the capital of the king in the account of the Arab traveller and littérateur Abū Dulfār Miṣ‘ar b. Muḥāṭil [q.v.] purporting to describe his participation in an embassy of the Chinese king Kālīn b. al-Shakhārīr returning from the court of the Sanāmīd amīr Naṣr b. Āḥmad (301-319/914-43 [q.v.]) at Buḫārāra.

Abū Dulfār describes it as an immense city, one day’s journey across, with walls 90 cubits high and an idol temple bigger than the sacred mosque at Jerusalem (First Risāla, Fr. tr. G. Ferrand, in Relations de voyages ... relatifs à l’Extrême Orient du VIII au XVIIe siècles, Paris 1913-14, 219-20, 221; Ger. tr. A. von Rohr-Sauer, Abū Dulfār Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien, Bonn 1939, 17, 27-30, text originally known in Yākūt, Budān, ed. Beirut, iii, 440, 444-5, cf. 275, and in al-Kazwīnī, Āḥār al-biṭāl, ed. Wiedemann, in Aufsätze zur arabischen Literatur, iii, 84-6. For primary to secondary Qalasād, mentioned in other early Muslim sources on China (the Hudūd al-‘alam, Gardżī, Marwazī), and its existence as such is dubious, given also further doubts about the historicity of this Sino-Samānid mission (see C.E. Bosworth, An alleged embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amir Naṣr b. Āḥmad: a contribution to Samānid military history, in Minovi and Afshar (eds.), Yādname-ye intīn-e Minowsky, Tehran 1969, 9-9). Marquart, Streifzüge, 84-9, idem, 58-60, sought to identify Sandībāl with Kan-chu, in Kan-su province [q.v.], which would be geographically feasible. Minowsky pointed out, Hudūd al-‘alam, comm. 222, that the name of the “large town governed from China” in the anonymous geography, tr. 85, Khābd b. Khābu, resembles in the Arabic script the S.n.dabd.1 of Abū Dulfār, especially in its last three letters, and noted that the place mentioned in the Hudūd al-‘alam’s chapter on China immediately before Khābd b. Khābu is Khāmbīt = Kan-chu. It seems impossible to take the question any further than this.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

Sandal (A., P. cânđol from Skr. cándana) is the sandal wood, coming from several unrelated trees which are mainly of Indian and Southeast Asian origin.

Both white and yellow sandalwood were, in fact, only different kinds of Santalum album L., Santalaceae. It supplies the bright, white sap-wood and the reddish heartwood. Because of its peculiar scent, probably experienced as very pleasant, it was appreciated from time immemorial and used, among other purposes, for perfumeries, and its ethereal oils against inflammations of the urinary passages. The red sandalwood, on the other hand, is the heartwood of Pterocarpus santalinus L., Leguminosae. It is totally scentless and of little value, but was popular for its beauty. It is not known how the name sandal was transferred from the white-yellow to the red wood. The Arabic authors know the same threefold distinction. Sandalwood was unknown to the Greeks. The most comprehensive account about sandal is found in al-Nu‘ayrī, Niḥayāt, xii, 39-42, tr. Wiedemann, in Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte, ii, 252-4, 263. The yellow, fat (al-dasīm), heavy wood, which looks as if it were painted over with saffron and is therefore also called al-zeffarānī, is accounted the best sandalwood. It has a strong fragrance and is designated as al-makāṣirī (the meaning of this nisba is not clear, cf. Dozy, Suppl., ii, 358-9). Of the white sandalwood, which is also fragrant, there exist various varieties, which incline partly to yellow, brown and red.

The use of various sandalwoods in medicine, above all of their ethereal oils, is described extensively from several sources by Ibn al-Baytār (Ǧāmī‘ī, iii, 89, 10-31 = Leclerc, no. 1418). When added to electuaries (ma‘dījūnāt), they are inter alia effective against fever and heating of the bile. If inhaled, its powder is effective against pleurisy (birṣām) and congestion (lahīb). If the electuary is applied together with rosewater as a poultice, it is effective against erysipelas (hmāra), boils of feverish gout (al-nikris al-hār) and infections of the eyelids ( alfatar).

In the Maghrib, as repeatedly stated by ‘Abd Allāh b. Sāliḥ, Ibn al-Baytār’s teacher (see Dietrich, Discoursides triomphean, iii, 31, 38, 93, and Dozy, Suppl., i, 846a), sandal indicates thyme (nammām) and the wild and cultivated mint (Tymus serpyllum L., Labiatae).


Sandal, pl. sandīḏ, the generic term for any kind of cymbal. Both al-Djawharī and al-Djawalīqī say that the word is an Arabicised one. Lane thinks that it is derived from the Persian sandīḏ or sandī and Ibn Khūrradāḏībīh (d. near the opening of the 10th century) avers that the Persians invented it (al-Maṣ‘ūdī, Marūḏī, viii, 90 = § 3214). However, the instrument was well known to the ancient Semites. We read of the sandīḏ in early Arabic literature. Al-Kuṭāmī refers to the sandīḏ al-dīnīn and Ibn Muḥīṯ [q.v.] was called the sandīḏ al-‘Arāb. The feminine form of the latter, said to express an intensive, is also to be found in the cognomen of al-ʿAlā’ī Maymūn known as the sandīḏāt al-ʿArāb and in a certain Mustarād al-sandīḏāt. Yet it is difficult to say whether the actual instrument or mere symbolism is aimed at in these instances. Further confusion is added by the fact that the word sandīḏ (< Pers. šandīḏ) was also given by some
Arabic writers to the harp, although the more general name for the latter was djank [see MICZAF].

The term sandj or sand is generally used for the cymbals in the East, although there has been more common use in the West since the Middle Ages. The instrument is played in pairs and is used to regulate the measure or rhythm in both music and dancing. That it had a definite place as a rhythmic instrument in days of old is stated by Ibn Zaylā (d. 440/1048) in his Kitāb al-Kāfī (ed. Z. Yusuf, Cairo 1964). It is to be found in several shapes and sizes. The finger cymbals used today are generally about 4.5 cm in diameter and they are usually attached to the thumb and middle finger. They are depicted by Niebuhr (i, tab. xxvi), Villoteau (pl. cc. 26), Lane (Modern Egyptians, ch. xviii), Christianowitsch (no. 36), Lavignac (1794c, 2936), and Sachsse (tab. 8, no. 36). Specimens may be found in museums, notably Brussels (no. 293) and New York (no. 383). Other names for the cymbal, according to Villoteau (980), are zīl (< Turk. zīl), kādī (probably of cup-shape form originally), and saqās (< saqāda, although probably this ought to be written sadjīda). In Syria, we have the term jākayka, and in Morocco nuswayka (dimin. of nākās) in common use, the former being a metathesis of jākayka (see below). The term sājālī (sing. sājāl) was also applied to all high-sounding clamped metal instruments, of this type. Like zīl or zīl, it is of onomatopoeic origin, the verbal root being sālā ("to sound"). There are cognates in all the Semitic languages. Saadia (d. 941) equates the Arabic root with the Hebrew κατ (kātab) and we have the Arabic musālsalītī standing for the Hebrew šērīm (cymbals) of Psalm cl. 5, in the Glossarium latino-arabicum (11th century). Small cymbals attached to a frame were also in use. This instrument was known as the ḥuqānīya or ṣaqānā (see below). It resembled a pair of metal tongs with two or three arms branching from the open ends, a small cymbal being attached to each arm. Nowadays it is called a zarī saftī ("jingling tongs"). We see it depicted in Sāsānid art, and it is mentioned by Ibn Khallīkān (tr. de Slane, iii, 491) and in the Anwār-i Ṣuhayli (ed. Z. Yusuf, Cairo 1964). It is to be found in several manuscripts, notably Brussels (no. 293) and New York (1974). At this period, however, the cymbal was called ṣafīt, and from the same root we get maṣafītā, a word which appears to denote "clappers". Labid [q.v.], the Arabic poet, places maṣafīdā in the hands of waiting women (mabīqīfā). This instrument was known as the ḥuqānīya (Villoteau, 981) says that they were called akhīgī in Egypt. Outside of Spain, where they may have been known as the kāsātīn (hence perhaps castanets), they have not been favoured.

The percussion slab known as the nābūs is dealt with separately; see NABūS.

Percussion staff. This was the kādīth, an instrument found in the hands of several of the early musicians of Islam. Its identity has long been a puzzle to both musicographers and orientalists. It was a staff which was used for rhythmic purposes either by striking it upon the ground or upon something else. Ibn Ḥadīj-al-Ḥaytami (d. 972/1565, fol. 19b) has a section entitled "Concerning beating (darb) with the kādīth upon cushions (wasāl-dī’). It recalls an incident in the "Story of the Mock Caliph" in the Aflaya wa-layā (where a cushion (mudawwara) is struck as a signal for servants to appear. But the cushion is meant, and substitutes "a circular plate of wood or metal, a gong"). We get a slight idea of the sound of the kādīth from the fact that Muhammad is said to have been averse to the tick-tack (taḥtaka) of the kādīth, and the same is said of the imām al-Shāfī‘i (al-Shālāhī, fol. 79). It is given a place in music by the Ikhwan al-Safā‘ (i, 91) and Ibn Zaylā, although later it fell into desuetude and was only to be found in the hands of the amateur and the folk. Indeed, the word maṣafītā came to mean "untrained" or "extemporised".

Bells. Ordinarily, the cup, bowl, or cone shape bell is known in Arabic as the ḥatā‘a, whilst the sphere-shaped bell is called the ḥulqul. On the other hand, ḥatā‘a also stands for a large bell (campa) and ḥulqul for an example, see Sachsse (66, tab. 8). For numbers used in military bands, see TAML-KHAN. For quite a century and a half, Turkey has been famed for the manufacture of cymbals and in the first part of the 20th century several thousands were exported from Istanbul every year. There are two other mediaeval names for the cymbal which are worth recording, viz. saffākātān and maṣafītā. The former occurs in the Kitāb al-Aghānī (v, 75), and Ibn Ḥadīj-al-Ḥaytami (Berlin ms. 5517, fol. 19b) likens it to the sandj (cymbal). Maṣafītā and maṣafīkā equate with cymbalum in the Glossarium latino-arabicum and the Vocabulary in Arabic (12th-13th century).
for a small bell (tintinnabulum), the probable reason being that the first-mentioned form was generally found in the small instrument whilst the second-mentioned form was generally found in the small instrument. Bells were used on the necks of animals in pre-Islamic days, and there is a tradition that Muhammad was averse to the sound of the caravan bells so that the fiction arose that ‘‘angels will not associate with a company where there is a āyāras’’ (e.g. Muslim, Libās, trad. 103). A collection of these bells, such as on a board or on a chain or rope, is known as a tabla. The term was probably borrowed from the Hebrew tabla which, in turn, had its origin in the Greek tάβλα, because these bells were generally attached to a tablet of wood. There is a specimen of a tabla at New York (no. 2659), the largest bell being 10 x 5.8 cm. Bells were also used to increase the din of battle so as to affright the enemy, as we are told by Ibn Zayla, and in the story of Gharīb and his brother ‘‘Ajīb in the Alf layla wa-layla (iii, 294) we read of the canoes and mutes in battle being furnished with large bells (adjrās), small bells (djuldjil), as well as jingles (kalīkīl). According to Cervantes, the Moors of Spain did not tolerate their use as martial instruments.

The small bell (djuldjil), sometimes called a pellet bell, was spherical. Like sātāl, dādbād, etc., the word is of onomatopoetic origin. Al-Khaṭīb (d in probably in 175/791) likened the sound of the small cymbals (sanaq) hanging in the rim of the tambourine (daff) to that of the small bells (djuldjil; see Khāwarizmi, Máfatih al-ṭalām, 236). Indeed, these small bells were sometimes attached to tambourines [see DUFF]. Al-Muzarritt (6th century A.D.) speaks of small (tambourine) bells (djuldjil) replying to the wind instruments (masāmīr; see the Máfatadhalsayyā, i, 165). These djuldjil were also attached to the necks of smaller animals in the form of a tabla, and in Manālīk times they were fastened to the hats of criminals (al-Makrizī, Sulakī, v, 126). They also formed part of the impedimenta of itinerant minstrels, who likewise wore them on their hats (J.S. Buckingham, Travels, i, 100), as did the fools in Talmudic Jewry (Jastrow, Dict. Targ., 518). In Persia, the large bell is called a zang or darād and the small bell a sanga or sangulīa. In Turkey they are the láng and čengrek respectively.

An elaborate type of chimes was known to the Arabs, who borrowed the idea from the Greeks. It is described in a treatise by one Muristus who, in his Travels, i, 100), the beating with reeds (akldm) under (‘‘instrument of slabs of wood’’). It comprised 35 slabs, each giving a particular note.

Bibliography: See that to tabl, and add Sachsse, in ZDPV (1927); La Borde, Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne, 1870.

(H. G. Farmer)

SANDJA, the name of a small, right-bank affluent of the upper Uprates and of a small town on it, both coming in modern times within the northern part of Diyar Mudar (q.v.). The Sandja river runs into the Uprates between Sumaysāt and Ka‘al al-Rūm (q.v.). It was famed for its bridge, said by the Arabic geographers to have been composed of a single arch of 200 paces’ length constructed from dressed stone, and to have been one of the wonders of the world (cf. Yākūt, Balad, iii, 264-5). It was here and at nearby Baddāyā that the Artilkī Numāgīn al-Dīn II Ghāzī crossed in 513/1119 on his campaign at Tell Bashir against the Franks from the County of Antioch (see Cahan, La Syrie du Nord, 283 ff., and MARJ DĀRĪK.

Bibliography: Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, 331; idem, Landi, 123-4; Cl. Cahan, La Syrie du Nord à l’époque des Croisades, Paris 1940, 127, 295-6; J. Tischler, Kleinasiatische Hydronymie, Wiesbaden 1977, 156.

(S. E. Bowra)}
weapon or pointed object in the body of an enemy or in the ground (cf. Sâmi Bey, Kâmûr-i Türkî). The form sanjak found in Çaghâtay (Boudagov) and even in an old Serbian loanword (Miklosich, Die türkischen Elemente in den südost-europäischen Sprachen, Vienna 1884, ii, 50) corresponds to the verb sanâ of the Orkhoén inscriptions (see Thomsen, 42; Radloff, 132). Cf. also F.W.K. Müller, Ugarica, ii, 78, 30 and 86, 48. In Kirghiz the form used is şanğẖ (Radloff, Wörterbuch, iv, 949), and in Urantshâg şançirk and şançik (Kâtanov, Othmanli). We may add on the authority of Radloff, and the Turkish-Arabic glossary published by Houtsma, Leiden 1894, ii, 50) corresponds to the verb sanâ of the Ottoman Turkish-Arabic glossary published by Houtsma, Leiden 1894, 80, and 29 of the Arabic text, the proper name Sandjar [q. v.]. glossed safân, in preference to the usually accepted etymology from Sandjar, the name of his place of birth (see Recueil des historiens des Croisades, i, 1872, and index under Sinjar).

Sanjak has passed into a certain number of other languages; more recently into the Balkan languages (cf. the work by Miklosich quoted above and Sâmeanu, Influenta orientala, and earlier into Arabic (cf. Dozy, Supplement, and W. Marçais, Le dictionnaire arabe de Tlemcen, Paris 1902, 270, 90, 92), and into Persian where, according to the Burhân-i kâbî (see Hind-oghlu s.v. "pointe" and Dozy s.v. "pointe") or were they always flags? Sometimes (135-6) it is the besieged themselves who, ready to surrender and no doubt seeing in this banner a guarantee of protection against pillaging, asked for a sanjak to be sent. It is not, however, necessary that the sultan himself should be present and the historian (357) notes: "the Beylerbeyi setting out on an expedition with the standard of the sovereign.

For a long time the neighbouring princes and vassals of the Saljuqs respected their privilege, but the Atabeg of Mawşil, Sayf al-Din al-Ghâzi, son of İmâd al-Din Zângî (d. November 1149), was the first of the asâhîl al-alâmîl to have a sanjak carried unfurled over his head (Ibn al-Athîr, Hist. des Atabeks de Morsouf, in RHC, Hist. s. r., ii, 167). The Ayûbîds followed the example of their predecessors. In 594/1198 the sultan of Egypt, al-Malîk al-ʾAzîz, conferred on his nephew al-Malîk al-Muʿazzâm ʾIsâ, when he became prince of Damascus, "the sanjak and the tiqāât to display throughout the world" (Kitâb al-Raṣâdatayn, in RHC, v, 117). In 648/1250 Aybâk, the Turkmân, married to an Ayûbîd princess and proclaimed sultan of Egypt, took part in the setting out of Turkish forces, and unfurled the sanjak banner in front of him (al-sanâjkî al-salûtânîya, see Abu l-Fīdâî, Annales, ed. Reiske, iv, 516 of the Arabic text and 515 of the Latin tr.). Among the Mamlûks, a distinction was made between the sanâjkârîs "royal standard-bearer" and the ordinary ʿâlamâr (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, La Syrie à l’époque des Mamelouks, Paris 1923, p. xcvi); afterwards, in Turkish Algeria this distinction disappeared; see J. Deny, in Mélanges René Gueidan, 1, 153-162, p. 35. According to one later Ottoman tradition, not to be taken literally but nevertheless attesting to the significance of the sanjak/banner as a political symbol, at the end of the Saljûq empire in Asia Minor the sanjak became one of the insignia of investiture of new sovereigns, notably of the first Othmânîl sultan. In 679/1280, after the capture of Karadja Hisâr by Othmân, Sultan ʿAlâ al-Dîn II to celebrate this conquest sent him by the hands of Ak Timûr, "Othmân’s nephew, a grandson of his ancestors" (sandjak-yaraghi), as ʿAshîk Pasha-zâde tells us (ed. Constantinople 1332, 8-9); Neshî prefers another version (see Noldike, in ZDMG, xiii [1859], 207-9). ʿAshîk Pasha-zâde mentions in this connection that Othmân thus became sanjak beyî, and we know that it was from this time that the khatûn was read in his name (for the first
time at Karadja Hisar by Dursun Fakih). According to the same authority, the sandjaks were made of cloth produced in Philadelphia or Ala Shehir (56).

When they became independent, the Ottoman rulers appointed sandjak beyis in larger and larger numbers and the sandjak, somewhat diminished in splendour, became identified with the territory over which it waved, not as a symbol of independence but of political authority deputised by the ruler; it appears henceforth as the term for a political/administrative division. The original patrimony around Bursa remained the Ottoman bey’s [q.v.] domain; it was added by conquest, such as Karasi [q.v.] and Izmir [q.v. in Suppl.] in Anatolia or on the frontier zone in Thrace were entrusted, as newly created sandjaks, to other members of the House of Othman or to the commanders leading the conquest. In time, each of the smaller Anatolian principalities incorporated into the Ottoman state, and the successive frontier conquests in the Balkans, constituted a separate sandjak as a territory of (but sometimes as well as) cavalry troops encompassed an area of several thousand km² and a population of perhaps 100,000 on average. Usually reflecting pre-Ottoman administrative divisions and geographical realities, sandjak size and boundaries remained fairly stable through the centuries; provinces in modern Turkey, especially in western and northern Anatolia, are very similar to 15th-century sandjak divisions.

At least until the mid-16th century, sandjak maintained two distinct but eventually merging senses, military command and a provincial district: in the sense of command of a body of troops there were, in addition to the sandjak beyi of a district, sandjak beyis of Anatolian auxiliary troops, müsiyem (cavalry) and yapa (infantry). Even the sandjak beyis proper, i.e. of a district, were sometimes referred to as atal sandjak beyis, i.e. cavalry commander, in their primary role as the commander of all the dirlik-holders, i.e. those officers and cavalrymen whose living was maintained by revenue-grants in a particular district. The sandjak beyi was required to maintain his own military retinue supported by the official küiş [q.v.] revenues allocated to him, the number of his retinue being commensurate with the size of his küiş. In time of mobilisation, the sandjak beyi led his own household and the troops of his district to join the campaign, sometimes entrusted with distinct military tasks such as reconnaissance and advance or rear guard, otherwise marching into battle under the command of the beylerbeyi [q.v.] of the province. The maritime sandjak, most of them included in the kapudan pasha’s [q.v.] province of Diyaζa-rîr-Bahr-i Sinif [q.v.; literally, Aegean Islands, but also including mainland Anatolian and Grecian districts] supplied ships for naval campaigns instead of (but sometimes as well as) cavalry troops.

Eventually, the sense of district for sandjak (also lioa2, especially in documents) and district-governor for sandjak beyi (also mír lioa2) came to predominate. Sandjak can be considered the main administrative division in the Ottoman empire in various senses. For one thing, in lesser dirlik the area supplying the dirlik-holder’s income was co-extensive with the limits of his authority. For higher level officers, the dirlik, küiş, was normally wholly included within the territory, but the territory governed was much larger than the küiş. A sandjak beyi usually derived his küiş income from the main towns of his district, the percentage of urban vs. rural taxes constituting his küiş varying according to the level of town development and commercial taxes in each district; the rest of the sandjak might support a dozen or so officers’ dirlik (zeβâmet) and a few hundred timars for cavalrymen (sipâhî [see sipâhi, 1]). In other words, it is at the sandjak level that the administrative system was more clearly revenue source. The governor-general (beylerbeyi) was also the sandjak beyi of the chief district of his province. The primary administrative role of the sandjak is underscored by the fact that provincial area regulations (kânân-nâmé [q.v.]) as well as land and population surveys (tablâr) were drawn up for each sandjak.

In 1527, after the great conquests of Selim I but before Hungary and eastern Anatolia were fully integrated in the realm, there were 97 sandjaks in seven provinces, as well as 17 Kurdish sandjaks of special status (Topkapı Palace Archives, D. 5246). Later in the 16th century some larger districts e.g. Bosna [q.v.], were reconstituted as provinces; there was also expansion both in the north-west and in the east; the result is that the number of provinces and districts increased to about 35 and more than 300 respectively. Especially in frontier regions, the tendency was to create smaller provinces with just a few districts; the aim seems to have been to concentrate a larger number of higher-ranking officials in sensitive areas.

Identified very closely with the command of his district’s troops, the position of the sandjak beyi eroded as the military value of provincial cavalry declined in the 17th century. There was a relative centralisation of provincial authority at the province level in the hands of the governor-general, who very often came to depend on local notables for routine administration rather than through sandjak beyis. This process is already discerned at the end of the 16th century by the restyling of provinces as eyalets rather than beylerbeylikti. Nevertheless, both the dirlik-holding provincial cavalry and the sandjak beyi survived a long time after, though in reduced circumstances. When the dirlik were finally abolished in 1837 the sandjak became simply an administrative subdivision. The mutasarrif, the governor of a sandjak (or lioa2) or now also mutasarrifštî (chef du district, lieu de la commune) was henceforth a civil official, distinct from the mîr lioa2 who now became the modern general of the brigade. The division into sandjaks was maintained by the 1864 and 1871 laws of the vilâyets (the former eyalets). The term was finally abolished in provincial administration by the Ankara Grand National Assembly in the 1921 Constitution.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see J. Deny’s El art., to which consult Fakhr, sv. Sanjak; for a summary of Ottoman provincial administration, see H. Inalcik, The Ottoman empire. The classical age, 1300-1600, London 1973, ch. 13; M. Kurt, Sancaktar eyalet, Istanbul 1978, and idem, The Sultan’s servants. Transformation of Ottoman provincial government, 1550-1650, New York 1983, include discussion of lists of provinces and districts; Anatolian provincial geography is treated in T. Baykara, Anadolu’nun tarihî vakfiyesi, Ankara 1954, numerous studies of individual Anatolian and European sandjaks have appeared. (J. Deny-[M. Kurt])
kept in the palace of Topkapı at Istanbul (see Topkapı Saray) together with the other holy relics of Islam (Emam-i Mabarek or Mabadek) such as the Holy Mantle (see SARAY) and the Footstep and Beard of the Prophet (see KADAM SHARIF and LIHVA-YI SHARIF).

According to a tradition recorded by Mouradaga D’Ohsson (Tableau général de l’Empire Ottoman, Paris 1788-1824, ii, 378) and the Ottoman historian Fındıklı Mehmed Ağa (Şihâb-ü Tarâhi, ed. Ahm. ed Refik [Alanya], Istanbul 1928, i, 14), this is the black banner known as Ubak used among other standards in the battles against Karamanli. It was used as a door curtain by Sâğıla as well. Ali carried it at the occasion of the departure of such sayyids led by the Ali Vizier went in a ceremonial procession to the imperial palace so that it could be kept together with the other relics of the Topkapi Palace (in the palace of Topkapi at Istanbul [see Topkapı Saray]!) together with the other holy relics of Islam (Emam-i Mabarek or Mabadek) such as the Holy Mantle (see SARAY) and the Footstep and Beard of the Prophet (see KADAM SHARIF and LIHVA-YI SHARIF).

When the Kapudan Paşa put out to sea, he offered a ceremonial salute to the Sandjak-i Sherif, exhibited for the occasion in the arsenal (Tersâne-yi Âmire [see TERSANE]) in the presence of the Grand Vizier. The sacred standard was also brought forward in times of rebellion. An exceptional occasion was M ustafa Paşa Bayrakdâr’s [q.v.] planting it in front of his troops entering the capital to depose Sultan Mustafa IV [q.v.] on 4 Bu ram 1223/28 July 1808 (General State Archives The Hague (ARA), Van Dedem Papers 2.21.049-61).

Six Grand Viziers were killed in action while the sacred standard was with them, including Kha dîm Sinân Paşa on 29 Dhu ’l-Hijja 922/1517 while defending the person of the sultan against rebel soldiery, and Şehîd Ali Paşa on 16 Sha‘bân 1128/1715 with the sacred standard in his hands in the Battle of Grosswardein/Nagyvarad, leading the counter attack against the imperial army. Count Marsi gh, describing the various banners and standards in use of the Ottoman army, mentions the standard of the Prophet. He never saw it deployed either in camp or on the march. He concludes from the event that the Ottomans were always successful in saving the sacred standard from falling into the hands of the enemy in their many defeats during the war in Hungary (1683-99) because it was always heavily escorted. After the disastrous battle of Salankamen (24 Dhu ’l-Ka‘da 1102/19 August 1691), the escort was richly rewarded for bringing it safely back home. According to the story, a miracle happened which made the banner invisible when passing through the enemy cavalry. (L.F. Marsigl, Stato militare dell’Imperio Ottomano, The Hague 1732, repr. Graz 1972, ii, 51-2).

By the end of the 11th/17th century the sacred standard was badly worn. The original black banner was replaced by three green silk banners, to each of which were attached pieces of the Sandjak-i Sherif, thus transferring its blessed powers to the new standards. One of these was handed to the outgoing commanders-in-chief, one the sultan kept with his own person when travelling outside the capital and one was permanently kept in the treasury of the Topkapı Palace. One of the banners was decorated with three green silk stripes, which conferred the most lasting respect in which the sacred standard was held by the Ottomans is exemplified by the traditional view that all men between seven and seventy years of age were obliged to join the dîjâhêd [q.v.] when the standard was brought forward. The place in front of the throne room in the Topkapı Palace where it used to be planted was held to be sacrosanct and not to be trodden by anyone’s feet. Till 1908, two soldiers with fixed bayonets stood on guard there.

The handling of the sacred standard was regulated. Texts of such regulations (kâmamûn-nâmê) of different periods are extant. When Sultan Mahmûd II [q.v.] ordered the destruction of the Janissaries (see veştî çeri) on 9 Dhu ’l-Ka‘da 1241/15 June 1826, the loyal “people of Muhammad” were called to gather around the sacred standard, which stood planted upon the minbar of the mosque of Sultan Ahmed I. The last time the Sandjak-i Sherif was deployed was on 25 Dhu ’l-Hijja 1287/11 November 1968 with the proclamation of the so-called “Holy War” (Dîjâhêd-i Ekber) against the Entente Powers.

Bibliography: I.H. Uzunçarşı, Ormanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı, Ankara 1945 repr. 1984, 241, 244, 248-260; Pakalhn, iii, 113-16; Tewkî

**SANDJAR b. Malik Şûhân**

Abdul-Dawla Abd al-Dawla Abu-Tâhir Ahmad, Saldjûk malik in Khurāsân 490-511/1097-1118 and then supreme sultan of the Great Saldjûks, ruling Khurāsân and northern Persia till his death in 552/1157; he accordingly ruled for some 60 years. The name Sandjar, which occurs for other members of the Saldjûk family and elsewhere in the Turkish world, seems to mean in Turkish “he who pierces, thrusts”, cf. M. Th. Houtsma, Oeuvres posthumes, Pelliot, in Leiden 1894, text 29, glossary 78, 80, and the detailed discussion by P. Pelliot, in Oeuvres posthumes, ii, Paris 1949, 176-80; a contemporary European rendering is given by Otto of Freising in his chronicle, sub anno 1145: Samar- dos/Samiardos fratres.

He was born in either Radjab 477/November 1084 or Radjab 479/November 1086, his mother being one of Malik Shâh’s concubines. Whilst still a boy, he was in 490/1097 appointed by his half-brother Berk-yaruk [q.v.] as governor of Khurāsân after the unsuccessful revolt there and death of Arslan Arghun b. Alp Arslan. During the internecine struggles over the supreme sultanate between Berk-yaruk and Muslimmad b. Malik Shâh [q.v.], Sandjar generally took the side of his full brother Muslimmad, but from the constitutional aspect regarded himself as governor only of the eastern provinces and as subordinate to the supreme sultan in the western lands, calling himself on his coins of this time merely a malik and acknowledging Berk-yaruk and then Muhammad as al-Sultân al-Ma’âzam.

However, when Muslimmad died in 511/1118, Sandjar refused to consider himself subordinate to his nephew in the west, Muslimmad b. Muslimmad [q.v.], and as the senior member of the Saldjûk family, both his de facto power and his position under Turkish tribal custom gave him a claim to the supreme sultanate even though this had previously been held, for eighty years, by the Saldjûk who controlled western Persia and ‘Irâq. The squabbling sons of Muslimmad. Malik Shâh were too divided and militarily weak to dispute Sandjar’s position, and they had generally to place Sandjar’s name plus his title of al-saḻûn al-‘aţma on their coins before their own names and titles. The only serious opposition at the outset to Sandjar’s claims here came from Mahmûd, but in 513/1119 Sandjar marched westwards with a powerful army, whose commanders included, besides the sultan himself, four vassal kings, defeated Mahmûd at Sawa [q.v.] in northern Djibâl and marched onwards to Baghdad. When peace was made, Mahmûd agreed to Sandjar’s supremacy and was made the latter’s heir (in the event, he died long before Sandjar did), but had to relinquish to Sandjar the Caspian provinces of Mazandaran and Kûmûs and the town of Rayy, the key point for control of northern Persia, and to agree to the re-appointment of Sandjar’s shirvan or military governor in Baghdâd. It was during these years that Sandjar was again concerned with the Ismâ’îlîs of northern Persia and Khurâsân; in 497/1104, when he was malik, he had sent an expedition against these sectarians in Tabâs, and now in 520/1126 his viceroy Mu’in al-din Mâjkûs al-Mâhkûmî in Kuhistan (and also Ismâ’îlîs doubtless contributed to his death by assassination in the following year). In the 1140s, however, Sandjar and the Ismâ’îlî leaders who had succeeded to Hasan-i Sâbbâh [q.v.] came to some sort of modus vivendi.

On Mahmûd’s death in 525/1131, his brothers Masûd, Toghîrîl (II) and Saldjûk Shâh successfully disputed the succession of Mahmûd’s young son Ahsân b. Ahsân, but were unable to agree amongst themselves as to who should be sultan. They laid the question before Sandjar, as senior member of the dynasty. Sandjar’s favoured candidate was Toghîrîl, but his preoccupation with events in Transoxania at this time (see below) prevented him from providing Toghîrîl with much military support, and the latter died anyway in 529/1134, allowing Masûd to succeed in the west and to reign there for twenty years. Sandjar’s last major intervention in the eastern provinces and as subordinate to the supreme sultanate between Berk-yaruk and Muslimmad b. Malik Shâh [q.v.], Sandjar generally took the side of his full brother Muslimmad, but from the constitutional aspect regarded himself as governor only of the eastern provinces and as subordinate to the supreme sultan in the western lands, calling himself on his coins of this time merely a malik and acknowledging Berk-yaruk and then Muhammad as al-Sultân al-Ma’âzam.

However, when Muslimmad died in 511/1118, Sandjar refused to consider himself subordinate to his nephew in the west, Muslimmad b. Muslimmad [q.v.], and as the senior member of the Saldjûk family, both his de facto power and his position under Turkish tribal custom gave him a claim to the supreme sultanate even though this had previously been held, for eighty years, by the Saldjûk who controlled western Persia and ‘Irâq. The squabbling sons of Muslimmad. Malik Shâh were too divided and militarily weak to dispute Sandjar’s position, and they had generally to place Sandjar’s name plus his title of al-saḻûn al-‘aţma on their coins before their own names and titles. The only serious opposition at the outset to Sandjar’s claims here came from Mahmûd, but in 513/1119 Sandjar marched westwards with a powerful army, whose commanders included, besides the sultan himself, four vassal kings, defeated Mahmûd at Sawa [q.v.] in northern Djibâl and marched onwards to Baghdad. When peace was made, Mahmûd agreed to Sandjar’s supremacy and was made the latter’s heir (in the event, he died long before Sandjar did), but had to relinquish to Sandjar the Caspian provinces of Mazandaran and Kûmûs and the town of Rayy, the key point for control of northern Persia, and to agree to the re-appointment of Sandjar’s shirvan or military governor in Baghdâd. It was during these years that Sandjar was again concerned with the Ismâ’îlîs of
Şah Atsiz, came with their forces to Ghazna, expelling Bahram Şah to India before he returned and agreed to resume his vassalage. The northern fringes of Khurāsān, Sandjar had as vassals, in addition to the Karakhānids, the Khārazm Şahs of the line established by his father Malik Şah, sc. the line of Anūqūtūn Ḡarāčaī [see Khārażm-şahs]. The second ruler of this line, Kūb al-Dīn Muhammad, was Sandjar's faithful vassal, as was initially his son and successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Atsiz, attending Sandjar's court regularly. But relations deteriorated as Atsiz built up his own military strength and began to identify himself with the particular interests of his province, until in 533/1141 he rebelled openly. Sandjar invaded Khārazm, drove out Atsiz and left there a Saldjuk prince and his atabeg; but as on earlier occasions when outside powers had endeavoured to impose their rule over the province, the Khārazmian people rose up against the occupiers and expelled them, enabling Atsiz to return and take the offensive against Transoxiana.

There now appeared a new force in the affairs of Central Asia, the Kara Khiyāt [q.v.], the Kʿi-tan or Liao of the Chinese sources. Within the western Karakhānīd principality, disaffected Karluķ [q.v.] tribesmen called in the Kara Khiyāt; Mahmūd Khān of Samarkand in turn appealed to his suzerain and kinsman Sandjar. The latter appeared in Transoxania with a large army, but was in 536/1141 defeated by the Kara Khiyāt in a bloody battle on the Katwān steppe of ʿUshrāsān [q.v.], on the middle Sīr Darya. Sandjar and Mahmūd Khān fled to Khurāsān, abandoning Transoxania, and the Kara Khiyāt went on to make Atsiz their own vassal; accordingly, whilst Sandjar's defeat was clearly opportune for Atsiz, it seems improbable that the Şah had, as some of the Islamic sources assert, incited the Kara Khiyāt to invade as an act of revenge on Sandjar for the Sultan's killing of his son Atliḡ. At this point, Atsiz raided into Khurāsān himself, but was driven back by a Saldjuk counter-invasion of Khārazm which penetrated to the capital Gurgāndj and compelled the Şah to disgorge his armies and retreat to a more defensible position. Sandjar's court, when he was not campaigning, was normally based on Marw, where he also had a fully-developed administration, headed by the diwan-i aʿlā, presided over by a series of viziers, of whom eight are known, from Shihāb al-Islam ʿAbd al-Razzāk (511-16/1117-22) to Nīzām al-Mulk Ḥasan (at some point after 547/1152). These were usually Persians or Arabs, though from 516/1122 to 518/1124 Sandjar had a Turkish vizier, Muhammad b. Sulaymān Kaghārgī Yīghan (or Toghān) Beg. We know something also of provincial administration within Sandjar's dominions, inter alia from the collection of administrative documents, the Ṭabat al-kataba, made by Muntadāb al-Dīn Bādī Djuwaynī, who was head of Sandjar's chancery, diwan-i inšahā, at Marw. This administration was exercised through centrally appointed officials with designations like wāli, nāʾīb, shībna and raʾis, although this last had an additional role as representative of the urban notables vis-à-vis the sultan [see RAʾIS].

The court at Marw was also a centre for Persian literary activity, under the patronage of the Sultan and Turkmens. These arrangements now came under severe strain because of the financial exigencies arising from Sandjar's military adventures, increasingly expensive after 529/1135; he is said to have disbursed three million dinārs for the Transoxanian campaign of 536/1141, not counting the cost of presents and robes of honour given to various local potentates. The burden of taxation in order to pay for these fell on sedentaries and nomads alike, but the Oghuz in the upper Oxus regions of Khuttal and Tūkhrāsān [q.v.] finally rebelled against the tax demands and the harsh collecting methods of the shībna over the Turkmens there, the most notable commander ʿĪmād al-Dīn Ḥumāz b. Bālḵ. Despite placatory approaches from the Oghuz, Sandjar insisted on mounting punitive expeditions against them, but he was twice defeated, forced to evacuate his capital Marw and finally captured by the nomads (548/1153). The Oghuz bands swept through Khurāsān, attacking towns there and showing particular violence and hostility towards members of the Saldjuk administration and the religious orders of the peninsula closely linked to it. In consequence, there was a general climate of insecurity created in both towns and countryside of Khurāsān, in which various other anti-social elements such as the syyārīs [q.v.] took advantage of the breakdown of authority to further their own interests.

The leaderless Saldjuk army in Khurāsān offered the throne there to the refugee Karakhānīd Mahmūd Khan who, as the son of Sandjar's sister, had Saldjuk blood in his veins, and the Saldjuk sultan in the west, Muhammad (II) b. Mahmūd [q.v.], agreed to this and sent an investiture diploma. In fact, over the next few years, real power in Khurāsān fell into the hands of Saldjuk amirs, such as Muʿayyid al-Dīn Ay Aba at Nīghāpur and Ġhiyār al-Dīn Ay Ţak at Rayy, for Mahmūd Khān was never able to establish firm control over the whole of Khurāsān; and he died in any case by 551/1156. Sandjar, meanwhile, was carried round by his Oghuz captors for three years, apparently in humiliating circumstances and enduring hunger and deprivation, until he managed in 551/1156 to escape to Tirmidj and Marw. But a year later he died, aged 71, and with him, the authority of the Saldjuk in eastern Persia ceased; to contemporaries it seemed like the end of an epoch. Sandjar's court, when he was not campaigning, was normally based on Marw, where he also had a fully-developed administration, headed by the diwan-i aʿlā, presided over by a series of viziers, of whom eight are known, from Shihāb al-Islam ʿAbd al-Razzāk (511-16/1117-22) to Nīzām al-Mulk Ḥasan (at some point after 547/1152). These were usually Persians or Arabs, though from 516/1122 to 518/1124 Sandjar had a Turkish vizier, Muhammad b. Sulaymān Kaghārgi Yīghan (or Toghān) Beg. We know something also of provincial administration within Sandjar's dominions, inter alia from the collection of administrative documents, the Ṭabat al-kataba, made by Muntadāb al-Dīn Bādī Djuwaynī, who was head of Sandjar's chancery, diwan-i inšahā, at Marw. This administration was exercised through centrally appointed officials with designations like wāli, nāʾīb, shībna and raʾis, although this last had an additional role as representative of the urban notables vis-à-vis the sultan [see RAʾIS].

resultant downfall of Saldjuk power in the east came apparently of provincial administration within Sandjar's dominions, inter alia from the collection of administrative documents, the Ṭabat al-kataba, made by Muntadāb al-Dīn Bādī Djuwaynī, who was head of Sandjar's chancery, diwan-i inšahā, at Marw. This administration was exercised through centrally appointed officials with designations like wāli, nāʾīb, shībna and raʾis, although this last had an additional role as representative of the urban notables vis-à-vis the sultan [see RAʾIS].

However, the tragic end to Sandjar's reign and the resultant downfall of Saldjuk power in the east came apparently of provincial administration within Sandjar's dominions, inter alia from the collection of administrative documents, the Ṭabat al-kataba, made by Muntadāb al-Dīn Bādī Djuwaynī, who was head of Sandjar's chancery, diwan-i inšahā, at Marw. This administration was exercised through centrally appointed officials with designations like wāli, nāʾīb, shībna and raʾis, although this last had an additional role as representative of the urban notables vis-à-vis the sultan [see RAʾIS].

However, the tragic end to Sandjar's reign and the resultant downfall of Saldjuk power in the east came apparently of provincial administration within Sandjar's dominions, inter alia from the collection of administrative documents, the Ṭabat al-kataba, made by Muntadāb al-Dīn Bādī Djuwaynī, who was head of Sandjar's chancery, diwan-i inšahā, at Marw. This administration was exercised through centrally appointed officials with designations like wāli, nāʾīb, shībna and raʾis, although this last had an additional role as representative of the urban notables vis-à-vis the sultan [see RAʾIS].

However, the tragic end to Sandjar's reign and the resultant downfall of Saldjuk power in the east came apparently of provincial administration within Sandjar's dominions, inter alia from the collection of administrative documents, the Ṭabat al-kataba, made by Muntadāb al-Dīn Bādī Djuwaynī, who was head of Sandjar's chancery, diwan-i inšahā, at Marw. This administration was exercised through centrally appointed officials with designations like wāli, nāʾīb, shībna and raʾis, although this last had an additional role as representative of the urban notables vis-à-vis the sultan [see RAʾIS].

However, the tragic end to Sandjar's reign and the resultant downfall of Saldjuk power in the east came apparently of provincial administration within Sandjar's dominions, inter alia from the collection of administrative documents, the Ṭabat al-kataba, made by Muntadāb al-Dīn Bādī Djuwaynī, who was head of Sandjar's chancery, diwan-i inšahā, at Marw. This administration was exercised through centrally appointed officials with designations like wāli, nāʾīb, shībna and raʾis, although this last had an additional role as representative of the urban notables vis-à-vis the sultan [see RAʾIS].
of his great officials and commanders. Barthold's categorical assertion that Sandjar was illiterate (Turkestan, 308) requires further proof before this can be accepted since we know that some at least of his kinmen and contemporaries amongst the western Persian Saljūqs were highly literate. The Persian poet Muʿizzī (d. ca. 519/21-1125-7 [q.v.]) was Sandjar's chief eulogist during the earlier part of his reign, and it is to seek Muʿizzī's intermediacy that the anecdote Nizāmī ṣAṭrūḏī Samarkandī [q.v.] came to Sandjar's court when it was at Tūs in 510/1116-17. Also, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ṣābirī [q.v.] served both as Sandjar's panegyrist and as a minor official, and it was in this latter function that the poet was killed by the Khūārazm Shāh Atsiz (in the mid-1140s). The great theologian al-Ghazzālī [q.v.] sent a letter to, and made a speech before, Sandjar (see Maktābāt fārsī-yi Ghazzālī bi-nām-i Faddāl al-anām min raʾīšī Ḥudhūk al-Islām, ed. ʿAbbās Ἱbīl, Tehran 1333/1954, 3-5, 6-10 (with interesting introd. by the original compiler), German tr. Dorothea Haas, in *Briefe und Reden des Abu Hāmid al-Ghazzālī*, Friburg-im-Br. 1971, 63-76.


2. Studies. W. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion1, 319-32; M.A. Koymez, Būyāk Selmukullar imparatorluqgunda Oğuz isyanı, and Būyāk Selmukullar imparatorluqgunda Oğuz sistelisi, in *AUDT-CF Dergis*, v (1945), 159-73, 563-60, with German tr. at 175-86, 621-60; idem, Būyāk Selmukullar imparatorluqgunda tarihi. II. Hicreti imparatorluq tarıhi, Ankara 1954; idem, Selmukullar devri türk tarıhi, Ankara 1963; idem, IA art. Sencer, M.G.S. Hodgson, The order of Assassins, the struggle of the early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs against the Islamic world, The Hague 1955, 88, 100-2, 146 ff.; A.K.S. Lambton, *The administration of Sanjar’s empire as illustrated in the Atabat al-kataba*, in *BSOA*, xx (1957), 367-88; H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grossvölker in Iran*, (1950-1221), Wiesbaden 1959 (Eng. tr. de Slane, i, 240-250). It is unknown when Islam penetrated Cham society, but this was probably at the end of the 15th century. Yet it has always remained a minority faith, and one varying a great deal from the fundamental norms [see further £AM].

**SANF** a geographical term appearing in the accounts of travel in the mid-8th-9th century and denoting at times an island, at others a kingdom of the mainland, bordering on the sea, or a sea. Study of these itineraries makes it clear that they refer to Campā or Champa situated between Cambodia and the delta of the Song Coi in Viet Nam. The information given by these authors is very laconic, and, curiously, the 13th and 14th-century texts are much less well documented than the earliest ones. There is practically nothing on the people there, sometimes described as being brown, nor on the political situation, except that Ibn al-Nadīm [q.v.] (end of the 10th century) speaks of a victorious war by the Viêt Nam which ravaged the land. All accounts stress the production there of aloes wood, considered as excellent, except for Yakūt in his Muṣqām al-balūd (end of the 12th-opening of the 13th century), who considered this product as the worst possible. Al-Idrīsī (12th century) is the fullest, speaking of stock-rearing (bovines and buffaloes) and agriculture (rice, sugar cane, coconut palms and bananas). He describes Hindu-type customs (respect for cows), whereas Ibn al-Nadīm merely mentions Buddhist temples, which can only have been rare at his time. These texts also contain tall stories, such as that in the Mukhtasar al-ʿagārīḥ (beginning of the 11th century) on the legend of the island of the White Palace, made of crystal, which Alexander the Great allegedly visited.

Sanf seems to have been a stage much frequented by Muslim merchants travelling between the Indian Ocean and the China Seas. Better known under its Sanskrit name of Cempā, the plains around the deltas were inhabited by populations of controversial origin but who belonged to the Austronesian linguistic family. In the mountains, proto-Indo-Chinese tribes (Sedang, Bahnar, Jorai, Rahdè, etc.), speaking Austronesian or Môn-Khmer languages, were more or less in a vassal status.

The ancient Cham seem to have been organised in principalities which were at first independent, stretched along between the Hoa ho’n and the Phan-rang region. The first to appear in history was the most northerly one, founded in A.D. 192 and known under the Chinese name of Linỳì. Before the beginning of the 7th century, all these principalities must have been brought together. Cempā had a very lively history. The Čam were excellent warriors and remarkable sailors, willingly turning to piracy. The land was torn apart by frequent revolts and succession wars. As an agressive neighbour, it often fought with Cambodia, occupied Angkor 1177-81, but became a Khmer province 1202-20. During 1283-5, it successfully repelled a Mongol invasion. But the main enemy was Viêt Nam. Having the advantage until the 10th century, it then fell behind, alternately suffering defeats and making counter-attacks. The king Bong Nga (1360-90) invaded the delta of the Song Coi three times. After him, decadence set in. In 1471 the Viêtnamese emperor Lê Thanh Tông crushed the kingdom, which became a vassal state, gradually nibbled away and progressively depopulated. There remained only a few enclaves and a shadow of former royalty. In 1832, the last king and part of the population took refuge in Cambodia.

Inspired by Indian culture, the Cham created a brilliant and varied civilisation whose architectural remains, for long neglected, are now being restored. Society was in origin matrilineal organically, and it adopted the Hindu system of castes and customs. At the present time, there remain few Cham in Viêt Nam, most of them preserving an impoverished form of Brahmanic rites.

The presence of colonies of Muslim merchants is known from the middle of the 10th century, and a Muslim even led two embassies to China in 958 and 960 (see Hūdūd al-ʿilām, tr. Minorovsky, tr. 86, comm. 240). It is unknown when Islam penetrated Cham society, but this was probably at the end of the 15th century. Yet it has always remained a minority faith, and one varying a great deal from the fundamental norms [see further £AM].

SANHADJA, an important group of Berber tribes who played an historical role in North Africa from the 4th/10th century onwards. They lived in the two Maghrib and in Ifrikiya; some were sedentary, whilst others had moved into the desert and become nomadic. According to the Berber genealogists, the Sanhadja were one of the seven great tribes descended from Bernès, son of Berr. On the other hand, for the Arab genealogists, like Ibn al-Kalbî, they had, in common with the Kutâma or Ketâma, a Yemeni origin, and had allegedly been sent to the Maghrib by Idrîsî, one of the kings of Yemen.

The whole history of the Sanhadja was dominated by their opposition to another great group of Berber tribes, the Zanâta, in particular, to the Mîknaâa, Maghrawâa [q.v.] and the Banû İfrîn [q.v.]. According to Ibn Khalîdûn, the Sanhadja had almost 70 branches, one of the most important being the Talkâta who occupied part of the central Maghrib. The two Sanhadja kingdoms, descendants of Zîrî b. Manâd, one of whose sons Zirî was the ancestor of the Zirid dynasty [q.v.] and the founder of their capital, Ashîrî, in the Qâqalât Titterî (324/935). As partisans of the Fâtimids, this branch of the Sanhadja had adopted Shî'ism (they were later, however, to return to Sunnism), and when the Fâtimid caliph al-Mu'izzî [q.v.] left for Egypt (361/972), he entrusted the government of Ifrikiya to the Zirids. Since then they became practically independent, the Zirids ruled in Ifrikiya and the eastern part of the central Maghrib until the opening of the 12th century A.D. (498/1105). Their break with the Fâtimids in Cairo provoked the unleashing against Ifrikiya by the Fâtimids of the Banû Hîlîl [q.v.] Arabs, who devastated the land. Another Sanhadja kingdom had seen the light in the central Maghrib, a grandson of Zîrî b. Manâd, Hammad b. Babugîn, after having built the Kafît Bani Hammad [q.v. and Hammadîns], separated from his Zirid cousins. In order to get away from the Hâllîan pillagers, one of Hammad's successors founded Bidîjâya [q.v.] (Bougie) (before 461/1068-9). But gradually, these Sanhadja of the eastern Maghrib became dominated by the Hâllî and other Arab tribes.

At the end of the 4th/beginning of the 11th century, a son of Zîrî b. Manâd, Zawi, departed for Spain, where, after having entered the service of al-Mansûr Ibn Abî 'Amîr, the regent for the Umayyad empire, he founded an independent state around Granada, this Sanhadja branch, however, abandoned Andalus in 416/1025 [see Zipris of Spain].

Within the Sahara, there nomadised a second group of the Sanhadja, the Lâmutîna [q.v.], wearers of the ihtîâm or veil, the Almoravids [see al-Murâbîtûn]. After having conquered Morocco, these last seized Temmîn, Oran and all the coastal region up to Algiers (475/1082). They clashed with their fellow-tribal brethren of the Banû Hammad and then embarked on the conquest of al-Andalus.

The two Sanhadja kingdoms, descendants of Zîrî b. Manâd, in the Maghrib and in Ifrikiya, disappeared around the middle of the 6th/12th century when a further wave of Berbers, the Almoravids [see al-Murâbîtûn], conquered the whole of Barbary as far as Tunis. As for the Almoravid Sanhadja, they were crushed by the Almoravids in Spain as well as in the Maghrib. A fraction of them, the Banû Qâhîniya [q.v.], ruled in the Balearic Islands in the 6th/12th century. They even managed to seize Bidîjâya (581/1185), Algiers, the Kâfît Bani Hammad and Gafsa, invaded the Djerdj and reached Tripoli and Tunis in 599/1203; but they ended up being defeated by the Almohads (621/1224), and Sanhadja domination of Banû Hammad was finally over.

A few tribes of the Sanhadja lived in the Maghrib al-Askâ, in the Sûs and in the Atlas, e.g. the Lamatâ [q.v.] and the Gazzûlû, nomads, and the sedentary Haskûrû. Other less important groups lived, and still live, in the Atlantic coastal plains of Morocco, the Shâwiyya [q.v.] and the Dukkûla, and above all, in the north, near the Rif [q.v.], such as the Boutûyana and the Banû Urayghûl; but none of these Sanhadja tribes enjoyed any political power.

regard to sound principles of modern legislation." Al-Sanhūrī was active in Egyptian nationalist politics and became prominent in public life from the 1930s. He was among the founders of the Sa'dist party (1937), Deputy Minister of Justice (1944) and Minister of Education (1945-6 and 1947). The pinnacle of his public career came in 1949 when he was appointed Chief Justice of the Majlis al-da'ula. He made it "a towering fortress of the protection of rights and the guardian of liberties" (Mūsīrī, 1980).

At first he supported the Revolution of 1952 and the Free Officers. Later came his concern to re-establish constitutional government and civilian rule. During the political turbulence of March 1954, al-Sanhūrī was physically attacked at the Majlis by demonstrators and never again held public office.

Thereafter, he worked on his two major treatises: 

*Muḥāṣar al-hakīm fi ʾl-fiqh al-islāmī, 5 pts. in 2 vols., Cairo 1954-9, and* 

*Waṣīf fi ʿrāḥ al-kānūn al-madāni al-djadid, 10 pts. in 12 vols., Cairo 1952-70, completed the year before he died. Both are still in print and serve as basic reference works.*


**AL-SANHŪRĪ, ABU ʿL-ḤASAN ‘ABD ALLAH (Saniyya)**

AL-SANHURI — SANTUR

**SANTUR** [see NĀ’ŪRA] (**SANTUR**, a musical instrument still surviving today in the music-making of Turkey (very rare), of Irāk (integrated with the čālgī quarter accompanying al-makām al-irākī [see MĀRĀM], of Persia and of Ḥāḍīm (played solo). It is a cithara-tympanon-dulcimer made of wood, in the shape of a flat isosceles trapezoid provided with 72 to 96 strings of metal stretched from the string-holders (left-hand side of the trapezoid) to the pegs (right-hand side), grouped into four strings and then resting on from 18 to 24 bridges. It is played with two wooden sticks (madrāb) covered with tow or cotton and held by the musician between thumb and index finger (the techniques differ according to various schools); the strings give out a crystal-like sound prolonged by lengthy reverboration.

The *santur* of Persia spans four octaves and 33 degrees in heptatonic diatonic scales. Since the bridges are arranged in two groups of nine each, the ninth bridge allows the division of a note (e.g. fa natural and fa sharp in order to change gāda, melodic model). It is therefore more a question of the soloist's virtuosity than of modulation (talwīn).

The *santur* of Irāk spans three octaves and a third, and the two groups of twelve bridges define 48 degrees. The various ways of tuning the strings provides in the same register the possibility of modulating between genres (qānta) and of passing from an individual (Bāt [A-C-D-D] to a Sabāb (A-C-D-D) and a Hīdāj (A-E-F-C-D). It thus leads more to modulation than to virtuosity.

The origins of the *santur* are unclear. It has been alleged to be Assyrian(?). It does not appear in classical miniature paintings; it may be evoked in the *K. al-Aḏawʾ* of Saḥīf al-Dīn al-Urmawī (C. Baghdād, 7th/13th century); it appears on a fresco of the Čihīl Sūṭān palace in Isfahān (11th/17th century); it is mentioned in the Commentaries of the Codex of Gobineau's *Tours an Asie*, Paris 1859; and it appears at the end of the 19th century on the "chronolithographs" of Kāḏār period Persia. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was very common in the coffee houses of Istanbul, Tehran and Baghdaad, and took on a notoriety being connected with amusement and play, before illustrating the type of music called "traditional" by the West. Its present-day most brilliant exponent is the Persian Fārāmārz Pāyvar. (Nā’ūra)

**SANTUR, A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT STILL SURVIVING TODAY IN THE MUSIC-MAKING OF TURKEY (VERY RARE), OF IRĀK (INTEGRATED WITH THE ČĀLGĪ QUARTER ACCOMPANYING AL-MAKĀM AL-IRĀKĪ [SEE MĀRĀM], OF PERSIA AND OF ḤĀḌĪM (PLAYED SOLO). IT IS A CITHARA-TYMPANON-DULCIMER MADE OF WOOD, IN THE SHAPE OF A FLAT ISOSCELES TRAPEZOID PROVIDED WITH 72 TO 96 STRINGS OF METAL STretched FROM THE STRING-HOLDERS (LEFT-HAND SIDE OF THE TRAPEZOID) TO THE PEGS (RIGHT-HAND SIDE), GROUPED INTO FOUR STRINGS AND THEN RESTING ON FROM 18 TO 24 BRIDGES. IT IS PLAYED WITH TWO WOODED STICKS (MADRĀB) COVERED WITH TOW OR COTTON AND HELD BY THE MUSICIAN BETWEEN THUMB AND INDEX FINGER (THE TECHNIQUES DIFFER ACCORDING TO VARIOUS SCHOOLS); THE STRINGS GIVE OUT A CRYSTAL-LIKE SOUND PROLONGED BY LENGTHY REVERBERATION.

The *santur* of Persia spans four octaves and 33 degrees in heptatonic diatonic scales. Since the bridges are arranged in two groups of nine each, the ninth bridge allows the division of a note (e.g. fa natural and fa sharp in order to change gāda, melodic model). It is therefore more a question of the soloist’s virtuosity than of modulation (talwīn).

The *santur* of Irāk spans three octaves and a third, and the two groups of twelve bridges define 48 degrees. The various ways of tuning the strings provides in the same register the possibility of modulating between genres (qānta) and of passing from an individual (Bāt [A-C-D-D]) to a Sabāb (A-C-D-D) and a Hīdāj (A-E-F-C-D). It thus leads more to modulation than to virtuosity.

The origins of the *santur* are unclear. It has been alleged to be Assyrian(?). It does not appear in classical miniature paintings; it may be evoked in the *K. al-Aḏawʾ* of Saḥīf al-Dīn al-Urmawī (C. Baghdād, 7th/13th century); it appears on a fresco of the Čihīl Sūṭān palace in Isfahān (11th/17th century); it is mentioned in the Commentaries of the Codex of Gobineau’s *Tours an Asie*, Paris 1859; and it appears at the end of the 19th century on the “chronolithographs” of Kāḏār period Persia. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was very common in the coffee houses of Istanbul, Tehran and Baghdaad, and took on a notoriety being connected with amusement and play, before illustrating the type of music called “traditional” by the West. Its present-day most brilliant exponent is the Persian Fārāmārz Pāyvar.

*Musical Instruments of the Middle East: p > less one or two com-

mas; H = sharpened by a lemma.

**Bibliography:** Farāmārz Pāyvar, *Dastūr-i santur* (method), Tehran; idem, *Ṣafat-e 'azāmhārdār hārā-yi...*
santür (30 exercises in virtuosity for the santür), Tehran, both publ. after 1960; The new Grove dictionary of musical instruments, London 1984, iii, 291-2 (good bibli.).

SANTURIN ADASI, the Turkish name for Santorini, the volcanic island which is the southernmost of the Aegean Cyclades group, to the north of Crete.

It may already have suffered from Arab raids from Crete in the 3rd/9th century, from the Arabs of Sicily and then from Western corsairs, although it is recorded as inhabited in ca. 549/1154 by al-Idrissi (tr. Jaubert, ii, 127), the first to employ the name Santorin.*

During a stay in Algiers, he studied the hadith collections under Abd al-Rahmân al-Tha'âlibî, and then at Oran followed the teaching of the great Sufi Ibrahim bin Ahmad bin al-Mahmoud bin al-Tha'âlibî.

Being inclined to asceticism, he fasted one day out of two and rarely left his dwelling. He kept vigils for several night on end and then embarked on a period of fasting. He was famed for his practise of itikâha [q.v.], one which enabled him to give a reply to a problem obtained during sleep. Because of his gift of knowing how to interpret (lit. “read”, kana’a) his dreams and those of others, the public came to him from all over the kingdom to hear his dicta, and he gained an unequalled reputation in the religious, especially mystical, sciences. He continued to teach in the mosque until illness compelled him to slow down and in the end brought his life to an end in 894/1490.

Soon afterwards, a küba, rectangular in shape and covered with shiny green fabrics, was erected in his honour in the cemetery of al-Ubbâd (Sidi Bou-Médine); it contained the catafalques of al-Sanusi and his half-brother al-Talutl, who had died shortly after. But he allegedly had another tomb amongst the Awlad Hammû, thus gaining him the name of Bû Kabrîn (likewise amongst the Banî Bû Sa’îd, etc.). Each winter, when the corn was still green, a great communal meal (wa’âda) was given by the people of Tiemen to the poor and to strangers, near al-Sanusi’s tomb, the latter being called Dhu ‘l-Wakfa (lit. “master of the drought” because of a miracle described by Ibn Maryam in his Bustân. At the end of the meal, there was a communal prayer for rain. Sidi Sanusi was equally invoked in periods of protracted drought. At Tiemen, no less than two mosques perpetuate his memory. An apparently older one, at the gate of the Darb al-Masûfû quarter, is said to be of Ibn al-Banna* and to have been the mosque were al-Sanusi taught and worshipped. The other is said to have been built on the site of the house where he was born, in the Banî Dûjûmû quarter. Both were richly endowed with hubâs.

Al-Sanusi had numerous students, such as al-Mallâlî, author of his biography and of a commentary on the Sughrî: Abu l-Kâsim al-Zawawi; Ibn al-Abbâs al-Saghîr; Ibn Abî Madyan; and Ibn Sa’d al-Tîlîmsânî, one of the sources of Ahmad Bâbâ. They contributed to the spread of their master’s works in the West Africa, by means of the trading links established with that region, especially through the milieux of scholars, such as the family of Ahmad Bâbâ of Timbuctu, in the 10th/16th century in Mali, and Uthmân b. Fûdî [q.v.]. (Usman dan Fodio) in northern Nigeria in the 12th/18th century.

Over the centuries, al-Sanusi has remained a source of inspiration and study. His three ‘âkefâd marked the grades of primary, middle and advanced studies, with the Sughrî al-sughrî sometimes replacing the Sughrî in the first grade. In Algeria, there have been various commentaries from scholars so diverse as al-Wârîhilâni (d. 1193/1779), Abu Râs (d. 1238/1823), etc. The famous poet Ibn Ansâyiûb (d. 1190/1768) used the theme of a visit to Sûdi Sanûsî’s tomb and was buried near him. At the opening of the 20th century, Ibn Bâdîs used al-Sanusi for his Kur‘ân commentary. Morrocan scholars studied the three ‘âkefâd with the commentaries and gloss of al-Dasîkî. Thus the Fâsi al-Manjûdî studied and commented on al-Sanusi, as well as the Miskânsî al-Wâllîî, the minister al-Zayyânî and the Sûfi Ibn ‘Ajdîba. Till the beginning of the 20th century, the teaching of logic at Fâs was...
done through the Mukhtasar, kalim with the three creeds and the abridgement of the Sughrā, with commentaries; and theology with the Sughrā and the gloss of al-Yusuf on the Mushaf. Thereafter, commentaries and glosses on them began to abound in the Arabic literature of West Africa, especially the lesser, middle and greater commentaries on the Sughrā, which was most often called Umm al-barāhin.

In Egypt, al-Sanusi was taught at the Azhar, notably with the commentary of al-Fadlālī (d. 1821) and his pupil al-Badjurī (d. 1860), up to the coming of the Salafiyā [q.v.] cultural and social reform movement. Muhammad ʿAbduh [q.v.] often cites him, and it was certainly al-Sanusi who provided him with the three modalities of judgement: necessity (al-ulūghūb), impossibility (al-sītāḥā), and possibility (al-dawāʿāz), and his attitude to the Muslim community, in his Risālāt al-Tauḥīd, has reminiscences of that of the scholar of Tlemcen. In his deep, widely-connected thought, he seems clearly to be, in company with the Persian al-Dawānī, the saviour of the human being as true by the Prophet. al-Sanusi wanted the people to have a simplified access to God, leaving for an elite (khūṣṣā) the possibility of a deep study of the principles of religion, a theme which he often takes up with his pupils and in his works, notably in his division of knowledge into two branches, an esoteric (zāhir) one and an exoteric (batīn) one, for him the truest and noblest knowledge.

Finally, by his public and private life, al-Sanusi became part of the popular Sufism illustrated by Tlemcen’s patron saint, Abu Madyan: a moderate Sufism, with simple dogma and intelligible to the believers. From his independence and originality, and his deep, widely-connected thought, he seems clearly to be, in company with the Persian al-Dawānī [q.v.], the most important Muslim theologian of the 9th/15th century (Fakhrī).

2. Works.

As far as is at present known al-Sanusi’s works (apart from the five ṣaḥīḥ, al-Kubrā, al-Sawtā, al-Sughrā, Sughrā al-sughrā and Mukaddimā) comprise a large number of commentaries on many varied topics—works of logic, the Sahih of Muslim, algebra, medicine, the Kur‘ānic kiraq, ṣafir manuals, tasfīr, etc. (for details, see Brockelmann, II, 325–6, S II, 352–6, and Moh. Ben Cheneb, EP art. s.v.). Almost all of these are abridgements or works of vulgarisation.

In his Sughrā, al-Sanusi gives an exposition of the essentials of faith according to a methodical form of augument. Knowledge (ṣīm) is based on judgement bākhn, which stems from the divine law (ṭabarrī), custom (ṣāda), experience and reason (ṣākhl). Rational judgement (al-bākhn al-ṣākhl) comprises the three categories of necessity, impossibility and possibility, rational judgement, which was adhoped by al-Ghazali and his pupil al-Badjurī (d. 1860), up to the coming of the Islamic philosophy and theology. God has twenty attributes: six are divine, seven comprise real ideas (ṣifāt al-ma‘ānī) and seven are ideal ones (ṣifāt ma‘nawīyya). These are followed by the attributes of the divine messengers. Finally, he concludes that the ṣūhādā sums up in its first part all that a believer need know of God, whilst the second part involves belief in all the prophets, angels, revealed books and the Resurrection, affirmed as by the Prophet.

al-Sanusi’s doctrine, as it appears from his works, is made up of prudence (tawakkuf) and reason, in pursuit of equilibrium and salvation. It was certainly influenced by signs of a shaking-up of values in the society of his time vis-à-vis the state, religion and cultural traditions, with the faith confronted by new problems. It was open to non-Muslim theological influences, as in his interpretation of the Gospel according to St. John, xiv, 16–17, 26, 29, and of the theme of the Caracalla casket; the nature of the human race is our Lord Muhammad (rahmā li l-ʾīṣāmīn). The ideas of the various madhhābīn are set forth and discussed. It was also inspired by the works of al-Ghazālī’s teacher al-Diawardī (the former’s ideas being spread in the Magrib by Ibn Tūmart [q.v.]), notably by the Ikṣīṣād and the Shāmilī, seen both in its form and in certain concepts, such as al-Aṣghārī’s classification of the divine attributes into three sub-divisions, as in al-Djwaynāwī, and the difference between naṣīfyya or constitutantual attributes and qualitative, ma‘nawīyya, ones. Similarly, al-Ghazālī’s influence (the Ikṣīṣād) appears in the division into seven of the divine attributes of God and the prophets, whilst al-Sanusi also takes up the ʾAsghārī idea of ʿiṣāb.

However, at times he takes up a position differing from such ʾAsghārī authorities as we have, al-Sanusi himself and al-Badjurī, reacting that what is offensive against reason and dogma (Mukaddimā, 65–7). His system of ethics is inspired by al-Ghazali, especially in the ʾIḥyāʾ, where, on all occasions, he seeks out a middle position.

He condemns firmly blind acceptance (ṭaklid [q.v.]). Merely reading the Kurʾān and hadīth is inadequate for understanding the bases of faith (taim); sound reasoning (al-nasr al-ṣaḥīh) is preferable to this (Wustā), and must lead to what is sought. Judgement thus rests on proof, aided by knowledge (ṣīm) or intuition (ma‘rifa). Dogmatics is the queen of sciences and involves demonstrable proof (burḥān) to distinguish between dialectic, rhetoric, poetry and sophism (the divisions of Aristotelian logic). The truths of the Kurʾān can thereby be apprehended and anthropomorphic interpretations (taqsim) avoided. Following a tradition of the Almohad dynasty, al-Sanusi wanted the people to have a simplified access to God, leaving for an elite (khūṣṣā) the possibility of a deep study of the principles of religion, a theme which he often takes up with his pupils and in his works, notably in his division of knowledge into two branches, an esoteric (zāhir) one and an exoteric (batīn) one, for him the truest and noblest knowledge.

Finally, by his public and private life, al-Sanusi became part of the popular Sufism illustrated by Tlemcen’s patron saint, Abu Madyan: a moderate Sufism, with simple dogma and intelligible to the believers. From his independence and originality, and his deep, widely-connected thought, he seems clearly to be, in company with the Persian al-Dawānī [q.v.], the most important Muslim theologian of the 9th/15th century (Fakhrī).


al-Sanusi

was the successor of his khalifa at Mecca. As a pupil of Ibn Idris, al-Sanusi had acquired specific esoteric knowledge.

References:


al-Sanusi, Muhammad b. Ali, scholar and Sultan of Algerian origin, and founder of the Sanusiyya [q.v.].

Born on 12 Rabî’ I 1202/22 December 1787 at al- Wâsîta (or douar al-Thorch), some 40 km/25 miles to the east of Mustaghânam, he belonged to the Awdâl Sidi ‘Abd Allah, Idrisid shariaf of the Maqâdhîr, a Maqâdhîn tribe of Oran under the Turkish regime. He inherited from his family the nisba al-Khâṭâbî (from ‘Abd Allah al-Khâtâbî, the ancestor of the Awdâl Sidi ‘Abd Allah, who lived at the beginning of the 10th/16th century), and those of al-Hasâni and al-Idrîsî (which refer to the origins of his Ṣharîfîan line). The qualificative of al-Sanusi would appear to have been borrowed from a local toponym (the name of a mountain) of the region of Tilimsân (Tlemcen), where his family previously lived. This nisba implies no link of kinship with Muhammad b. Yüsuf al- Sanusi, the Tlemceni scholar of the 9th/14th century [q.e.]

Muhammad al-Sanusi studied initially within his own family and in several intellectual centres of Oran: Mustaghânam, Maâzûna and Tilimsân. At eighteen years old, in 1220/1805 (al-Dâdjâdjinî), according to King Idrîs), or at twenty-one, in 1223/1808-1809 (K. Viker, following al-Libi), he left to pursue his studies at Fez. He stayed there, according to the authors, seven years (al-Libi/Vikor) or fourteen years (Idrîs/al- Dâdjâdjinî), with major scholar of the period. In Fez, he joined several major Sufi orders, in particular the Shâdhâlîyya in its Dâjûzûliyya, Nâşrîyya and Taṣiybiyya branches, as well as several local tarûk. He appears also to have been affiliated to the Darkâwîyya and the Khâdiyya, but he does not mention them in the list of the forty tarûk, the word of which he was later to claim. He was the pupil of Aâlmâl al- Tâdjinî, with whom he studied the Kur’ân, but whose way he does not seem to have adopted.

He left Fez in 1233/1818 (al-Libi) or in 1235/1819- 20 (al-Dâdjâdjinî). According to al-Libi, he apparently made a first pilgrimage to Mecca in 1232-3/1817-18, before his final departure from the Moroccan city. After Fez, his traces are followed with some difficulty: he probably spent some time in his native region, and then he made a leisurely progress along the confines of the Sahara. But the statement of Rinn (1884), according to which al-Sanusi was crossing the Sahara at the time of the arrival of the French in Algiers, is not to be taken seriously. He had long since left Algeria and was never to return there.

After staying two to three years in Cairo, al-Sanusi arrived in Mecca ca. 1240-1/1825-6. It was there that he encountered the Moroccan scholar and Şûfî Aâlmâl b. Idrîs, who had been residing in the Holy City some twenty years. A mystical master, Ibn Idrîs claimed a brief lineage which was traced by way of two intermediaries to the mysterious Kur’ânic figure of al-Khadîr [q.e.], and hence to the Prophet, always present at the origin of these successive transmissions (whence the names of Khâdiyyiya and Muhâmmadiyya given to the Way). Ibn Idrîs was not the founder of a structured fraternity but the respected master of a circle of disciples in the Holy Cities, and later in the Yemen.

Al-Sanusi did not remain for more than two or three years under the tutelage of his master. When the latter departed for the Yemen (1243/1827-8), he became his khalifa at Mecca. As a pupil of Ibn Idrîs, al-Sanusî had acquired specific esoteric knowledge...
and had reconsidered certain areas of *tilm*. It was also no doubt under his influence that he consolidated his distinctive positions in judicial matters: the criticism of blind imitation (*taklid*), the constructive utilisation of the four *madhabs* and the recourse to *idjtihad*, which were to characterise profoundly his later positions, and which would expose him to the criticisms of the scholars of al-Azhār (in particular, of Mūhammad ʿAlī ʿIllāyah). The teachings of Ibn Idrīs were clearly distinct from those of the Wahhābīs, with whom a number of restraints polemics were held.

When Ibn Idrīs died at Ṣābiyya in 1253/1837, al-Sanūsī began a new chapter in his life: the zāwiyā of Ibn Idrīs, situated on the hill of aBū Kubās, a neighbourhood of Mecca, became by gradual and barely perceptible stages, at no date which can be specifically assigned, the centre of the new “Sanūsīyya” brotherhood. Distinctive derivations were at the same time under the influence of other disciples, such as the Mīrghānīyya which found its preferred territory in the Sudan.

Probably hindered in Arabia, by Wahhābī activity and the presence of a local religious establishment, the founder of the Sanūsīyya henceforward sought new places for settlement in the African continent. From this time until his death, the chronology of his life is one of alternation between Mecca and the new African zāwiyās: 1255/1839: departure from Mecca; 1262/1846: return to Mecca, after founding four zāwiyās, including that of al-Bayḍāʾ, in the territory of Bārka (Cyrenaica); 1270/1854: new departure from Mecca and settlement at al-ʿĀzīzīyya; then, in 1273/1856, at Diqāghbū, a “new city” created out of nothing in an inhospitable desert location on the western borders of Egypt. It was there that he died, on 9 Ṣāfār 1276/2 September 1859.

At the time of his first journey to the West, Mūhammad al-Sanūsī had entered Tunisia and approached the Algerian frontier, but the region was unstable at that time and seemed to him unfavourable for his projects, and the presence of other Sufī orders was also a hindrance. Finally, in Tripoli, he reached an agreement with the local Ottoman power, then barely reinstated in Libya, and he turned, in the course of his wanderings, towards the Ḏibāl al-ʾAkhḍar, and a salient extending across the Fezzān as far as the Algerian borders.

Mūhammad al-Sanūsī conceived his work as being primarily a carefully-structured missionary project. He thus laid the foundations of a system which his son and successor Mūhammad al-Maḥdī was subsequently to pursue energetically. In this system, the epitome of pious endeavour is the construction of a zāwiyā, a place of assembly, of teaching and of arbitration, a sedentary and agricultural centre for the diffusion of Sanūsī ideas and policies in a nomadic environment. Thus there was established across Cyrenaica and the Fezzān a network of Sanūsī zāwiyās, which guaranteed the diffusion of Islamic models and celebrated the baraka of the founder.

On the doctrinal level, al-Sanūsī is seen as a reformist (appeal to *idjtihad*). Tenacious legends notwithstanding, al-Sanūsī was not, no more than was Ahmad b. Idrīs, an apostille of *ṣiṣi had* against the Europeans. He maintained an apolitical stance, prepared to deal with the Ottoman authorities and giving priority to a “grass-roots” re-Islamisation among the disinherit populations. In terms of *Ṣūfī*, he is seen as the reviser, and to a certain extent the unifier, of the forty strains, the *aṣ̄iṣāt* of which he lists methodically. Al-Sanūsī is to be found in him, in the various domains of *ʿilm*, and more particularly in that of *Ṣūfī*, a prolific written corpus, quite apart from his numerous letters. Al-Dāḍjānī has listed 44 titles. Among these, eight of the most important have been collected and printed in al-Māḏmūʿat al-muḫṭāra at the orders of King Idrīs: al-Durār al-sanūsīyya, which eulogises the Idrīsī family; Ḳız al-waṣāin wa-ḥan Būghlīt al-maqāmī, which deals with *taklid* and *idjtihad*; K. al-Maṣḥūl al-maḥdī, which recalls his masters and his studies; Muḥaddith Maʿṣūṭa? al-ʾImām Maḥdī, which addresses questions of Maḥdī law; al-Suṣ̄aṣ̄ bi al-muʿīn, which is devoted to the analysis of forty Sufī brotherhoods; and Ṣīfī? al-sadr bi-ʿarāʾ al-maṣʿūṭ al-ṣaṣ̄ar, which concerns ten problems of cultic practice (prayer with arms folded, etc.). Some works, destroyed by the Italians, are known only by their titles.

Thus there evolves, across the 72 years of his life, the figure of a teacher versed in multiple disciplines, of a reviver of Islam and of *Ṣūfī*, of a missionary and an organiser, but also of an eminent individual, endowed with baraka, whose charisma was renowned throughout the central and eastern Sahara.


**AL-SANUSI, SHAYKH SAYYID AHMAD (1290-1351/1873-1933), Third Grand Master of the Sanūsīyya (q.v.) order of dervishes. His full name was al-Sayyid Mūhammad al-Maḥdī Ahmad b. al-Sayyid Mūhammad al-Ṣaḥīf b. al-Sayyid Mūhammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī al-Khaṭṭābī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī.

He was born at Diqāghbū, a grandson of the founder of the order, and received a classical education in Islamic learning from his father, uncle, etc., according to the high standards of Sanūsī tradition. He succeeded to the leadership at Kūrū (Borku, in Chad), where his uncle resided from 1899 till his death in 1902, being the eldest member of the Sanūsī family. Next to his spiritual leadership, Ahmad al-Ṣaḥīf developed a political and military organisation for the Sanūsī community against French expansion in the Sudan region, but after a defeat, he decided to withdraw from Kūrū to the old centre at Kufrā (q.v.) in 1902. In need of international recognition and support, he agreed to the establishment of direct Ottoman rule in Cyrenaica and Fazzān (1910), and the 7,000 Ottoman troops in the province co-operated now against the enemies of the faith, these being in 1911.
until Muharram 1331/December 1912. During this period the Sanusi Shaykh issued a proclamation of djihād against the enemies of Islam. After the conclusion of the Italo-Ottoman peace of Lausanne-Ouchy (10 October 1912), the Sanusi leader continued resistance against the Italians with the discreet support of the Ottoman (Young Turks’) government. The sanūl-caliph, Mehmemmed V [q.v.] approved of Ahmad al-Sharīf’s installation of a “Sanusiyya Government” in Cyrenaica and Fazzān. From 1912 till 1915 Ahmad al-Sharīf was able to defeat Italian forces at times. Apart from regular financial and logistic support, the sanūl-caliph awarded the Shaykh honours and decorations. When Italy joined the Entente Powers against, i.a., the Ottoman Empire in 1915, Ahmad al-Sharīf was secretly appointed the sultan’s representative (rahb ul-sualah) with the rank of Vizier and the title of Pasha (nâde of 6 August 1915).

During the same year 1915, from June onwards, a regular communication with Istanbul was ensured by German and Austro-Hungarian submarines carrying arms, munitions and men to the Sanusi forces, but their guerrilla attack against the British in western Egypt failed (15 Rabi’ 1 1334/22-3 January 1916).

Ahmad al-Sharīf retreated with 800 followers and was chased back to Djaghbub, from where he went on to the Sirtica region of Tripolitania. He maintained his relationship with the Ottomans, but the influence of his cousin, Sayyid Muḥammad Idrīs (the later King Idrīs I al-Sanūsī of Libya) was by now increasing. With the permission of Ahmad al-Sharīf, Idrīs opened up negotiations with the British and the Italians (1917). In 1918 the Sanusi Shaykh was made the sultan’s representative in all North Africa, but his actual influence on affairs was steadily in decline. On 13 Dhu ’l-Ka‘da 1336/21 August 1918 Ahmad al-Sharīf left Libya, for good as it turned out to be, brought by a German submarine to Istanbul. He relinquished his political leadership but remained the spiritual chief of the Sanusiyya tarīqa till his death, and his lasting influence on affairs is prolonged by the formula “in every look and every word, at home and while awake, with the Prophet, and the appeal for guidance and imitation of his model, the supreme qualities of the initiate. The shīkh of the tarīqa is constituted by a distinctive prayer, the salāt al-‘azīmiyya, a prayer for the Prophet inherited from Ahmad b. Idrīs, which takes its title from the repetition of Allāh al-‘Azīm (“God the Most Great”), and by various aḥādīth and aṣnād, including a bayātīyya the text of which is prolonged by the formula “in every look and every breath, a number of times which only the knowledge of God can apprehend” (a formula which also features in the ‘Azīmiyya).

But it is not the shīkh which constitutes the most original part of the Sanūsī programme. The principal work of Muhammad al-Sanūsī was directed in fact towards the realisation of a centralised and hierachical order based on a network of zāwiyas established in places judged to be strategic from the point of view of communication routes, of the supply of water or of the local tribal composition. The zāwiyat is thus the


ultimate act of piety, and the creation of it follows a precise protocol. The appeal for it must be made by the population concerned. The latter sends a delegation to the chief of the brotherhood, who solemnly confirms its wishes, and takes on the obligation of constructing the buildings of the zaüya and of working periodically in its service. Muhammad al-Sanusi would then appoint, from among his disciples, a shaykh, obliged to marry into the local population. Regular and prolific correspondence maintains the link between the centre and the new local outpost.

Each zaüya is simultaneously an educational centre, a staging-post and a hostel for travellers, a place of worship and an agricultural location. It is, in the desert environment, a small urban enclave, representing the sedentary values and models which are those of normative Islam. By virtue of this network, which developed in Libya from the 1840s onward, the movement in an east-west direction, following the lines of wells and the routes of the Pilgrimage. Before reaching its furthest point and establishing its niche in Cyrenaica, the brotherhood had, in fact, spent a long time in search of the right territory. The Sanusiyya often encountered the resistance of the existing local powers and the presence of other Islamic organisations and cliques. Its extension into Cyrenaica (foundation of the first African zaüya, al-Baydã, at Cyrene at the end of 1842) and, to a lesser extent, into the central Sahara, thus represents a last resource: it was only in these regions that the presence of weak and scattered authorities, and the absence of powerful religious institutions, enabled it to acquire suitable space.

During its expansion in the Sahara, the Sanusiyya came into contact with the world of the nomad. It was there, far from the major centres of power and of scholarship, that the brotherhood was furthermore more attached to the baraka of the Master than to its erudite teaching. Thus there was established between the brotherhood and the Saharan nomads a durable bond of friendship. The Sanusi made alliance with the Bedouin (Madjabra and Ouaddai (Waddai). This route, still precarious and scattered authorities, and the absence of powerful regulatory. Just as it did not then aspire to political power, the Sanusiyya had no wish to undertake economic enterprises. The benefits which accrued to it from its protection of commerce were symbolic (alliances and allegiances) or material (gifts, agricultural produce). The activity of the Sanusi idgãš, one of its major projects, envisaging first a general recognition of the baraka of the Master, from which esteem, clientele and material goods would subsequently flow.

A veritable “Maghribi multi-national” at the outset, bearing in mind the origin of the closest disciples of the Master, the Sanusiyya then began to “Libyanise” itself. The two sons of the Imám al-akbar’s middle age were born in Cyrenaica, respectively in 1262/1844 (Muhammad al-Mahdi) and 1282/1864 (Muhammad al-Sharif). Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Sanusi himself left the Hidjaz for good in 1854 and established his headquarters at Djeïhchibb, a new city in the heart of the desert and near the Egyptian border, in 1856. It was there that he died in 1859.

His son and successor Muhammad al-Mahdi, who was to preside over the destinies of the movement for more than forty years, emerges as an organiser of talent. It was he who gave to the foundations laid by his father a systematic development. It was also he who oriented the brotherhood towards the south, in the direction of Central Africa. The first sub-Saharan zaüya came into being at Chemidour (currently in eastern Niger) from 1861-2 onwards. Later, faced by increasing interference on the part of 'Abd al-Hamid II, Muhammad al-Mahdi who, like his father, had maintained amicable relations with the Ottoman authorities, abruptly transferred his headquarters from Djeïhchibb to Kufra (June 1895), then to Gouro, to the north of what is currently Chad, in December 1899, preferring a hidjra to confrontation. The attractions of Ouaddai, rich in ivory, in ostrich feathers and, additionally, in slaves, also played a role in this long march towards the south.

This southward orientation of the movement coincided with the French advance towards Lake Chad. From 1901 onwards the Sanusiyya improvised, in difficult conditions, resistance to the French assaults, establishing for this purpose a defensive system and then appealing for Turkish protection. Its destiny was henceforward to be inseparably embroiled in the game of the Great Powers. Thus on 9 November 1901, French troops attacked the zaüya of Bir 'Alali situated some 100 km/60 miles from Lake Chad. Initially defeated, the French forces took control of the place on 20 January 1902. This was the beginning of a long Franco-Sanusi war which ended with the fall of the fortified zaüya of 'Ayn Galakka (to the south of Gouro) on 27 November 1913.

After the death of Muhammad al-Mahdi at Gouro on 2 June 1902, the latter’s nephew, Ahmad al-Sharif (1872-1933 [see AL-SANUSI, SHAYKH SAYYID AHMAD]), became the third Master of the tarîqa. He immediately decided to return to Kufra and began to organise the brotherhood on more secular lines, a development which prolonged and reinforced the politicisation and militarisation which had become apparent during the confrontation with the French. When the Italians arrived in Libya (October 1911), he used all his influence to achieve the mobilisation of his followers in a djihad against the invader and allied himself with the Ottoman forces. This “djâhidist” orientation, alien to the founder of the Way, henceforward made of the Sanusiyya a politico-military organisation aligned with the Ottoman caliphate. In 1914, Ahmad al-Sharif allied himself to the Central Powers. At the latter’s insistence, Sanusi forces fought on all fronts: they attacked the British in Egypt (November 1915),
expelled the Italians from Tripolitania and the Fezzan (September 1914-April 1915), then engaged in a conflict with the French in the Sahara, which culminated in the seizure of the French fortress of Agadès (1 December 1916-3 March 1917). Already split into a number of "fiefs" according to the various branches of the family, deprived progressively of a single direction, the Sanusiyya were devastated by this war and by the defeats inflicted on it in all theatres of operation after 1916. Muhammad Idris, elder son of Muhammad al-Mahdi, promoted by the British as a useful intermediary, negotiated with the latter and with the Italians and signed an accord at 'Akrama near Tobruk in April 1917. The accord integrated the Sanusiyya into the camp of the Allied Powers in exchange for a partial recognition of the brotherhood. In August 1918 Ahmad al-Sharif left Tripolitania aboard a German (or Austrian) submarine and abandoned the supervision of the territory.

The subsequent period reflects the political history of Libya. After a long period of ambiguity in the relations between Italians and Sanusiyya, and the signing of accords which were never properly implemented, the final struggle began in the late 1920s: Italian troops entered Daghûbîm in February 1926 and Kufra in January 1931. One of the leaders of the brotherhood, 'Umar al-Mughîrî, kept alive the last embers of Sanusi resistance until he was captured and publicly hanged by the Italians in September 1931.

During the Second World War, a Sanusi force was raised to fight alongside the British. The liberation of Cyrenaica (1943) and British support for Muhammad Idris cleared the way for the inauguration of the Sanusi monarchy at the head of an independent Libya (24 December 1951). Like other Maghribi Sharifian lineages in other periods, the tanqa sanusiyya thus became, in circumstances of peril for the Muslims, a symbol of political legitimacy, but these new dispositions proved impossible to maintain or to extend. The seizure of power by the "Free Unionist Officers" under the leadership of Colonel Kadhdhafi (1946) brought some Muslim exegetical attention as it did in the mediaeval Islamic principality of Djuzdjan (justified by the idea that "rabbits laugh when they menstruate"), reflecting a popular rabbinic gloss of the verb הָעַמְלָה ("laugh") rather than "pleasure" (see M.M. Kasher, in *Encyclopedia of Biblical interpretation*, New York 1953, iii, 26).

**SARA, wife of the Biblical patriarch Abraham** [see ISKÁIM]. Sarah enters the text of the Qur'ān only in its rendition of the etiological narrative surrounding the name Isaac (Hebrew וַיַּחֲנוּ). Sarah as "the old age, but she remains unnamed and is referred to simply as imra'atuhu, 'his [Abraham's] wife.' The issue of Sarah's laughing (and thus doubting God) drew some Muslim exegetical attention as it did in the Jewish tradition (e.g. al-Tabari, Tafsir, ad 17, 17; the solution cited by al-Farra, Anbdr [C.E. Bosworth]). The issue of Sarah's laughing (and thus doubting God) drew some Muslim exegetical attention as it did in the Jewish tradition (e.g. al-Tabari, Tafsir, ad 17, 17; the solution cited by al-Farra, Anbdr [C.E. Bosworth]).
In the wider Muslim elaboration of Biblical history, Sarah plays a substantial role. The story of her beauty and her being taken by Pharaoh, leading to the proclamation of Abraham the "sahib" (beloved) by Sarah, created a great deal of discussion (see R. Firestone, Difficulties in keeping a beautiful wife: the legend of Abraham and Sarah, in Jewish and Islamic tradition, in JQR, xlix [1991], 196-214). The incident became a part of an early tradition concerning the "three lies of Abraham" (see Abū 'Ubayd, al-Khutbā wa l-mu'awātīs, ed. Ramādān 'Abd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1986, 113) as well as creating extensive discussions concerning the true lineage of Sarah (see Firestone, "The problem of Sarah's identity in Islamic exegetical tradition," in MW, lxxx [1990], 65-71; idem, Prophethood, marriage, consanguinity, and text: the problem of Abraham and Sarah's kinship relationship and the response of Jewish and Islamic exegetes, in JQR, lxxxiii [1993], 331-47). One tradition also states that her original name was Yasāra, but this was changed to Sārah when she was promised Isaac, and the ya2 was given to John (the Baptist) whose name was changed, through this addition, from Hayā to Yahyā (see Abū Ri'āfa al-Farāisi, Bad al-khulk wa-kiyās al-anbyā, in R.G. Khoury (ed.), Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam, Wiesbaden 1978, 308). This may be compared with the change from Sarai to Sarah in Gen. xvii, 15, and the rabbinic comments on the status of the yod in her name (see Kasher, ii, 248, where reference is made to the change of name from Hoshea to Joshua (Num. xiii, 16) with the addition of a yod from Sarah's name is also cited).

The sacrifice of Abraham's son [see ISHAK; ISMA'IL] also brings Sarah into the accounts, especially as it ties into the understanding of her death. The concern of the son for the fate of his shirt and whether this would cause his mother grief (and lead to her death) is prominent. Also, Sarah is portrayed as a true believer in God alongside Abraham and her son, as within Judaism and Christianity (see Hebr. xi, 11), in the accounts of her resisting Satan's temptation to interfere in the sacrifice after Satan tells her about Abraham's plan (see Abū 'Ubayd, al-Khutbā, 111-12; al-Tabarī, i, 293).

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also J. Horovitz, Koranische Untersuchungen, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 114; on the pre-Islamic use of the name; R. Firestone, Journeys in Holy Lands, Albany, N.Y. 1996 (A. RIPPIN)

SARĀ (see SARĀV)

SARĀB (.), mirage.

1. A natural phenomenon. Sarāb is specifically the illusion of water (sometimes running water, due to a sense of the verb saraba) seen at midday which appears to be on the ground, as compared to āl, which is seen early and late in the day and makes things appear to float in mid-air and quiver. The lexico-graphical tradition attempts several ways of distinguishing these two words, but the emphasis on the time of day of their appearance is the most consistent differentiation. Sarah is used twice in the Kurān, in XXIV, 39, within a simile for the deeds of the unbelievers, the value of which turns out to be a mirage before God, and in LXXVIII, 20, in reference to the last day on which mountains will vanish (into thin air), as in the experience of a mirage.

The image of a "mirage" as reflected in Kurān, XXIV, 39, runs powerful resonances in Sūfī thought, especially Ibn 'Arabi, Futūhāt al-Makhtūm, Birāq 1329/1911, ii, 105, where the verse is interpreted to suggest that God appears to people in the form of their need; pursuing that form, which is a mirage, reveals the non-being of God and leads to the true vision of the divine.


2. In poetry. The mirage or fata Morgana, in its two forms distinguished by the Arabs (sarāb and āl, see above), is very often described by pre- and early Islamic Arabic poets in brief passages rarely exceeding two lines, incorporated in their kusādas containing desert scenes. Often it is said to move, dance or "amble" (jarga, rakasa, khabba), to glitter or shimmer (tarakraka, lama), like water, enveloping hills and sand dunes that appear clothed in it, or partly hiding camels that seem to wade or move in it like ships. Its apparent movements make it seem alive, like animals or humans. Later, urban, poets remain fond of the images, the main differences being that the mirage, now become part of the poetic universe rather than an everyday reality, generally changes from a prāsam in to a secdum comparationis, and that it is increasingly used less as a potential source of strongly visual imagery than as a symbol of deceit, thwarted expectations, illusions and unfulfilled promises, to point a moral rather than adorn a scene. The frequent occurrence of this image is no doubt partly due to the Kurān, where the sarāb already stands for illusion and futility (XXIV, 39) or instability (LXXVIII, 20). For small selections of the vast but scattered material (Ahu I-Rumma's Dīwān alone offers over thirty passages), see e.g. Ibn Abī 'Awn, Taghglāt, London 1950, 71-4; Abu I-Hilāl al-Askāri, Dīwān al-maṣāni, Cairo 1532/1933-4, ii, 128-9; Shimḥāṭi, al-Anwār wa-mahāsun al-aghrāf, i, Kuwait 1977, 355-9. (G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

SARACENS, a vague term used in the West for the Arabs and, eventually, other Islamic peoples of the Near East, in both pre-Islamic and mediaveal times.

1. Earlier usage.

Saracen was one of the many terms that Classical authors and ecclesiastical writers, used for the Arabs, the other being Arabes, Skénitai, Tāyyāyēf, Isma'ilaitai and Hagarēnai. It became the most common of all these terms, although it was one that the Arabs did not use in referring to themselves. The term was a coinage composed of Sarak and the Greek suflix eno, and both its etymology and denotation are controversial. Many early etyma have been suggested for this term, such as shurk (the cast), saraka (steal) and Sawārīn (a tribe), but all of them have been weighed and found wanting. The most recent effort, one that has received a wide vogue, considers the etymon to be shurk, federation, a term to be found in the bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of Ḫemūd in Ruwāfa. Many serious objections were advanced against this etymology, even before a close examination of this inscription revealed that the term shurk was a misreading of shurkī (tribe), a conclusion supported by the Greek version of the inscription which has ethnos, the exact equivalent of shurkī.

The failure of all these attempts to explain Sarākēnōs calls for a return to what the Classical authors said about the term, accepted long ago by Nöldeke as the true etymology. The earliest certain attestations of it go back to the 1st century A.D. when Dioscorides of Anazarbos, a physician-pharmacologist, spoke of the Saracen tree imported through the Nabataeans, and Pliny the Elder, who spoke of the Saracenis as the Ar- cani who lived beyond the Nabataeans. Thus the two authors pinpointed the Saracenis as a people in northwestern Arabia and clearly indicated that the term was not a generic but specific one. Ptolemy in his
Geography speaks of a district Sarakene in Arabia Petraea, and Stephanus of Byzantium in his Ethnika speaks of Saraka as a district beyond the Nabataeans whose inhabitants are called the Sarakenoi; although Arab geographers know of two almost homophonous place-names in the Hijáz, a valley (Suwarík) and a village (al-Suwaríkíyya). Serious consideration should, therefore, be given to the possibility that Saraka is none other than Sará(t), the well-known mountain range in that area. It is either a dialectal version of Sará(t) or it experienced eponymity by the intrusion of the kappa. Even more important is the denotation of the term. It clearly was applied originally to a group of Arab pastoralists in northwest Arabia, but soon it became the generic term for all the Arab pastoralists within as well as without the Roman times. And so it was used by the secular and ecclesiastical historians of the 4th century, such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Eusebius respectively. The latter developed an interest in both the term and what the term stood for. For them, the Saracens were the Biblical people, the sons of Ishmael, hence the children of the bondwoman Hagar and thus "outside the promises". As some of the Saracens attacked the inmates of the monastic establishments in the Orient, such as those in Chalcidice and the desert of Judah near the Jordan, they acquired a bad reputation among these ecclesiastical historians, some of whom indulged in etymologising the term "Saracen" along pejorative lines. Such was Sozomen, who suggested that in order to avoid the opprobrium attaching to them from Hagar, the bondwoman, the Arabs started to call themselves by a name that related them to Sarah, the wife of the first patriarch. Such perceptions of the Arabs most probably explain the emergence of other Biblical terms for the Arabs, such as Ismailitai and Hagarënoi, with the same pejorative implications.

Latin authors who came to the East, such as Jerome, also etymologised the term "Saracen" along pejorative lines. Such was Sozomen, who suggested that in order to avoid the opprobrium attaching to them from Hagar, the bondwoman, the Arabs started to call themselves by a name that related them to Sarah, the wife of the first patriarch. Jerome's unfortunate experience with some marauding Saracens while he lived in Chalcidice and at Bethlehem, contributed further to the deterioration of that image in his writings. Such was also the experience of the pilgrim, the Anonymous of Placentia, with the Saracens of Sinai in the 6th century. Thus through the writings of such influential figures as Jerome, the term "Saracen" with all its pejorative implications reached Western Europe long before the Muslim Arabs appeared in the Roman Occident in the 2nd/8th century.


(Ifan Shahid)

2. In mediaeval European usage.

The term "Saracen" (Ofr. Saracijan, Saracijan, OEng. Saracene), whatever its origin (see above, 1) came into both Late Greek and Late Latin usage during late antiquity, and at that time simply meant "Arab". With the rise of Islam, and in subsequent mediaeval European times, European writers used "Saracen" to denote "Arab" or "Muslim" or both, according to context. With the contacts of the Crusaders with the Seldjuks of Rûm in the 6th/12th century and the rise of the appellation Turcia for Asia Minor, and, above all, with the appearance of the Ot- tomans, "Saracen" came to be used in the sense of "Muslim" gave place to "Turk". As the Christian reconquest in the Iberian peninsula progressed, followed by Spanish and Portuguese attacks on the North African mainland, "Saracen" in the sense of "Arab" began to be generally replaced by "Moor", since the Christian peoples of the Iberian peninsula had used *Mauri* and *Moros* for the Arab-Berber invaders of their land [see moors]. The increasing numbers of Western travellers in North Africa and the Near East also came to use "Arab" more particularly in a pejorative sense (here following the usage of the indigenous urban populations of those lands) for "Bedouins, brigands".

Hence in Western Europe, by the later Middle Ages, "Saracen" had tended to fall out of usage and to be replaced by somewhat more specific terms.

The great literary usage of "Saracen" in the European high Middle Ages was, of course, to designate the Muslim opponents of the Christians in the *Chansons de geste*, mostly set fictiously in the time of Charlemagne or his son Louis I ("The Pious") and written in the various forms of Old French. From these originals, whose genesis in time is uncertain, the views and concepts of the *Chansons* spread to other vernacular literatures, such as Spanish, Provençal and Italian, and also to English and German literature. These *Chansons* provide for us an idea of what was the Muslim opponent of the Christians in the Middle Ages, a Muslim who was sometimes identified with "Turk", sometimes with "Bedouin", and sometimes with "Moor".

The etymology of the term "Saracen" probably lasted till the end of the empire. Certainly, Ibn Ba'thûtâ addressed as such (kal li-hâdhî 'l-Sarâkinû yûnî al-Muslim) by a monk in Constantinople (H.A.R. Gibb pointed out that it was chronologically impossible, however, that this monk could have been the emperor Andronicus II when he was there, probably in the autumn of 732-3/1332 (Rihla, ii, 441-2, tr. Gibb, ii, 512-13).

**Bibliography:** The literature on Christian conceptions of Muslims as shown by the *Chansons de geste* is extensive. A useful start can be made from the detailed bibliographical information in N. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*. An interpretation of the *Chansons de Gestes*, Edinburgh 1984, 280-1 (studies), 320-7 (texts).
the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of former Yugoslavia), situated on the banks of a small river known as the Miljacka (western tributary of the river Bosna), at the outlet of a valley opening towards the west, this being the "plain of the Scaglio"—in Turkish Saray Ova or Saray Ovasi (hence the name of the city), surrounded by tall and precipitous mountains (notably those of Ozren (1,452 m/4,762 feet) and of Trebević (1,629 m/5,343 ft)), at an altitude, according to the various neighbourhoods, of between 557 m/1,830 ft and 290 m/954 ft. In the time of the Ottoman period, the name of Vrhbosna ("the Crete of Bosnia", of which the Šaja (local parochial district) of Vrhbosna, then the site of the cathedral of Saint Peter, centre of the diocese. As is shown by the travel-writing of Felix Petan-

The fertile region around Sarajevo, with its abundant water sources and forests, was inhabited from the Neolithic period (2400 to 2000 B.C.), as is proved by the excavations of Butmir (one of the principal urban centres of the Balkan peninsula in this period, the ceramics of which are renowned). Other prehistoric dwellings have been brought to light on the slopes of Trebević (as on those of Debelo Brdo), some of which may have possibly existed even before the Roman period. Towards the end of the Bronze Age (900 B.C.), this region experienced an Illyrian influx, of which numerous vestiges have been discovered. In the Roman period, the 8th Augustan Legion was based on the plain of Sarajevo, and the well-known sulphurous bathing establishments of Ilidža, a thermal station situated in the foothills of Mount Igman (today some ten kilometres from the centre of the city) were developed. Other Roman remains have been discovered within Sarajevo itself.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, the Eastern Goths were the first to establish themselves in this territory, then, in 535 A.D. the entire region was conquered by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I. During the Byzantine period, the region belonged to the Ottoman Empire, according to some historians, from the 10th century onwards there began to be formed, in the depression between the current cities of Sarajevo and of Zenica, the nucleus of the future mediaeval Bosnian state. It is known, on the other hand, according to a document of the king of Hungary Béla IV dating from 1244, that at that time the territory of Sarajevo formed a part of the Šaja (local parochial district) of Vrhbosna, then the site of the cathedral of Saint Peter, centre of the diocese. As early as 1379, the presence was noted at Vrhbosna of traders from Ragusa, who mentioned a locality called Trgovište (meaning "the place of [open] market") situated in the territory of what is now the city of Sarajevo, at the point where the stream known as Košević (curreyly the name of a quarter of the city) joins the river Miljacka. It is also known that in 1415 a local dignitary, the voivode Pavle Radenović, was buried at Vrhbosna.

The first significant foundations date from the years 1460-1 (cf. the wakf-name of 1462 of 'Īsā Beg, son of Iskāf Beg, who was to become sandjak beg of Bosnia in 1464): initially, the governor’s palace and a wooden mosque, then a bridge over the Miljacka, a caravanserai, a bedesten, a hammām, residential houses, shops, water-mills, etc. It is said that from 1455 onward the city was surrounded by a wall, as is shown by the travel-writing of Felix Petanić, and of Benedict Kuripešić, and exchanges of letters with Ragusa (where the following forms are found: Werchbossen, Verchbosen, Verbosavia, Verbosanija, Verchbosanija, etc.).

The first significant foundations date from the years 1460-1 (cf. the wakf-name of 1462 of 'Īsā Beg, son of Iskāf Beg, who was to become sandjak beg of Bosnia in 1464): initially, the governor’s palace and a wooden mosque, then a bridge over the Miljacka, a caravanserai, a bedesten, a hammām, residential houses, shops, water-mills, etc. It is said that from 1455 onward the city was surrounded by a wall, as is shown by the travel-writing of Felix Petanić, and of Benedict Kuripešić, and exchanges of letters with Ragusa (where the following forms are found: Werchbossen, Verchbosen, Verbosavia, Verbosanija, Verchbosanija, etc.).

The first significant foundations date from the years 1460-1 (cf. the wakf-name of 1462 of 'Īsā Beg, son of Iskāf Beg, who was to become sandjak beg of Bosnia in 1464): initially, the governor’s palace and a wooden mosque, then a bridge over the Miljacka, a caravanserai, a bedesten, a hammām, residential houses, shops, water-mills, etc. It is said that from 1455 onward the city was surrounded by a wall, as is shown by the travel-writing of Felix Petanić, and of Benedict Kuripešić, and exchanges of letters with Ragusa (where the following forms are found: Werchbossen, Verchbosen, Verbosavia, Verbosanija, Verchbosanija, etc.).
969/1561), not forgetting the Imperial Mosque “Careva đamija” (built in 1566 at the order of Suleyman the Magnificent, to replace the former mosque of the same name destroyed in 1457 and destroyed in 1480), and many others; the tekke of the Menelewis, of the Kahlweitis, as well as that of the Kâdiris (the renowned tekke of Hâjdji Sinân Âghâ, constructed in 1638-40 and subsequently restored on numerous occasions); the bedestens (in particular the well-known “Bursa bezistan” built by Rüstem Pâsha [q. v.] in 1551); the clock tower (built at the end of the 16th century or at the start of the 17th), the madreses, the fountains, the baths, the khâns, etc. The number of inhabitants of the city, which had gained the status of şehir before the 16th century, grew rapidly as a result of the influx of the Muslim population, which settled at the outset on the left bank of the Miljacka; for a very long time, each religious group lived in separate mahalles. This population consisted above all of new converts—there had been progressive Islamisation of a significant section of the local Slav population—as well as of administrative and religious cadres, Ottoman civil servants and soldiers, of diverse origins and belonging to the most varied ethnic groups, as is demonstrated by the genealogies of some of the eminent Muslim families of the city. But the city also expanded as a result of an influx of indigenous Christian populations. It is interesting to note in this context that in 1477 there were in Sarajevo 105 Christian households, 8 households of Ragusans, and only 42 Muslim households (see Hamdija Kreševljaković, Eragni, 1958, 9, quoting an article of Nedim Filipović). The Christian population was composed of the Orthodox—whose Old Church, “Stara Crkva”, was built in 1528, then rebuilt on several occasions after numerous fires, in particular in 1616 and in 1658, subsequently reconstructed completely in 1730, then once more renovated in 1793 (the list of popes of Sarajevo from 1516 to 1804 may be found in V. Škarlić, Srpski ..., 140-1)—and of Catholics, some of whom came from Ragusa [q. v.] in the course of the second half of the 16th century and settled in a separate quarter, subsequently called “Latinhuk”. Not to be ignored is the arrival, also around the middle of the 16th century, of a relatively substantial Jewish colony. These were, of course, Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal, who settled in a quarter the foundations of which date from the time of Hâjdji Kreševljaković, the renowned “Bursa bezistan” built by Rüstem Pâsha [q. v.]. The synagogue was probably built around 1580, then completely renovated in 1821, having been twice damaged by fire, in 1697 and in 1788. The total number of hearths (in Turkish odâjük) thus apparently increased from 153 in 1477, to 181 in 1480, subsequently to 1024 in the first half of the 16th century, then to 4270 in the second half of the 16th century. Aided by geographical position and “the industries of war”, commerce and craftsmanship developed rapidly, as is clearly shown by the number of warehouses and covered markets, of traders and of types of merchandise which were sold there or which passed through the city. In fact, the city was located “on the caravan-route leading from Istanbul and from Salonica towards the West, at a staging-point where it was necessary to substitute horses and mules for camels” (G. Weinstein, op. cit., in Bibl. 92). It was linked to the Adriatic coast on the one hand by the valley of the Neretva, on the other by the route running from Livno to Split. Furthermore, in the local context, the city, situated at a cross-roads, was also an excellent outlet for agricultural markets. In a totally different domain, it may be added that in 1085/1674-5 under Mehmed IV and in 1099/1687-8 under Süleyman II [q. v.], copper coinage was struck there (these being the coins known as manâbî). This economic prosperity was naturally accompanied by increasingly intense religious and cultural activity, for Sarajevo had very rapidly become an important administrative centre. With reference to the Muslim population, there is abundant testimony (cf. for example the works cited in the Bibl. of H. Tahir-Mišić, of M. Mujezinović and of H. Šabanović); in the literary domain as such, the best known names for the whole of this period remain those of Mehmed Nergis (d. 1644/1639 [q. v.]) and of Hasan Ka’im (d. ca. 1610/1690, cf. St. Šamić, op. cit.). It should, however, be noted that the overall development of the city was thwarted on numerous occasions by various scourges: outbreaks of plague (like that of 1526-7) and of cholera (1691), fires (particularly worth mentioning are those of 1644 and 1656) and earthquakes, not to mention famines. In spite of all this, the description of Sarajevo in 1660 provided by Ewliya Çelebi (even bearing in mind the exaggerations characteristic of this author) is quite impressive: the city reportedly then comprised 400 mahalles, including ten Christian ones and two Jewish ones (it may be recalled that according to an earlier source at the end of the 16th century, the city allegedly comprised 91 Muslim mahalles and two Christian mahalles), 17,000 houses, 77 mosques and 100 medreses, a clock tower, numerous medreses and other specialised religious schools, 180 medreses, 47 tekkes, 110 public fountains, 300 wells, 76 flour mills, five hammâms, 670 private bathrooms, three caravanserais, 23 khâns, 1,080 shops, a bedesten, seven bridges over the Miljacka, an Orthodox church, a Catholic church, a synagogue, seven iâmârs, etc.

This long period of prosperity was brusquely interrupted four decades later, in September 1697, by a terrible and totally unexpected blow, the sacking and burning of the city by Austrian troops commanded by Prince Eugène of Savoy who, taking advantage of his victory over the Ottomans before Zenta, carried out an exceedingly bloodthirsty raid, leaving behind him, after a brief occupation of the city, the ruins of Sarajevo ablaze. The unsuccessful siege of Vienna attempted by the Ottomans in 1083 marked, effectively, the beginning of a totally different period, that of the vangroupia, and of the definitive withdrawal of Ottoman troops from the north of Bosnia. The city was thus once more deprived of the latter’s military power. This had immediate repercussions for the whole of the eyâlet of Bosnia, henceforward a frontier region bordering on Christian Europe, as well as for the city of Sarajevo, where
disorder and corruption became rife. In fact, the ar-
rial in the city of huge numbers of Janissaries ... the following
table, devised by one of the two most knowledgeable
historians of the city, Hamdija Kresevljakovic (the
other specialist being Vladislav Skaric). What is established is on the one hand a quite spectacular fall in the percentage of the Muslim population, and on the other an extraordinary increase in the percentage of the Catholic population (see Kreševljaković, Sarajevo za vrijeme, 38):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>total pop.</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Orthodox</th>
<th>Catholics</th>
<th>Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>21,102</td>
<td>15,224</td>
<td>3,575</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>1,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(72.23%)</td>
<td>(16.94%)</td>
<td>(1.14%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>21,377</td>
<td>14,848</td>
<td>3,747</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>2,077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(69.45%)</td>
<td>(17.52%)</td>
<td>(3.26%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>26,267</td>
<td>15,787</td>
<td>4,431</td>
<td>3,326</td>
<td>2,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(60.09%)</td>
<td>(16.88%)</td>
<td>(12.66%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>38,083</td>
<td>17,787</td>
<td>5,858</td>
<td>10,672</td>
<td>4,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(45.06%)</td>
<td>(15.39%)</td>
<td>(28.02%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>51,919</td>
<td>18,460</td>
<td>8,450</td>
<td>17,922</td>
<td>6,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35.57%)</td>
<td>(16.27%)</td>
<td>(34.51%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>60,087</td>
<td>21,465</td>
<td>12,479</td>
<td>18,076</td>
<td>7,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35.73%)</td>
<td>(20.77%)</td>
<td>(30.08%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seeing the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a first stage in its colonisation of the Balkans, the Austro-Hungarian government proceeded methodically towards the implementation of numerous projects, especially in Sarajevo, designed to facilitate the attainment of this objective, while at the same time demonstrating to international opinion the civilising nature of its mission: construction of railway, of a central electricity system and of urban canals; improvement of the quays of the Miljacka; construction of the Catholic cathedral (1884-9, replacing the former Catholic church, on which little information is available, as is hardly surprising when the figures in the above table are considered); building of a monumental Town Hall in pseudo-Moorish style (1896), and many other public buildings on the grand scale (such as the magnificent Zemaljski Musej (1888), modelled on the Vienna Museum, the Theatre, the Law Courts, the Bank, the Protestant Church, the Hospital, schools, hotels, etc.; not forgetting the laying-out, in 1886, of the city’s first municipal park on the site of a Muslim cemetery). This rapid Europeanisation brought to Sarajevo many soldiers and officials. Among the latter, both in administration and in education, there were to be found a large number of Orthodox (i.e. Serbs) and Catholics (predominantly Croats, who were joined by considerable numbers of new arrivals from elsewhere: Austrians, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenians, Rumanians, etc.) (see Kreševljaković, op. cit., 37-9). The city was extended rapidly in a westwards direction, i.e. towards the plain, and towards Ilidža, which soon became a kind of “oriental Baden”. At the same time, as was to be anticipated, there was a decline in the craftmanship of the city, an inevitable consequence of the appearance of the first factories. The shock experienced by the Muslim population of Sarajevo, as a result of Austro-Hungarian occupation and the sudden irruption of all this modernity, was acute, as is shown by many texts of this period, and also by the emigration (although apparently of limited extent) of some of the inhabitants of the city to Turkey, or towards closer regions still controlled by the Ottoman Empire (see A. Popovic, کاتب اسلامی، 272-3). However, gradually the Muslim reacted and organised themselves into a religious community guided by an Ulema medžlis and an administration of wakfs, at the head of which was the chief of the community bearing the title of Re’s al-ulama (see EP, 1, 1273b). In matters affecting schools, and education in general, great changes took place, since the Austro-Hungarian authorities completely reformed the organisation of public instruction. In this new system, which had little effect on the various Muslim elementary schools, medreses, more or less ‘reformed’, served for the training of religious functionaries of inferior status. The best-known in Sarajevo at this time were the Kuršumlija and Hanika medreses, both dating from the time of Ghazi Kajser Beg (cf. Spomenica Gazi…). Furthermore, in 1887, a special college was inaugurated in Sarajevo with the aim of training judges for the Catholic courts and senior religious functionaries. This was the highly-renowned Štarijska Sadačka Škola u Sarajevu, which was the principal seed-bed of the Muslim religious intelligensia of Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1887 and the Second World War, and where the duration of studies was five years. Many details concerning this institution are to be found in the two volumes compiled on the occasion of its thirty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries: in Tridesetpetogodisnji izvještaj Štarijske Sadačke Škole u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 1917, and especially in Spomenica Štarijske Sadačke Škole u Sarajevu, izdana povodom petdesetogodišnje ovog zavoda (1887-1937), Sarajevo 1937. In 1892, an academy was also founded for the training of school-teachers (Dār al-mu'allimin), where the course of study lasted three years. It should be noted that there was at first, among the local Muslims, a period of passivity, of mistrust and of defiance regarding everything emanating from the Austro-Hungarian authorities. In this context, worth citing for example is the fact that in 1887, at the time of the inauguration of the Ser. Sud. Škola which has been mentioned above, the new administration encountered obstinate resistance on the part of the Muslims, who refused to send their sons to the school, with the result that the first pupils of this establishment were recruited among orphans (cf. Abduselam Balagija, Les musulmans yougoslaves, Algiers 1940, 115). But subsequently, as a result of a gradual transformation of opinions, many Muslim children began to attend secular elementary schools and academies. Some even pursued studies abroad, especially in Vienna and in Budapest, for those to whom Zagreb was not a preferable option, to qualify as doctors, engineers, etc. Others also went abroad, but with the object of pursuing traditional studies, in Istanbul, in Cairo and in Medina, or on
During the Second World War (1941-5), the city of Sarajevo was part of the Fascist Croat state of Ante Pavelić, then, after the war, it became the capital of the Federal Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of Titoist Yugoslavia. In the course of this latter period (1945-92), Sarajevo experienced extraordinary growth, expanding from some 100,000 inhabitants in 1946, to 213,092 in 1961, then to about 250,000 in 1968, and passing the figure of 300,000 in 1992, henceforward comprising a large number of modern quarters, most of them extending over the plain. The city continued to be the base for the guidance of the Yugoslav Muslim community and the seat of its chief. (On relations between the latter and the Communist authorities during this period, see Popovic, Les musulmans yougoslaves.) As regards the Muslim educational establishments, they experienced several phases, which may be summarised thus. At the very beginning of the taking of power by the Communists, all the Muslim religious schools mentioned above were closed. Thus the Viša isl. šol. škola was definitively closed in April 1946, this coinciding with the abolition of the Muslim courts. Then, gradually, as a result of an extraordinary reversal of the situation, beginning with the Communist government’s decision to seek a major role in the organisation—predominantly Muslim—of Non-Aligned States, a new system was put in place. Under this system, the principal institution for the training of religious cadres became once more the renowned Gazi Husrevbeg medrese, then some time later, in 1977, there was established (still in Sarajevo) a Faculty of Islamic Theology (Islamski Teoloski Fakultet). The same period saw a remarkable flourishing of the Muslim press.

The disintegration of Titoist Yugoslavia, following the collapse of the Communist world and the resurgence of various local nationalisms, culminated in the spring of 1992 in a brutal civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the city of Sarajevo has become one of the principal theatres of operations (on these controversial and poorly-understood issues, as well as on the Muslim community, cf. X. Bougarel, Discours d’un ramadan de guerre civile, in L’Autre Europe, 26-7 [Paris 1993], 171-197; and idem, Un courant panislamiste en Bosnie-Herzégovine, in G. Kepel (ed.), Exils et royaumes. Les appartenance au monde arabo-musulmans aujourd’hui, Paris 1994, 275-99). At present, it is impossible to see when, or how, the city of Sarajevo can regain a semblance of normality.

SARAJEVO — SARAKHS


SARAKHS, a town of northern Khurasan, lying in the steppe land to the north of the eastern end of the Köpet Dagh mountain chain. It was situated on or near the east or right bank of the Tadjjan (modern Tedjen) river, whose uncertain flow received the waters of the Hari Rud before finally petering out in the Kara Kum desert [q.v.]. According to the mediaeval Islamic geographers, the river bed only contained water at the time of floods, i.e. winter and early spring. Various channels were taken off the river for irrigation, but scantiness of water supply always limited agriculture there. In mediaeval times also the road from Nishapûr and Tus to Marw passed through Sarakhs.

The geographers record a tale that the town was founded by the legendary Turkish king Afrasiyab, but nothing seems to be known of any pre-Islamic history. The first mention of Sarakhs in Islamic history is in 22/643 when the Arab commander al-Ahnaf b. Kays [q.v.] sent one of his officers to it, but this can only have been an exploratory probe since ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAmir [q.v.] in 31/651-2 led a campaign into Khurasan, capturing Nishapûr and other towns as far as Sarakhs (al-Tabari, i, 2682, 2884, 2887-8). Sarakhs is mentioned during the fighting in Khurasan between Abu Muslim's partisans and the last Umayyad governor there, Nâsr b. Sayyâd [q.v.], and in 185/801 there took place at Sarakhs and at neighbouring Nasâ [q.v.] a rebellion against the oppressive Abbasid governor ʿAlī b. Mihrâb b. Mâhân [q.v.] led by the mawla Abu ʿIyâb b. ʿRâhîb [q.v.] of the mountain tribe and Arab majority, the size of Marw, with a Friday mosque, good agriculture, including grain grown for export to Nishapûr, and extensive pasture grounds for camels and sheep. Within the population, so al-Muqaddas states, there were two factions of the Hanâfî Ārâisiyya and the Shafiʿi Ahlîyya (see C.E. Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, 163-4). Sarakhs played a significant role in the overrunning of Khurâsân by the Turkmen in the first half of the 5th/11th century. In 425/1035 Maharâd of Ghazna allowed 4,000 Oghuz families and their herds to cross the Oxus and settle near Farâwa, Abiward [q.v.] and Sarakhs, but by 428/1039 the Oghuz were demanding a grant of the revenues of Marw, Abiward and Sarakhs. It suffered badly from the devastations of the Turkmen, so that when Masʿûd of Ghazna appeared there with his army in 431/1040, the exasperated inhabitants refused him entry, and Masʿûd had to storm the citadel, killing many of the people; it was thus from Sarakhs that the sultan set forth for his ill-fated battle with the Seljûqs and their forces at Dandânkan [q.v. in Suppl.] in the waterless desert between Sarakhs and Marw (see Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, 224, 250-1, 263). In the second half of the 5th/12th century and after the end of Sandjar's sultanate, Sarakhs was ruled by the chief Malik Dinâr, and then by the Khârazmian claimant to power, Sultan Shah b. Il Arslan. During the time of the Mongol invasions, Čingiz Khân in 618/1221 sent his son Tolûy to occupy the towns of Khurâsân, including Sarakhs; it submitted and received a Mongol gîhana, but rebelled, like other towns in the province, on hearing rumours of the Khârazm Shah Dalâl al-Dîn's successes (Nuquwayni-Boyle, i, 155-6, 162, 301). The town must nevertheless have slowly revived; after the Mongol devastations, Ibn Bâṭûta [q.v.] passed through it without mentioning anything except Sarakhs's connection with the ʿUshârâ Shâh Lûkman al-Sarakhsi (whose gunbâd or tomb still exists in the town) (Rûhâ, iii, 79, tr. Gibb, iii, 583), but Hamd Allah Mustawfî (mid-8th/14th century) describes the town as having a strong wall 5,000 paces in circumference and a flourishing agriculture, especially of melons and grapes (Nasîha, ed. Le Strange, 139, tr. 135).

During the period of Safawî-Ozbeq warfare, it had an exposed position in the frontier zone between the two rival powers. In 932/1526 ʿUbâyîd Allah Khân Shîbâni occupied Sarakhs en route for his campaign against Mashhad and Tus (Bâbar-nâmâ, tr. Beveridge, 534). The raids of the Tekke Turkmens of Marw on Persian territory did not cease until after the Persian overthrow of ʿUmar b. Kamal b. Malik Dinâr; among the urban centres, Sarakhs was occupied by Muslim forces in 1849; in 1850 constructed a strong fort at Sarakhs, on the left or western bank of the Tedjen river, shortly after which a new threat appeared when the Russians moved into Central Asia and built a military post and settlement at Old Sarakhs on the right bank (G.N. Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, London 1892, i, 195-8).

Modern Persian Sarakhs (lat. 36° 32' N., long. 61° 07' E.) is the chef-lieu of a bâdshâh of the same name in the shahrastân of Mashhad in the shahrestân-ustân of Khurâsân; in ca. 1950 it had a population of 5,000 (Razmârâ, Farhang-i dehqânî-yi Irân-zamin, ix, 212-13), which had increased by 1991 to 22,247 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

AL-SARAKHSI, ABU 'L-ABBAS AHMAD b. al-Tayyib b. Marwân, the most prominent disciple of al-Kindî and, like his master, a dedicated advocate of Greek learning at the unsure early stage of its Muslim integration, but with a more pronounced inclination toward adab.

He was born around 220/835 and died early in 286/899. A fact attested for his obscure early life is his participation as the delegate of al-Kindî in a multireligious philosophical-theological debate about Christianity and the Trinity (see Moosa and Holmberg). He began his career as an educator of the future caliph al-Mu'tadid. In 271-2/885, he accompanied the prince on an unsuccessful military expedition to al-Tawhîdî in southern Palestine, keeping a journal detailing its itinerary. He became an influential nadîm [q.v.] of the caliph and, in 282/895, was appointed to the kishâ [q.v.] and other offices. This, however, may have contributed to his downfall. Already in the following year, he was incarcerated. He died, or rather was put to death, in prison three years later. Their reason for this turn in his fortunes was a mystery ever, may have contributed to his downfall. Already in the following year, he was incarcerated. He died, or rather was put to death, in prison three years later. Their reason for this turn in his fortunes was a mystery. A fact attested for his obscure early life is his inclination toward adab.

Its Muslim integration, but with a more pronounced inclination toward adab. His hilarious spoof that targeted the anti-Greek religious bias of a narrow-minded member of the Ibn Thawabî family [q.v.] as told by Abû Hâyân al-Tawhîdî, Aghlîk al-was'ta'înîn, ed. Ibn 'Tawît al-Tawâjî, Damascus 1385/1965, 235-47, may possibly have been concocted or embellished by al-Tawhîdî himself; be this as it may, its ascription to him as well as his writing on Sbîq and Sbîhq could easily have added to impeaching his orthodoxy for later generations. All his works and ideas (among them the invention of a transliteration system for foreign languages, see Hamza al-Istâfânî, Tâstîb, ed. M.H. Al Yâsin, Baghdâd 1968, 35) reveal a lively thinker and (to a degree) free spirit who probably had few equals in his time. He may well be considered as representative of intellectual currents in contemporary Baghdad. The course to change direction.

to distinguish the text and the commentary (also true of the Mabsuf), but it too demonstrates an overall concern for comprehensive coverage, development of rules and considered hermeneutical argument. Al-Saraksí represents the independent, not the Iberian Hanafi tradition represented by Abu 'l-Hasan al-Karkhi (d. 340/955) and Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Sháshi (d. 344/955) and on the usul works of al-Qasí (d. 370/980). He also refers to the Risdá of al-Sháfi‘i, the opinions and some writings of later Sháfi‘i thinkers (e.g. Ibn al-Suraydi, d. 306/918), and to the major stances of other traditions.

The Hanafi biographical tradition has little independent information on al-Saraksí’s life. It draws on and elaborates clues supplied in the works. The Introduction to the Mabsúf and the concluding formulation of a number of its sections reveal that the author dictated it from prison. The Sharh identifies Abu al-'Azíz b. Ahmad al-Hulwání as a teacher, and the Usul begins with the statement that it was dictated in Uzbek and or Qandah in 479/1086. Biographical notices emerge later e.g. in the Rásíd al-Djawdhir al-mudriyya of Abu 'l-Husayn ibn Ahmad al-Kurashl (d. 438/1046), which states that al-Saraksí died ca. 490/1096, and names three students, Muhammad b. Ibráhím al-Hajjí, ‘Uthmán b. ‘Ali b. al-Kaywání and ‘Umar b. Habíb, grandfather of al-Marghání, the author of the Hílyá, Ibn Kutubaghá expands the story of the imprisonment, adds that al-Saraksí ended his life in Farghána under the protection of the Amir Hasan, suggests a date of death about 500/1106, and gives an anecdote about a local amir and his umm walads. The anecdote is intended to demonstrate the knowledge, skills and integrity of al-Saraksí, but Heffening, in EJ, discovered in it a cause for his imprisonment. Abu ‘l-Hasanat Muhammad Abu al-Hayy al-Lakhnawi, writing in 1293/1876, summarised the Usul bimural space was crossed by two perpendicular highways (the former cardo and decumanus) which connected four gates: the Gate of the Bridge (Báb al-Kanjara), on the river Ebro; to the east, the Gate of al-Kibla, or of Valencia; to the west the Gate of Toledo, or "of the Jews" (Báb al-Yahid), and to the south the Gate of the Sinshája, indicating a settlement of these Berbers, a name still evident in the "Cinegio" Arch. In the north-west corner of the enclosed space there was a fortified compound, the seat of authority (al-Káyàr, known as al-Sudda (like the Sudda of Cordova), a name currently born by the "Torreón de la Zuda").

Sarakûsta was one of the most important cities (madina) of al-Andalus, between 95/714 and its conquest by Alfonso I of Aragon (512/1118), considered the regional capital (hídra) or the "metropolis" of the "Upper March" (al-thaghr) or northern frontier extending in principle to the north of the Pyrenees, and, after the Christian conquests as far as Pamplona (captured in 183/799) and Barcelona (captured in 185/801). This was fixed, for the duration of the three remaining centuries, in the valley of the Ebro, with the zones (kilim) of Sarakusta and of Tuda (Tullla), Huesca (Wakha), Barbastro (Barbânjíyá), Lerida (Lârida) and Salatayud (Kal-Fat Ayyûb), in addition to the eastern zone of Tortosa (Turtûhá) and the southern zone of Bâriûgha, bordering on the "Middle March" (al-thaghr al-a^la).

The zone (kilim) of Sarakusta included the districts (nâhibá) of the city itself (al-madina), and others such as Belchita (Balshád), Cazarabet (Kâsr 'Abbád), Cutan- da (Kutandá), Fuentez (Fünthîsh), Gallego (Djallik), Jalón (Shalûn), Pleitas (Balsháq), and Zazulán. It comprised the eastern parts of Alcalá and the hamlets (karnda), denominations applied not always systematically to places in these zones, such as Alcániz (Kannîh), Almenara (al-Manâra), Caspe (Kashâb), Calanda (Kalanna), Montañana (Munt Anýát), Ríclà (Rikla), Rueda de Jalón (Rûta), and Zuera (Sukhâra).

The town plan of Sarakusta included a space enclosed within a wall of stone, built by the Romans and preserved throughout the four centuries of Muslim domination; this wall surrounded an irregular rectangle of approximately 600 x 900 m where, according to the calculations of L. Torres Balbás, some 17,000 inhabitants lived. This intramural space was crossed by two perpendicular highways (the former cardo and decumanus, which connected four gates: the Gate of the Bridge (Báb al-Kanjara), on the river Ebro; to the east, the Gate of al-Kibla, or of Valencia; to the west the Gate of Toledo, or "of the Jews" (Báb al-Yahid), and to the south the Gate of the Sinshája, indicating a settlement of these Berbers, a name still evident in the "Cinegio" Arch. In the north-west corner of the enclosed space there was a fortified compound, the seat of authority (al-Káyàr, known as al-Sudda (like the Sudda of Cordova), a name currently born by the "Torreón de la Zuda").

Also within this enclosed space, the Great Mosque (al-Dzamî), which according to an improbable tradition is said to have been founded by a number of venerable individuals (sabáka or tâbi‘ûn) who were supposed to have arrived in Sarakûsta with the vanguard of the Muslim conquerors: archaeology has proved that this Great Mosque was built over a Roman temple, dating from the time of Tiberius, which became a church with the arrival of Christianity. Some Andalusian sources indicate that the Great Mosque of Sarakûsta was enlarged twice, in 242/856-7 and ca. 409-12/1018-21. Recent archeological excavations have retrieved the rectangular shape (54 x 86 m) of this Mosque, with a pillar-supported hall of nine naves, comparable in dimensions to the greatest mosques of al-Andalus, those of Cordova and Seville. All that remains of it is the lower portions of the minaret, and a few captials dating from the 5th/11th century and uncovered in excavations carried but in what is now the municipal area of del Salvador, the church constructed by the Christians on the site of the Great Mosque of Sarakûsta.

Outside the wall there were extensive suburbs (rabad), such as that known as "the Tannery" (al-
Dibdgha, currently the suburb of “Altabas”, formerly “Atabahas”, on the other side of the river), Sarakustā takes a prominent role in the history of al-Andalus, known as the “White City” (al-madīnah al-bayyādah), appeared, according to the Arab geographers, as “a white stain surrounded by the vast emerald green of its countryside”. In fact, the sources praise the quality and the abundance of its agriculture, well irrigated by the great river Ebro and its numerous tributaries. Commerce found in Sarakustā “the gateway to all routes”, according to a reference in the sources. There were salt mines and a thriving fur trade, producing some renowned furs known as sarakūštīyya.

In this space, the Muslim life of Sarakustā developed during the four centuries (2nd-8th to 6th-12th) of Islamic political domination, also during the following four centuries (from 1118 to 1614) of the well-documented presence of “Mudéjar” [q.v.] and “Moriscos” [q.v.], the “Moors”, subjected to Christian political power. The four centuries of Muslim political domination reflect the general chronology of the history of al-Andalus [q.v.]: (a) conquest and rule by amīrān dependent on the Orient and Ifriqiya; (b) the independent Umayyad dynasty of al-Andalus; (c) the kingdoms of taifa (mulāk al-ṣa’awā’ī); and (d) the Almoravids, who, according to Ibn al-Muqaddam’s account, possibly in 975/1174; Christian sources, such as the Crónica Mudebride, speak of fierce resistance on the part of the town, but two Christian churches remained in use throughout the Islamic period: the church of Santa Maria (with the pious tradition of the apparition of the “Pillar”) and the church of Las Santas Masas, centres of an active Christian presence in the town. There was also a Jewish community, to which sporadic reference is made.

Sarakustā takes a prominent role in the history of al-Andalus from the year 124/742 onwards, becoming ennobled in the struggles of the baladīyyūn Arabs against the Shāmīyyūn, and of the “South Arabs” against the “South Arabs”, the latter forming the majority in the Upper March. In 132/749-50, the governor of al-Andalus Yūsuf al-Fihri [q.v.] sent to Sarakustā as wāli a certain al-Sumayl, a “South Arab”, in the hope of exercising better control over the “South Arab” majority; the latter rose in revolt four years later, and ultimately supported the candidacy of the Umayyad ‘Abd al-Rahmān I [q.v.], but after the latter had become amīr of al-Andalus, these “Southern Arabs”, dominating the Upper March, rebelled incessantly against the central power of al-Andalus, even seeking the aid of Charlemagne, who came to Sarakustā in 778 but failed to cross the walls of the city closed against him; whilst withdrawing, the Frankish army was attacked, this constituting some of the most renowned episodes recorded in the Chanson de Roland.

These frontier regions of al-Andalus persisted in their autonomist tendencies, rejecting both dependence on the Christians and dependence on Cordova, which sent its armies there on numerous occasions, commanded in person by successive amirs of al-Andalus, who succeeded, periodically, in controlling the region by installing Cordovan governors, an unsatisfactory measure in terms of internal administration, and especially in terms of the external Christian threat. Collaboration with local families, in principle loyal to the Umayyads, was the major recourse of the central power, from the later years of the 2nd/8th century onwards. The malādī (muwallad [q.v.]) family of the Banū Kast [q.v.] were to become periodically the masters of Sarakustā, leading protagonists, probably, in the activities of the Upper March, alternating loyalty and rebellion towards the Umayyad amīr, until the decline of malādī power throughout al-Andalus, and its progressive replacement by a new power exercised by certain Arab families, who were relied upon by the Umayyads from the later years of the 3rd/9th century onwards, as happened as Sarakustā with the Banū Tujib or Tugdhibiyān [q.v.], in power between 276/890 and 430/1038, such families alternated between submission and an autonomism which was total after the civil war (fitna) of the early 5th/11th century, leading to the establishment of the first dynasty of the taifa of Sarakustā, which was replaced by the dynasty of the Banū Hūd [q.v.], from 430/1038 until the conquest by the Almoravids in 505/1110. The latter were, however, unable to maintain Muslim political domination at Sarakustā for more than eight years, until 512/1118. The Muslim inhabitants remained there after the Christian conquest, subject to the regulations imposed upon “Mudjāirs” [q.v.] and “Moors” [q.v.], until their expulsion in 1614.

Cultural life came into being very early at Sarakustā, given its status as an important urban centre, with the first manifestations in the 3rd/9th century and, with consolidation in the following century, centred on cultured families such as the Banū Fūrtigh and the Banū Thābit, among others. During these two centuries, Sarakustā was in a state of some cultural isolation from the rest of al-Andalus but maintained direct relations with the Orient and the Maghrib, especially through the journey of the Pilgrimage. The cultural flowering of the 5th/11th century was, in part, the result of the arrival of major poets and scribes from Córdoba, making their way to Sarakustā, which was replaced by the dynasty of the Banū Tujib and Banū Hūd. In the 6th/12th century, the finest flowering of the culture of Sarakustā was to be seen amongst its citizens in exile, as in the case of Ibn Bādja [q.v.], but in the city and its neighbourhood the culture of the Mudejars and the Moors also survived, manifesting itself in aljama (al-ajamiyya).

Abd al-Rahman b. Mutarrif b. Thabit b. Hazm b. c q. v. the northern Spanish town of Sarakusta complete list of their teachers is given by Ibn Harith way he pretended that his ancestors were clients of a had^ (wald^ ^aldkd) had established ties of traditionists al-Nasa^I, al-Bazzar and Ibn al-Djarud (a 914) and his father Abu '1-Kasim Thabit (217- produced into al-Andalus al-Khalil's this anecdote, the historical value of which is 313/832-925 or 314/926). The biographical sources already written books on the same genre). Both they are especially famous for their work on hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians

Kásim commenced work on his al-Dalâl'il fi sharh mā nahlālā Abū 'Ubayd wa-bn Kutayba min gharîb al-îdâhîth, but died before he finished it. The book was completed by his father Thâbit. Al- Zuhri and adopted instead the nisba in al-Andalus had done. Kasim's father Thabit, angry that show that their nasab mention variants in their 313/832-925 or 314/926). The biographical sources already written books on the same genre). Both they are especially famous for their work on hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians

Kásim commenced work on his al-Dalâl'il fi sharh mā nahlālā Abū 'Ubayd wa-bn Kutayba min gharîb al-îdâhîth, but died before he finished it. The book was completed by his father Thâbit. Al- Zuhri and adopted instead the nisba in al-Andalus had done. Kasim's father Thabit, angry that show that their nasab mention variants in their 313/832-925 or 314/926). The biographical sources already written books on the same genre). Both they are especially famous for their work on hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians

Kásim commenced work on his al-Dalâl'il fi sharh mā nahlālā Abū 'Ubayd wa-bn Kutayba min gharîb al-îdâhîth, but died before he finished it. The book was completed by his father Thâbit. Al- Zuhri and adopted instead the nisba in al-Andalus had done. Kasim's father Thabit, angry that show that their nasab mention variants in their 313/832-925 or 314/926). The biographical sources already written books on the same genre). Both they are especially famous for their work on hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians

Kásim commenced work on his al-Dalâl'il fi sharh mā nahlālā Abū 'Ubayd wa-bn Kutayba min gharîb al-îdâhîth, but died before he finished it. The book was completed by his father Thâbit. Al- Zuhri and adopted instead the nisba in al-Andalus had done. Kasim's father Thabit, angry that show that their nasab mention variants in their 313/832-925 or 314/926). The biographical sources already written books on the same genre). Both they are especially famous for their work on hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians

Kásim commenced work on his al-Dalâl'il fi sharh mā nahlālā Abū 'Ubayd wa-bn Kutayba min gharîb al-îdâhîth, but died before he finished it. The book was completed by his father Thâbit. Al- Zuhri and adopted instead the nisba in al-Andalus had done. Kasim's father Thabit, angry that show that their nasab mention variants in their 313/832-925 or 314/926). The biographical sources already written books on the same genre). Both they are especially famous for their work on hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b. hadith (before them, the Andalusians

Kásim commenced work on his al-Dalâl'il fi sharh mā nahlālā Abū 'Ubayd wa-bn Kutayba min gharîb al-îdâhîth, but died before he finished it. The book was completed by his father Thâbit. Al- Zuhri and adopted instead the nisba in al-Andalus had done. Kasim's father Thabit, angry that show that their nasab mention variants in their 313/832-925 or 314/926). The biographical sources already written books on the same genre). Both they are especially famous for their work on hadith (before them, the Andalusians 4 Abd al-Malik b.

...
SARANDIB, the name given in mediaeval Islamic geographical and historical sources to the island of Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka). The Arabic form renders well the Skr. Simhala "Ceylon" = *drīpa* "island"; an intermediate form is found in al-Bīrūnī, India, tr. E. Sachau, London 1910, i, 233, as *Sangalādīp.* By the time of Yākūt (early 7th/13th century), the form *Sīlān* is found (Buldān, ed. Beirut, i, 346, *Bahār al-Hind*).

Most of the mediaeval Islamic geographers, from Ibn Khurradābhī onwards, give some account of Sarandib, placing it in the Sea of Harkand (= the Bay of Bengal) between India and China and describing it as the last of the Dībadjat (an Arabised plural form of Skr. *dvipa*), i.e. the Indian Ocean archipelagos of the Laccadives, Maldives [q.v.], etc. An authority like al-Idrīsī gives an exaggeratedly large size for Sarandib, an over-estimation going back to Ptolemy and noted by Marco Polo in his account on Seilán (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Sir Marco Polo*, London 1903, ii, 312-30, chs. xiv-xv). For the Arab and Persian writers, the most noble feature was the island's mountain, called R. *Bii* (from Skr.) in the *Akbār al-Sīn wa l-Hind* (written 236851), § 5 (a text much used by subsequent writers, e.g. al-Masʿūdī, Murūjī, i, 167-8 = §§ 175-6, etc.), regarded as the spot to which Adam descended, his expulsion from Paradise, leaving a footprint given as 70 cubits in size. At a later time, Ibn Bāṭūṭā was to note that Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists alike, considered the footprint as that of the Buddha (Rūhā, iv, 165-85, German tr. H. von Mzik, *Die Reise des Araber Ibn Bāṭūṭa durch Indien und China* (14. Jahrhundert), Hamburg 1911, 353-67).

The *Akbār* further states (§§ 5, 51) that Sarandib had two kings and that it was the custom of the island that a dead king was inomated with his wives also throwing themselves on the funeral pyre, if they wished. Sauvaget observed that the detail of the two kings was known from the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th century A.D.), reflecting the frequent division of power between a Singhalese monarch and a Tamil one in the north-east of Ceylon. Also mentioned are the import of wine from ʿIrāq and Fars by Muslim merchants for the king to enjoy personally and to sell to his subjects, and, apparently, the existence in the forests of Ceylon of the aboriginal Vedda people.

Bibliography: See especially, J. Sauvaget, *La Merveille de l'Hind* et de l'Irāq, Paris 1948, §§ 5, 51 and comm., and G. Ferrand, *Relations des voyages et textes géographiques ... relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1913, see index s.v. Sirandib, with trs. of the relevant texts, to which may be added Hūdūd al-S̲īlām, tr. Minorsky, 61, § 5.2, comm. 194, and *Manacit*, tr. idem, 46, 50. For Idrīsī's detailed account of Sarandib and his map, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in ... al-Shāfīʿ al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, text 27-30, comm. 122-6 and Map II. For the spread of Islam there and subsequent history of the island, see *Ceylon*. (C.E. Bosworth)

SĀRANGPUR, a small town in Central India, before Partition in the Native State of Dewās, now in the Shajapur District of the state of Madhya Pradesh in the Indian Union (lat. 23° 34' N, long. 76° 24' E). It is essentially a Muslim town, founded by the sultans of Mālwā [q.v.], but on an ancient site. It was reputedly the location of a battle in 840/1437 when Mahmūd Khālṣī I of Mālwā was defeated by the forces of Mēwāt [q.v.], and, of more certain historicity, it was captured in 932/1526 from Mahmūd II of Mālwā by Rānā Sāngā [q.v.] of Cītāw. Then in 968/1561 it was seized by Akbar from the local governor Bāz Bahādūr and incorporated into the Mālwā sābā of the Mughal empire, becoming the sarkār of Sārāngpur. After falling to the Marāhās [q.v.] in 1734, it was in 1818 restored to the Dewās State. The town contains several ruined Islamic buildings, including a mosque with an inscription from 901/1496 by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Shāh Khalījī.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xii, 95-7; K. A. Nizami and M. Habib (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India. V. The Delhi Sultanate (A.D. 1206-1526)*, Delhi, etc. 1970, 790-1, 936-7. (C.E. Bosworth)

SĀRAṆDĀṆA (p., lit. "palace-curtain"), the term applied in the sources for the Great Sālджūḳs and the Rūm Sālджūḳs to the great tent carried round by the sultans, regarded, with the *fātir* or *misallā* [q.v.], as one of the emblems of sovereignty. It is described in such sources as Rāwandi, Rāghīd al-Dīn and Ibn Bībī as being red, the royal colour, and as having internal curtained compartments forming rooms.


AL-SARĀT (A. "the back"), the collective name, not particularly widespread, of the chains of mountains which run from the Gulf of ʿAkbār down to the Gulf of Aden [see al-SARĀB, ʿAṣrār, i11]. The word *sarāt* occurs quite often in the construct state, as in *sarāt al-azd*, sarāt al-ḥāt, etc. In both Saudi Arabia and in Yemen, al-Sarat separates the lowlands along the Red Sea [see al-QHAWR; THĀḤMA] from the high plateau. The commonest view in the Arab sources is that al-Sarat is identical with al-Hijāz [q.v.], "the barrier". As a whole, the chains of mountains are cut up into large and small ranges which intersect in all directions. Al-Sarat is in general treeless, with black rocky ravines, ridges, peaks and pinnacles. Breakneck paths and bridle paths, often hardly traceable on the rock, lead up to narrow gates which give access to mountain villages found on almost inaccessible heights. There are well-cultivated fields in terraces along the slopes and in the valleys, protected by a wall of large stones. The fields yield coffee, protected from the heat of the sun by shade-giving trees, grapes and sugar-canes.

The heat on the western slopes is tropical, reaching from 23° C. in January-February to daytime shade temperatures of 38° C., and frequently of 49° C., in summer (June-August). In winter some cyclones skirt the Arabian Peninsula moving southwards and providing some precipitation [see MARRA, 3. The Modern City, Floods]. At night, the temperature drops considerably, and the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow. In March and April some rains fall, normally torrential, while the rainy period lasts from the middle of June to the end of September. A further particularity of the climate of the western slopes are the Thāḥma fogs, called *umnna* or *sulḥaymāṇi*. The climate of the eastern slopes is extremely dry, but the valleys, because of the rainy seasons, have a perennial water supply and show great wealth in fruit, cereals, plants and trees.

There are only a few gaps in the al-Sarāt chains: from Yanbuʿ al-Bahār to Yanbuʿ al-Mahd, and via ʿAḍr al-Mūḥammadī to Medina. Proceeding to Damascus, one leaves from al-Shūkatyya via al-Darb to Abbā [q.v.]; in Yemen, from al-Hudayda [q.v.] to ʿAṣrār and from al-Mukhā to Taʿizz [q.v.].

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Ṣafā*, vi, Index

**SARATĀN (A.),** masculine substantive (pl. sarātān) denoting crustaceans (kibyryāt) in general and, more specifically, those which are collected for human consumption. The root s-r-i evokes, on the one hand, the notion of eating greedily and, on the other, that of running rapidly. The form sarātān serves as a substantive, also as a verbal noun and an adjective; it is only the substantive which is considered in this article. Being applied to edible crustaceans (mābārā), it has undergone considerable distortions according to specific regions; thus the forms encountered include sarātān, saltān, saltān, saltān, saltān, saltān, and saltān. Alongside this term, each crustacean bears other names which often recur to denote other species.

1. The decapod crustaceans.


(2) The squill-fish (Scyllarus latus) and the mantis-shrimp (Stenopus hispidus): sīr al-bahr, istiṣāki al-raml.

(3) The crab (Carcinus): sarātān al-bahr and all the distortions of sarātān mentioned above, 'akrīha, kamarīn, ala kamarīn from the Spanish camarón, djamīt, djamīr, djamīr, djamīr, kamarīt, kamarīt, kazzālīt.

(4) The edible crab (Cancer pagurus or Carcinus maenas): umm dīnīt, bkhumbī, rīstīt.

The prawn and the shrimp (Penaeus caramote, Palamot serratus): abayūn, thībīyūn, urbiyūn, rubūn, garīthīl al-bahr, nūṣūn, kunūrī, kunūrī, bī kāsī, ḍjamūrī, ḍjamūmī, bī kamarīn, kaddsārī.

(5) The crayfish, river lobster (Astacus fluviatilis): sarātān nahri and all the distortions of sarātān mentioned above, ḍhanar, ḍjarād al-nahr.

(6) The crayfish, river lobster (Astacus fluviatilis): sarātān nahri and all the distortions of sarātān mentioned above, ḍhanar, ḍjarād al-nahr.

(7) The lobster (Homarus vulgaris): sarātān al-bahr, zālāfīn bahri, thībīyūn, abayūn, rubūn, ḍjamīrī, bī kāsī, ḍjamūrī, ḍjamumī, bī kamarīn, kaddsārī.

(8) The crab, spiny lobster (Palinurus vulgaris): angūt, anṣikāt, istiṣākāt 'l-sarātān al-murdiqanīya and all the names of the crab, the prawn, the crayfish and the lobster.

(9) The hermit crab, soldier crab (Pagurus bernhardus): baht, sarātān nāsīt.

2. Literature.

Few ancient authors have discussed crustaceans. Aristotle, in his Historia Animalium (see Bibli.), offers some observations regarding the ethology of these aquatic creatures; observations which later Arab authors were content to reproduce to the letter; these include al-Dībjāhī in the 3rd/9th century and, later, al-Damārsī in the 8th/14th century, in his brief article sarātān (see Bibli.) concerning the crayfish and ancient legends relating to it. Thus finding in a village a dead crayfish, lying on its back, is a mark of protection against plagues and natural disasters. If it is attached to a fruit-tree, the latter will bear an abundant crop. In the Sea of China, a marine crustacean, which comes ashore and dies of exhaustion, provides Chinese physicians with an ingredient for medicines designed to combat leprosy. In the same period as that in which al-Dībjāhī was writing, Ibn Mangill included, in his treatise on hunting (see Bibli.), a brief chapter on the crayfish borrowed from his contemporary. It is interesting to note that for all these ancient authors the crustaceans are not decapods, but octopods, the pair of pinners (minkadh, minkadh, minkadh) not being regarded as feet.

3. Permissibility of consumption.

By virtue of the Kurʾānīc verse (V, 95/96): “You are permitted the game of the sea (sayd al-bahr) and the food which is found there”, crustaceans taken alive may, once cooked, be lawfully eaten.

4. Specific qualities.

According to al-Damārsī, the flesh of edible crustaceans is beneficial in the treatment of dorsal pains and of phthisis. Bearing on one’s person the head of a crayfish prevents sleep when the moon is shining brightly, but induces sleep when there is no moon. If a crayfish is roasted and pulverised, the powder, applied to haemorrhoids, causes them to subside. If the pincer of a crayfish is applied to a fruit-tree bearing a full crop, all the fruits will fall without the slightest cause. If a crayfish is applied to a deep wound enclosing an arrowhead, the latter is easily extracted. Finally, the crayfish serves as a talisman against any bite of a snake or a scorpion.

5. Onomancy.

Seeing a crustacean in a dream is the sign of a person of great guile, strongly armed, very preoccupied, going far afield in search of possessions and of unsociable nature. One who dreams of eating the flesh of a crayfish could receive good things from a faraway place.

6. Astronomy.

Al-Sarātān, “the Crayfish” or “Cancer” is the fourth zodiacal constellation containing the two stars known as “the two Pinners” (al-zubānāyān), these being:

(a) (alpha) Cancer, mag. 4.4 (zubānā 'l-sarātān al-anqulawīyya) “the southern Pincer of the Crayfish”; and

(b) (iota) Cancer, mag. 4.2 (zubānā 'l-sarātān al-amālīyya) “the northern Pincer of the Crayfish”.

7. Medicine.

Al-Sarātān is the medical name currently given to the disease of cancer, with the synonym ʾalōla, “the devourer”, and the adjective sarātānī, “cancerous”.


(F. Viré)

**SARAWAK**, a state on the west coast of the island of Borneo and a constituent part of the Federation of Malaysia since 1963. Originally the name referred to a dependency of the sultanate of Brunei consisting of the Sarawak, Samarahan and
Lundu river basins. Through a series of treaties (the first in 1841) with the Sultan of Brunei [q. v. in Suppl.], these territories passed to the "White Rajah", the Brooke dynasty who administered Sarawak between 1841 and 1946. In 1946 the Brookes ceded their territory to the British Crown, and Sarawak, together with Sabah [q. v.], became British colonies. The wide variety of indigenous ethnic groups includes Ibans, Bidayuh (Land Dayaks), Melanau, Kayans, Kenyahs, Klemantans, Muruts and Malays. The general term "Dayak" was widely used to describe any non-Muslim peoples.

The Muslim population has generally been held to be about 20% of the total and is made up primarily of Malay-speaking riverine and coastal dwellers. Brooke policy was to give effect to native laws and customs, and Islam was but one amongst a number of recognised law systems. There was no attempt to administer the strict principles of the Shari'a until very recently (see below). Instead, it became the practice to note down the main principles of Islam as these were seen to affect public administration, and to enforce them through administrative procedures. Marriage, divorce, inheritance and conversion were all regulated in this way.

From the early years of this century, Muslim matters were governed by the Undang-Undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak (Laws of the Sarawak Malay Court). This document was a compendium of Malay custom and amended from time to time. It never constituted a "Code of Muslim Law" but instead was directed toward the regulation of a society whose members shared recognisably Muslim values, particularly as to relations between the sexes. No hard and fast line was drawn between custom (adat) and the Shari'a.

It has been noted that the conflict between traditional and modernist Muslims which occurred in the Peninsular Malay states was absent in Sarawak, possibly because the small number of local religious scholars studied in Mecca, not in Cairo, the centre of late 19th century reformist ideas, and because Brooke rule isolated Sarawak Muslims from contact with the international Muslim community. Also, the pondok schools [see pesantren] which on the Peninsula provided elementary training in the Muslim sciences, were not developed in Sarawak. In 1939 a group of Muslims in Kuching established the Persatuan Melayu Sarawak (the Sarawak Muslims Association) whose aims was to protect Islam. The Association was banned under the Japanese Occupation of Sarawak, although there was otherwise little interference by the Japanese in the everyday affairs of Malays (Muslims).

This rather static position has been fundamentally changed from the 1980s. A Department of Religious Affairs has been established, Muslim officials have a defined status in the administrative system of the state, a Shari'a Court system is in place and hadji and educational finances are provided. Islam has also a political voice in state affairs as in the other states of Malaysia [q. v.]. Dakwah activity has been increasingly evident.


SARAY, or SARAI, the name of two successive capitals of the Golden Horde located on the lower Volga. Of Persian origin, saray "palace" or "court", entered Turkic in the 11th century, where it was often paired with kerciye, from the Tokharian B kerciye "royal palace", to designate the principal camp of a nomadic ruler (Nadelyaev, et al., Drevnetyurskiy slovar', 429, 488 and Clauson, Etymological dictionary, 664). In the Mongolian era, 13th-14th centuries, there was a further proliferation of Sarais (see, for example Galst*an, Armanyskie istochniki, 28) and this has given rise to considerable uncertainty and debate over the nomenclature, locale and chronology of the Golden Horde capitals.

The first of these capitals, now called Old Sarai for the sake of clarity, is located along the left bank of the Akhtuba, an eastern tributary of the Volga, near the modern village of Selitrennaya, about 125 km/77 miles north of Astrakhan. Founded by Batu, the son of Djöji, Çinggis Khan's eldest son, some time after the conquests of Russia and the Kipčak steppe (completed around 1242), Sarai is first mentioned by name in 1254 when the Franciscan William of Rubruck visited the site on his way to Mongolia. He relates only that Sarai was newly-built by Batu and had a palace (Mongol mission, ed. Dawson, 207, 210). The character of the new capital is nicely evoked in Djuwayni's depiction of Sarai as both a "camp" (mughayyan) and as a "city" (qayh) (i, 222; Djuwayni-Boyle, i, 267).

According to the archeological evidence, Sarai was a large complex, about four km/12½ miles in length and covering an area of 10 km². The city had a well-developed network of streets (usually defined by drainage ditches), water reservoirs, markets and substantial artisans' quarters which housed jewellers, metal smiths and glass- and ceramics-makers. The walled villas of the wealthy were generally located on the outskirts of the city (Egorov, Istoriiceskaya geografija, 114-117; Fyodorov-Davydov, Golden Horde cities, 19-22).

The most informative literary sources on Old Sarai all date to the 1330s, just before the move of the capital upstream to New Sarai (Saray al-Djadid), and consequently there has always been some dispute over which city is described in these accounts. In most cases, however, a careful reading of the source resolves the apparent ambiguity. Ibn Battûta, for example, begins his description of "al-Sarâ" by stating that it took four days of travel to reach the capital from Hadidî Târkhân, the modern Astrakhan. Clearly, therefore, he visited Old Sarai, which is 125 km/77 miles from Astrakhan, and not New Sarai, which is a further four days' journey to the north. Moreover, the dimensions of the Sarai he depicts also confirm this conclusion; his city, like Old Sarai, is large, a half-day's ride in length (tr. Gibb, ii, 515-16), while the New Sarai, according to recent topographical studies (see below), was much smaller, barely 2 km² in area. Other contemporaneous accounts, by Abu 'l-Fidâ' and al-Ümari, also picture a large, populous city and are, in all probability, referring to Old Sarai (Abu 'l-Fidâ' Takhvim, tr. ii, i, 322-3; al-Ümari, ed. Lech, Ger. tr., 146). The city described by these authors was full of merchants and markets. European sources, such as the commercial manual of Pegolotti, correctly place Sarai on the main overland trade route leading from the Crimea to China (Yule, Cathay, iii, 147; cf. Bratianu, Recherches, 239-41). The inhabitants, as was typical of
Mongolian capitals were diverse: Muslims and Christians and numerous ethnic groups including Alans, Circassians, Russians, Kazakhs, and Greeks, each of which, according to Ibn Bāṭṭūṭa, had its own quarter and bazaar. In its early decades Sarai had a substantial Christian, mainly Orthodox, population. In 1261 a bishop was appointed to Sarai to minister to its Christian residents and visitors. This bishop also played a central role in diplomacy between the Mongols, the Russian principalities and Byzantines (Nikón chronicle, tr. Zenkovsky, iii, 37, 45, 63, 132; Byeneydorf, Byzantium, 43, 46, 78, 132, 150, 185). The Orthodox presence at Sarai is reflected in the numerous finds of metal icons and other religious objects (Poluboyarinova, Russo, 49-54). Over the course of time, and particularly during the early decades of the 14th century, the city took on a more Muslim character. Özbek, the khan of the Golden Horde (r. 1311-41), and a convert to Islam, built a madrasa in Sarai and successfully attracted Muslim scholars to his capital (al-'Umari, ed. L. A. Ger. tr. 136, Arabic text 68). By the late 1350s when the Franciscan Pascal of Vittoria reached Saray he viewed it as "a city of Saracen", and notes further that several years prior to his arrival Christian missionaries were martyred there (Yule, Cathay, iii, 82, 83).

The transference of the capital from Old to New Sarai took place, by the best available evidence, at the end of Özbek's reign. The issue is complicated, however, by the existence of contradictory information on the origin and name of the new capital. Muslim writers of the 14th and 15th centuries often refer to a second Sarai founded by Berke (r. 1257-66), the first ruler of the Golden Horde, to embrace Islam. According to a tradition related by Ibn ʿArabjāh, the historian of the Timūrid period, Berke first constructed and then peopled his Sarai with Muslim divines as a conscious means of spreading Islam in the pagan steppe (tr. Sanders, 77-9; cf. al-ʿUmari, ed. L. A. Ger. tr. 146, Arabic text 81). Moreover, Natanži, writing in the early 15th century, refers to both a Saray-i Barka and a Saray-i Bâte (ed. Aubin, 81, 97, 366). Such terminology, however, is never encountered in earlier sources. Rashīd al-Dīn, for example, speaks of Bâte's death at Saray, and more significantly, of Berke's burial at Saray-i Bátu (ed. Karimi, i, 122, ii, 744). Berke's capital, an island of the faith in a sea of paganism, is, in all likelihood, a pious fiction, one that has bedevilled many 19th- and 20th-century scholars who have sought to equate Saray-i Barka with Saray al-Djadid. In reality, Saray al-Djadid was built in the 1330s and became the new capital in the early 1340s when Djambek (r. 1342-57) came to power. Several lines of evidence point to this conclusion. First, the earliest literary reference to New Sarai, a non-Cinggisid general who attempted to control the Horde through puppet rulers, the capital became a major point of resistance to his rule. In 1361, according to a Russian source, "the Lords of Sarai" rebelled, "fortified Sarai", elevated a khan of their own, and in the following year fought a battle with the forces of Mamai (Nikón chronicle, ed. Zenkovsky, iii, 157). This threat, as Mellinger has suggested, might explain the appearance of new coins in 1349/1348-49 bearing the inscription Saray al-Mahtrasa, "Saray the preserved [of God]" (Coins of the Golden Horde, 178-80). New Sarai, from the number of metal, stone, and ceramic crosses found there, also had a Christian population, and it seems likely that the "bishops of Sarai" appointed in the latter half of the 14th century, because of the contact with Christian missionaries, was now stationed at New Sarai, near the court of the Golden Horde (Poluboyarinova, Russo, 54-72; Nikón chronicle, ed. Zenkovsky, iii, 242, iv, 14, 135, 139).

New Sarai was buffeted by the growing turmoil within the Golden Horde. Under Mamai, a non-Cinggisid general who attempted to control the Horde through puppet rulers, the capital became a major point of resistance to his rule. In 1361, according to a Russian source, "the Lords of Sarai" rebelled, "fortified Sarai", elevated a khan of their own, and in the following year fought a battle with the forces of Mamai (Nikón chronicle, ed. Zenkovsky, iii, 189). Apparently it is these events that produced the ditch and embankment uncovered by Soviet archeologists at New Sarai. Mamai later met defeat at the hands of the Moscovite Principality in 1380 and Toktamış, a Cinggisid from the eastern wing of the Qudol line, reasserted control of the Golden Horde with the support of Timúr. According to Russian and Turkish sources, he occupied "Sarai" where he was formally enthroned (Pompyaniki literatury drevney Rusi, 191, 192; Abu I'-Ghāzi Bahādūr Khān, Hisotro, tr. Desmaisons, 171). That New Sarai is probably meant here is supported.
by the fact that Toktamish issued considerable coinage at Saray al-Djadid throughout his reign. But since coins were also minted at Sarai at this time, a measure of ambiguity remains (Mukhamadiev, Monetnaya sistema, 232, 233). According to Timúrid historians, Sarai and its surrounding districts were sacked, levelled and set ablaze (Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, ed. ‘Abbási, i, 552; Nizám al-Dín Shámi, ed. Táuer, i, 164). Yet despite the claims of total devastation, these cities were at least partially rebuilt. In the reign of the Khán Muhammad (1421-45) Hadjí Tákhán, Saray al-Djadid and Sarai were again issuing a limited number of coins (Mukhamadiev, Monetnaya sistema, 157).

The final destruction of the Golden Horde capitals can be dated to the last half of the 15th century. Afanasí Nikitín, a Russian merchant who traversed the entire length of the Volga in 1466, mentions only one Sarai in his detailed itinerary (Nikitín, Klozhenie, 34, 53, 71). By this time, evidently, one of the two capitals had already faded into obscurity. And the other capital, whatever its identity, was soon under attack. In 1471 troops from the Russian town of Vyatka raided down the Volga, temporarily occupied Sarái, seized much booty, and successfully returned home (Iosafoskaya letopis’, ed. Zimín, 73). Another Russian raid came in 1480, and in the following year the Siberian and Noghai Tatars joined forces and systematically pillaged all the camps of the Great (Golden) Horde “between the Don and Volga” (Kazanskaya istoriya, ed. Mosiseeva, 56; Uyugskiy letopisnii vood, ed. Serbina, 93-4). The Golden Horde had been dealt a crippling blow from which it never recovered and Sarai, its long-time capital, departs from the historical stage.

Well-known and important cities in the Islamic world and Eastern Europe, the fame of the Sarais spread much further afield. Chaucer, in The Square’s Tale refers to “Sarray in the Land of Tartarye” and Sarai/Saray appears on European maps in the 1320s with anachronistic references as late as the 17th century. Fra Mauro’s world map of 1459 even registers the two Sarais, the “great” and the “small” (Tardy, Contribution, 182, 184, 185-6, 189, 190, 206, 212, 217).


(S.T. Allen)

SARY (p.) (from an Old Persian form *srāda, root šrā ‘to protect’ means) in Persian dwelling, habitation or house. The word is frequently combined with another substantive to indicate a particular kind of building. The best known example is kārwan šaray ‘caravanserais’, a roadside stopping-place for caravans [see KAR]. Similarly, the Qinnat-saray was added to the northern part of the shrine at Ar-dabil by the Safawid Shāh Tahmāsp I ca. 947/1540, is a domed octagonal building used for Sufi gatherings and prayer (A.H. Morton, The Ardabil shrine in the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp I, in Iran, xii [1974], 51-64, and xiii [1975], 39-50, no. C). The word saray was extended to refer to the seat of government and the residence of a prince. It could refer to a town. Ak Saray [q.v.], for example, is a town in inner Anatolia with a castle built by the Saldjuk sultan of Rum, Kılığ Arslan II (r. 551-59/1156-92). Seray Berke [q.v.], capital of the Blue Horde in southern Russia, takes its name from its founder Berke (r. 655/1257-67) ([q. v.] Abu Wakkas, erected at Kufa in 17/638 just after the conquest of 1 Frākh was excavated between 1935 and 1956 by the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities. It was a square building (12, 100 m square, or 110 m on a side) enclosing a large courtyard with iwāns on three sides and a triple-aisled hall and domed room on the south. The Dār-al-Imāra erected by Abu Muslim at Marw in 129/747 is known through textual descriptions. It was also a square building, but had a central domed chamber surrounded by four iwāns that opened on to four courts.

With the founding of Sāmarrā [q.v.] by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the 3rd/9th century, Islamic palaces changed dramatically and became significantly broader and lower. The gargantuan 176-ha palace founded by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muṭṭasim at Sāmarrā in 221/836 was known as the Dār-al-Khilāfa and later as the Dābūs al-Khākānī. Excavated by the German Sāmarra Expedition of 1911-13 and surveyed since 1983 by the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities, the site included immense gardens and two main palatial units. The southern one, used for public audience, was a square building (180 x 200 m) with a monumental gateway (Bāb al-ʿAmma), throne halls, rooms and a large courtyard on the east. The northern one, used for private residence, had a smaller reception hall and residential apartments. This palace built by al-Mutawakkil two decades later was on a similar scale and had a corresponding division between spaces for public audience and private residence. These sprawling palace-cities with iwāns connecting closed and open spaces allowed visitors to process in an ascending crescendo towards the ruler, and the magnificent wall decoration, known from contemporary descriptions and fragmentary remains, was intended to underscore the ruler’s power and majesty.

ʿAbbāsid palaces set the model throughout the Islamic world in the mediaeval period, and other rulers copied not only the architectural units—two juxtaposed rectangular halls or four iwāns around a court—but also the sprawling spaces divided into public and private realms. The palace-city founded in 325/936 by the Umayyads of Spain outside Cordova at Madinat al-Zahra [q.v.], which has been excavated and reconstructed by the Spanish since 1911, was laid out on the eastern edge of the Guadaira Morena in a series of cascading terraces that took advantage of the site. From gardens in the lower zone, one ascended to workshops and court buildings in the middle zone and then to the Alcazur in the highest zone, which contain-
ed the dār al-mulk, the private quarters of the caliph and his close associates. The large scale (the site measured some 1500 by 750 m or 112 ha) and layout, like the rich decoration, was meant to project the Umayyad caliph's role, as had the ʿAbbāsīd palace at Sāmarrāʾ.

The two palaces built by the Fāṭimid caliphs in their new city of al-Kāhirah [q. v.] were smaller but also splendid establishments. They flanked the main north-south road through the city, which became known as Bayn al-Kasrayn. The Great Eastern Palace built for al-Muʿizz (r. 341-65/953-75) reportedly covered 10 ha and had 12 pavilions; the Small Western Palace built for his successor al-ʿAzīz (r. 365-86/975-996) was set in front of a vast garden. The Fāṭimid palaces were destroyed and the sites built over after the Ayyūbīds transferred the seat of power to the citadel. The palace and state buildings were located in the southern enclosure constructed in the second half of the 7th/13th century. The most impressive unit was the dome chamber of the Dār al-ʿtawwīd (q. v.), which served as a private chamber. These tents made of gold-on-gold material and attached by a wooden door painted in red and blue with scenes of fighting beasts and was covered with a magnificent audience hall decorated with gold and silver gem-studded vases (Rashīd al-Dīn, Ḥāwī at Mawsil between 630/1233 and 657/1259 (F. Schlumberger et alii, Lashkar Bazar. Une résidence royale ghaznevide et ghuride, Mémos. DAFA, xviii [1978]; see also the important considerations by Terry Allen, Notes on Bust, in Iran, xxvi-xxviii [1988-90]). The earliest was the small Centre Palace, erected along the river bank with a nearby pavilion and large garden to the east. It may be the kāshk erected by the Saffārid Tahir at the beginning of the 4th/10th century and is unrelated to the larger and better known South Palace, assigned to the reign of the Ghurid ruler Mahmūd (r. 390-421/998-1050). In both plans—a large rectangle enclosing a central courtyard with iwāns on the four sides—and decoration—panels of stucco carved in relief—the South Palace at Lashkar Bazar copies the Mosopotamian prototypes used at the ʿAbbāsīd palaces at Sāmarrāʾ. Its most distinctive feature is a second iwān-hall lying beyond the north iwān and overlooking the river. The grandest reception room in the palace, it had a dado painted with a frieze of attendants and attendants, each time the carved stucco panels and murals were renewed. The site, excavated since the 1960s, has yielded more than 5,000 panels and fragments of carved stucco, with an exceptionally diverse range of geometric, floral and epigraphic motifs (E. Gulyanova, Rzemy zhuk Khal′uka, Material′nye kul′tura Tadžikistana, iii [1978], 186-202).

Nothing has survived of Saldjūk palaces in Persia, but they probably provided the models for the palace parks built by the Saldjūks of Rūm in the 7th/13th century in or near Konya, Kayseri and Alanya. They had multiple pavilions commanding fine views, often over a nearby lake, and were resplendently revetted in glazed tiles. A riparian view also provided the setting for the contemporary Kara Sarāy ("Black Palace"), the palace built by the Atabeg Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ at Mawsil between 630/1233 and 657/1259 (F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigres-Gebiet, Berlin 1920, ii, 239-49). Almost much of the palace was destroyed in the 1980s, it was a two-storey masonry construction with iwāns grouped around a central court and had fine decoration in carved stucco. It is one of the few examples of a sarāy in the Arab lands, but in its foundation inscription (RCEA, no. 4451) it was simply called bina ("building" or "structure"), and the name Kara Sarāy is probably modern.

With the advent of the Mongols, the tent, often set in a garden, became a major form of palatial architecture [see Khayma]. These portable structures with rigid supports covered with fabric have not survived, but textual descriptions and depictions in later book paintings show that they were large and elaborately decorated ensembles. For example, the tent that Hülegü used when he ascended the throne near Balkh was made of gold-on-gold material and attached by a thousand gold nails; it included an elevated pavilion and a magnificent audience hall decorated with gold and silver gem-studded vases (Rashīd al-Dīn, Ḥāwī al-tawwīrāk, ed. and tr. É. Quatremère, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, Paris 1836, repr. Amsterdam 1968, 159-65). The ruler's large tent supported by guy ropes (bārgāh) was often combined with a tentsill tent (ḥarşāq) which served as a private chamber. These tents were fitting palaces for rulers: a tentsill tent that belonged to the Ak Koyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 857-82/1453-78 [q. v.]) had a wooden door painted in red and blue with scenes of fighting beasts and was covered with blue cloth lined with red silk.

The tent was not the only type of palace used in the later period, however, and other palaces built of more permanent materials continued forms and decoration used earlier. The large and elaborately decorated
hunting lodge uncovered by German excavations in the early 1960s at Takht-i Sulayman, to the southeast of Lake Urmia, was begun ca. 673/1275 by Abaqa on the foundations of the Sasanid sanctuary of Shīr [q.v.]. The site where the Khānīd palaces also used the iwādn plan and had elaborate decoration. By the Mongol period, the word sarây was increasing applied to palaces, even those built earlier. The Il Khānīd historian Hamād Mustawfi al-Kazwīnī, for example, referred to the palace that the Buṭūdʿ Ādud al-Dawla (r. 367-72/978-83) had built in eastern Baghdad as sarây-i sūlān (“palace of the sultan”; Taʿāsth-i Gūzīda, ed. Nawātī, Tehran 1339, 415). An enlarged and rebuilt version of the one his father Muʿizz al-Dawla al-Dawla had founded, the palace, which is totally destroyed, had a great court surrounded by domed porticoes, halls for audience, residences, and gardens.

The Timūrids continued to use both the tent and the structural palace, and the word sarāy was also used with a qualifying adjective of colour to refer to a major palace or citadel. The most famous Timūrid example is the Ak Sarāy (“White Palace”), the palace that Timūr built between 781 and 798/1379-96 in his capital.① Mirʾūz al-Dawla al-Dawla had founded, the palace, which is totally destroyed, had a great court surrounded by domed porticoes, halls for audience, residences, and gardens.

The name, which was used in contemporary sources, cannot refer to the actual colour of the building, which was resplendent with coloured tiles, but is thought to signify “aristocratic” (L. Golombek and D. Wilber, The Timurid architecture of Iran and Turan, Princeton 1988, no. 39). The Gīk Sarāy (“Blue Palace”) that Timūr built at Samarqand ca. 905/1500 was a four-storey palace that has been destroyed. Suburban palaces were often called kāhī, meaning a park or estate with buildings and gardens; other terms used in the Timūrid period include takht, meaning a pavilion with a view, kūsānā and manzūl (“residence”), and kābūk or kāšt, some of which were larger than kiosks or pavilions (T. Allen, A catalogue of the toponyms and monuments of Timurid Herat, Cambridge, Mass. 1981, nos. 405 and 206).

The palace precinct laid out between 998/1590 and 1020/1611 by the Safawī Shāh ʿAbbās I in his new capital at Isfahān continues many Timūrid traditions, especially the unfortified exterior and the garden setting dotted with pavilions, but most of the structures were built of masonry, and not fabric tents. The precinct, sandwiched between the Maqām-i Shāh (“Royal Square”) and the Čahār Bāgh, the boulevard with trees and water channels that leads south across the Ziāndā River, was divided into two zones. A more public zone in the center contained workshops and administrative offices, while a more private residential area behind it contained gardens with small open pavilions. These were often known as hasht biḥīšt (“Eight Paradises”), from their plan—an octagon with eight rooms or apartments arranged around a large central hall. The form copies now vanished Timūrid models, known from other buildings such as the Qalʿat Kasj (“Tiled Kasj” [“Stone Courtyard”] palace (1380-98) incorporated several pillared porticoes arranged around courtyards within its 163 rooms.

Many of these Timūrid and Safawī forms were copied in the palaces built under the Mughals in the Indian subcontinent, but they were incorporated inside walled palace-fortresses and executed in local materials, particularly red sandstone contrasted with white marble. The form copies now vanished Timūrid models, known from other buildings such as the Qalʿat Kasj (“Tiled Kasj” [“Stone Courtyard”] palace (1380-98) incorporated several pillared porticoes arranged around courtyards within its 163 rooms.

Unlike the Safawīs and Mughals, who built numerous palaces in several places, the Ottomans maintained their court in a single palace, the Sarāy-i humāyūn, founded by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed the Great (r. 857-1453 and used as the primary residence of the Ottoman sultans until the 19th century. Although commonly known today as the Topkapı Saray after a shore pavilion built near a gate of that name, until the 19th century it was called in Ottoman sources sarāy-i qezdī-i ʿamir (“New Imperial Palace”) or yetī sarāy (“New Palace”) to contrast it to the eski sarāy (“Old Palace”), the first palace that Mehmed had built in the center of the city, and to the Topkapı Saray, the Byzan
tine palace (Gülru Necipoğlu, Architecture, ceremonial, and power: the Topkapı Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, New York and Cambridge, Mass. 1991, 4). Set on a magnificent promontory on the tip of the peninsula overlooking the Bosphorus and the harbour of the Golden Horn, the palace comprises an outer precinct or park, known as the First Court, and an inner precinct of three courts constituting the palace proper. A line of three great portals leading into the First, Second, and Third Courts marks the main ceremonial axis to the audience hall (T. ʿarḍ oda) set beyond the third portal. Behind were gardens with pavilions, and to the left were several residences with courtyards, including several for the sultan's harem.
The separation of men's and women's quarters was picked up in European languages, where several loan-words from sarāy, such as the Italian seraglio and the French serail are sometimes found with the meaning ‘harem’.

The palace-city was also developed in the western Islamic lands, as at the Alhambra, built up in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries outside Granada [see q. v.]. Monuments. B1. One of the best preserved and most popular examples of an Islamic palace, it is actually a series of palaces, including the more public Comares Palace with its audience hall and the more private Palace of the Lions.

In the 18th century, the arrangement seen at the Alhambra reappears in palaces built later in the western Islamic lands. The ruined Badr Palace, built at Marrakush [q. v.] by the Sa'dian ruler Ahmad al-Mansūr (r. 986-1012/1578-1603) for official receptions, for example, is an inflated version of the Court of the Lions. The palace-city was built by the Filāli ruler Isma'il (r. 1082-1139/1672-1727) at Mīnkūn [q. v.], where seven km of thick mud-brick walls with bastions enclose three separate palaces, each comprising several smaller palaces of differing arrangements as well as pavilions, mosques, barracks, prisons, stables, granaries, olive presses and huge pools to water the extensive gardens (M. Barrucand, Urbanisme princier en Islam, Mékénès et les villes royales islamiques post-médéévales, Paris 1985). The scale is far grander than that at the Alhambra, and the site was so large that the palaces were never finished. Piast, made from the ever-available earth, was the main material of construction, but other materials, such as columns and marbles, were salvaged from other sites or imported.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, palaces in the Islamic lands were often built on European models or incorporated features of Western architecture, such as monumental stairways, tall windows, engaged pilasters, and landscape murals. Dolmabahçe Palace, the Ottoman palace built on the shore of the Bosphorus in 1853-5 to replace Topkapı Palace, had an opulent double staircase with rock crystal balustrades, the first ceremonial staircase to survive since the Bāb al-'Amma at Sāmarrā'. The Kādžar dynasty of Persia continued the practice of seasonal migration that the Il-Khānids and Timurids had maintained and had palaces throughout the country. Fath 'Abd al-Shāh (r. 1212-50/1797-1834) enlarged the Golestān Palace in Tehran, a rambling series of buildings and gardens within a walled enclosure that served as winter residence and administrative centre, by adding the Taḵht-i Marmar, a columnar audience hall on the form of a traditional taḵār. To cater for his peripatetic lifestyle, he also established many summer palaces, often terraced structures set in elaborate gardens, including several in hillside villages subsequently incorporated in the northern suburbs of Tehran. His palaces were often decorated with large murals depicting the Shāh and his court. The largest was a mural painted by 'Abd al-Lāzīz Khān in 1812-13 to decorate the Nīgārān Palace; it showed the ruler enthroned in state with 118 life-size figures. The space of palace construction continued under Naṣir al-Dīn (r. 1264-1313/1848-96), but the elegant symmetry typical of Fath 'Abd al-Shāh's work was abandoned and European elements, such as pilasters and tall windows, were added to traditional features such as coloured tilework, ornately carved stucco, and mirror mosaic.

Bibliography: In addition to the monographs on individual palaces cited in the text, see G.A. Pugačenkova, Puti razvitija arhitektury yuzhnogo Turk-


SARBADĀRIDS, the name given to the rulers of the Bayhak (Sazbāzaw [q. v.]) region of Khūrāsān and a section of their followers, in the half century between the death of Abū Sa'īd [q. v.] and the conquest of Persia by Tūmūr [q. v.]. (On the name, often also found as Sarbadal (‘refactory’), see e.g. Nawa'il, note in Samarkandī, 432.) The Sarbadārīd régime has been variously viewed as a robber state, a social revolutionary movement animated by a strong Mahdist impulse, and a type of Shī'a ‘republic’ (see Roemer, 38-9). It can most usefully be seen as an attempt at self-government among the indigenous population of western Khūrāsān, faced with the disintegration of Mongol rule.

The Sarbadārīd uprising started in Bāghtīn, in the district of Sābzawār, on 9 Sha'bān 737/13 March 1337 (Fārūyānādī, 347; cf. Samarkandī, 147). 'Abd al-Razzāk, son of a respected local notable, murdered a tax official and, in an effort to forestall the consequences, rose in revolt. The readiness of others to follow 'Abd al-Razzāk, who is painted as a rash and abusive character, and later his more sophisticated brother, Wādīj al-Dīn Mas'u'd, can and has been explained by the financial oppression of the wa'iz of Khūrāsān, 'Ali al-Dīn Muhammad (Amūli, 181-2). 'Ali al-Dīn’s exactions were driven by the need to finance the aspirations of the Čingizid pretender Tūghāy Tūmūr, whose vain efforts to impose himself as heir to the Il-Khānāte depleted Khūrāsān’s resources and caused the Mongol leaders to neglect the Sarbadārīd uprising until it was too late. 'Abd al-Razzāk was himself devoid of any great political purpose, but was able to gain control of Sabzawār (12 Safar 738/9 September 1337), where several members of 'Alī al-Dīn’s family were killed (Fārūyānādī, 347, 376). 'Abd al-Razzāk’s immoral behaviour led to his death late in 738/June 1338 at the hands of his brother Mas'u'd, who represented the wider ambitions of the rural landowners of the region, anxious to throw off Mongol rule. The growing band of soldiers, young men and 'ayyāsīs [q. v.] who eagerly joined him were rewarded by an egalitarian distribution of the spoils gained from a series of raids, directed particularly against the Dīar-al-Kūf, which culminated in the capture of Nīshāpūr (Amūli, 182).

More significantly, Mas'u'd sought to strengthen
the rather flimsy bases of his authority, and also to attract further support, by involving Shaykh Hasan-i Djiari, a disciple of the Mazarid Shaykh Khalifa, in his cause. Although there seems little doubt that Djiari had not become master of a radical underground movement, he recognised that the grievances of his adherents and of the oppressed Muslims of Khurasan in general could best be represented if he associated himself with the protests being voiced by the outlaws of Sabzawar. Thus began the uneasy alliance between the Sarbadarids and the Shaykhis in Sarbadarid domains, especially in the region that was to become the Shaykhiyya. But the alliance was weakened by the Black Death, which was a disaster, and he was killed in Dhu'l-Ka"b 752/18 December 1351 (Amuli, 1839; Faryumadi, 348). With the accession of Kh"adija "Ali, the Shi'ism of the Sabzawars first found explicit political expression. He announced his rule with a new issue of coins bearing a Shi'i formula, and instituted the practice of bearing a Shi'i formula, and instituted the practice of

One of the assassins, Yahya Karrabi, a landed proprietor of the district, resumed military hostilities and after several confrontations with Tughay Timur, whose ordas were weakened by the Black Death, he

feigned a willingness to make peace and treacherously murdered the last of the Cingizids in his camp at Pul-i Haḍrat Khayāt, near Sulṭān Dūwīn, on 16 Dhu'l-Qa'ada 751/27 November 1350. After several battles, and again in Muharram 752/18 December 1351 near the Gurgan river. Tughay Timur's army was led by aTwelver Shi'i, and, in a coalition against the Mahdists, took his army on 28 Shawwāl 752/18 December 1351 (Amuli, 1839; Faryumadi, 348). The following year, coins in Tughay Timur's name were again minted in Damghan, which had previously passed out of his control.

The leadership was now assumed by one of Mas'ud's commanders, Muhammad Aytimur, who was obliged to acknowledge once more the sovereignty of Tughay Timur. Although he had shown himself a competent ruler, he was murdered at the instigation of the Cingizids, in Muḥarram 753/1343 (Faryumadi, 348), who perhaps favoured a more aggressive policy. This inaugurated a period of instability, in which Sabzawar, but Kh"adija "Ali b. Mu'ayyad, son of a Sabzawari notable, rose in revolt in Dāmghan, sought Darwīsh 'Azīz's help and together they captured Sabzawar. Hasan-i Dāmghānī was murdered, evidently in 763/1362. With the accession of Kh"adija "Ali, the Shi'ism of the Sabzawars first found explicit political expression. He announced his rule with a new issue of coins bearing a Shi'i formula, and instituted the practice of

With the accession of Kh"adija "Ali, the Shi'ism of the Sabzawars first found explicit political expression. He announced his rule with a new issue of coins bearing a Shi'i formula, and instituted the practice of
the opportunity of preserving himself by entering Timur's service. On his death in Huwayzā in 788/1386, the Sarbadārīds realms were divided amongst several leaders, who also served Timur, particularly in the administration of Lower Trāk. In 808/1405, an attempt by a relative of Khūṭāji Allī to claim his "hereditary rights" to the former Sarbadārī lands ended in his execution and the sack of Sabzawār. Another member of the family later won fame as the poet Amīr Shāhī.

The Sarbadārīs produced a number of great poets in the 13th-14th centuries, such as Tadj al-Dīn Allī and Yahya Karrābī (Ibn Arabī), and later in the 15th century, the famous poet Firdawsī (r. 1415-1492) is recorded as having contributed to the Sarbadārī court. In the medieval period, the Sarbadārīs were involved in several military campaigns, notably against the Mongols, who occupied their territories ending in the execution and the sack of the Sarbadārīs' capital. The Sarbadārīs' most significant contribution to later Middle Eastern life was their role in promoting the traditions and practices of Persia, including the use of underground rooms called sār-dab.
Africa. To this first reason, one might add a desire to acquire the silver mines required for a bimetallic monetary system, one based on both gold and silver, and for timber for constructing ships. In Sardinia, there were silver mines in the district of Sulcis, not far from Cagliari, whilst the whole island was practically covered with forests.

The historical information.

At least eleven different Arabic sources describe, in a summary fashion and without details, a series of incursions stretching from the 8th to the 12th century A.D. and taking place at the following dates: 84/703-4; 87/706-8; 92/710-11; 114/732; 117/735; 119/737; 135/752-3; 201/816-17; 206/821-2; 322/933-4; 323/934-5; 405/1014; 406/1015; and 446/1054.

The sources in question are 1. the K. al-Imāna of Ps.-Ibn Kutayba, attributed to Ibn al-Kutiyya (d. 367/977); 2. al-Dabībi (d. 599/1203); 3. Yākūt (d. 626/1233); 4. Ibn al-Athir (d. 630/1233); 5. Abu 'l-Fida (d. 732/1331); 6. al-Nuwayri (d. 732/1332); 7. Ibn al-Tabba (d. 750/1350); 8. al-Dhahabi (d. 748/1348); 9. Ibn Kathlūn (d. 808/1406); 10. al-Makrizi (d. 845/1442); and 11. Abu 'l-Maḥṣin Ibn Taghrībīrī (d. 874/1467).

On the Sardinian side, the sources provide no details at all on an Arab presence in the island except for general statements that the Sardinians always fought with great courage against the invaders. One fact only is reported in detail by sources worthy of credence, such as the Venerable Bede and Paul the Deacon, author of the Historia Langobardorum. This is the transfer of the body of St. Augustine from Cagliari to Pavia, in northern Italy, at the intervention of the King of the Lombards, Liutprand, who between 721 and 726 purchased the relics of the saint so as not to leave them in the hands of the Saracens.

Surviving traces.

Epigraphy. In the Cagliari Archaeological Museum there are three Kūfic inscriptions. The first is a funerary stele of the prismatic type called mkabriyya in the Maghrib, which comes from Assemini, a small town to the north of Cagliari. On it there is the name of a certain Maryam, daughter of Abū Sirr-Assemini, which could mean in Arabic “8th”, and which invites reflection. The etymology of Alghero, which was not transported about and which no-one could suggest the existence of colonies which are not, unfortunately, confirmed by other sources.


SARDĀR (P.), often Arabised as SIRDAR, “supreme military commander”, literally “holding or possess the head”, i.e. chief or leader. It was borrowed in the military sense by the Turks, who, however, sometimes derive it in error from sirr-ādār (“the keeper of a secret”). Through Turkish it has reached Arabic, and in a letter written in 989/1581 by “one of the princes of the Arabs (of Yaman)” occurs the phrase uṣū-‘ayyana sardār “dala’ l-sākir” (“he appointed a commander over the troops”), on which Rutgers comments “Vocabulum sardār, quod Persicæ originis est, duæm exercitus significat”. The abstract substantive sārdāryaţ in the sense of the post or office of commander of an army also occurs; and it was doubtless owing to the familiarity of the Arabic-speaking people of Egypt with the borrowed word that it was selected as the official title of the British commander-in-chief of the Egyptian and Sudanese armies in the periods of the Protectorate and the Condominium, which word was used by the early 20th century applied to the valet or body-servant of a European; it was also applied to the head of a set of palanquin-bearers, and it was still in the early 20th century applied to the valet or body-servant of a European. In India, as a term applied to a servant of the British, it was used by the early 19th century also as a title, as in “Sardār-i Zafar” and “Sardār-i Dāng.” It is clear from the usage in the early and middle 19th century that it was applied to any Indian who achieved prominence, and in the British army it was applied in the 19th and early 20th centuries to the heads of the army of the princes or states, and it was also used in the 19th century applied to the valet or body-servant of a European. In the British army it was used generally of the Indian commissioned officers of the army as a class. Sardār log meant “the (Indian) officers of a corps or regiment”. It was formerly applied to the head of a set of palanquin-bearers, and it was still in the early 20th century applied to the valet or body-servant of a European. The term “sardār” in India was thus used in the mid-19th century to denote the head of a set of palanquin-bearers, and it was still in the early 20th century applied to the valet or body-servant of a European.
It achieved fame in the later 18th century, when Walter Reinhardt, called Sombre or Samru, ... forms, on Gesellschaft rather than Gemeinschaft. Indonesia's links with the heartland of Islam had also greatly

Afghanistan and his family. In 1961, Sardhana had a surviving within British territory as a distinct entity This became, after his death in 1778, the centre of a family estate until her death in 1836, when it was

Khan, formerly leader of the Sayyids of Paghman in Afghanistan and his family. In 1961, Sardhana had a population of 16,563, and the tahlil (in whose rural areas the Muslims are especially represented) one of 361,063.

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India; xxii, 104-7; P. Spear, Twilight of the Mughals, studies in late Mughal Delhi, Cambridge 1951, 115, 143, 132. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetters, Meerut, Allahabad 1968, 44 ff., 48-9. See also Sambur, Opleidingsschool van Inlandschen Ambtenaren). Bibliography: See the exhaustive bibls. to FARAS and FURUSIYYA. (F. Vire)

SAREKAT ISLAM, a Muslim movement in the Netherlands East Indies which flourished 1912-27.

The establishment in 1912 of Sarekat Islam opened a new era for both Islam and political mobilisation in the Dutch East Indies. It actually grew out of an association with more limited aims, the Sarekat Dagang Islam (“Association of Islamic Traders”), set up in 1909 by Raden Mas Tirtoadi, a Javanese aristocrat and merchant whose trading company was then being liquidated. He and other Javanese merchants set this up as a co-operative trading association to counter Chinese economic dominance; from the late 19th century, the Chinese had begun to take over even those small industries (such as the production of batik cloth and kretek cigarettes) which had till then been Javanese-dominated. The association organised successful anti-Chinese boycotts and propaganda, leading to government action against it. One of its members, the batik manufacturer Hadji Samanhoedi, consequently turned to Hadji Omar Said Tjokroaminoto to rebuild the association. Tjokroaminoto, born in 1882, was the son of a relatively minor official in the colonial Javanese bureaucracy, and had himself been trained at the training school for native officials (OSVIA, Opleidingsschool van Inlandschen Ambtenaren). However, he spent only three years in the bureaucracy before moving on to other occupations which led him to travel widely across Java. He now established a re-formed organisation, called Sarekat Islam, on 10 September 1912. The original commercial orientation and anti-Chinese element remained and are evident in the association's newsletter, Oostersch Hindoë ("The Indies Messenger"). But Sarekat Islam soon became a mass movement whose membership went far beyond the elite group responsible for its foundation. It grew phenomenally and drew in diverse elements: not only the small group of Muslim entrepreneurs from whom the founders had been drawn, but also Muslims from the world of the mosque school, Islamic reformists, and, increasingly, the peasant masses. Already by 1914 it had over 360,000 members, and by the time of its first national congress in June 1916 it had recruited more than 80,000 members outside Java.

Islam had had a leading role in large-scale political mobilisation for many centuries. Yet this mobilisation had been pre-modern in its organisational form, being led by traditional elites such as the hereditary aristocracies of the Indies or the elites associated with mosque schools and tarekats. In Java, mobilisation in the name of Islam had been led by princes, and Islam had been largely subordinated to pre-Islamic Javanese political values. Many Islamic concepts had been redefined to accommodate to a highly monarchocentric policy in which service to the ruler (ngawula) was the supreme moral virtue, and Javanese rulers claimed to be endowed with both wabiy [q. v.] and the Light of Prophecy. From the foundation of Sarekat Islam it is clear that Islam had freed itself from the old royalist ideology and paternalism of the sultanate and had done much to make possible an indigenous political life based on associational forms, on Gesellschaft rather than Gemeinschaft. Indonesia's links with the heartland of Islam had also greatly

SARDHANA — SAREKAT ISLAM 51

This became, after his death in 1778, the centre of a population of 16,563, and the tahlil (in whose rural areas the Muslims are especially represented) one of 361,063.

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India; xxii, 104-7; P. Spear, Twilight of the Mughals, studies in late Mughal Delhi, Cambridge 1951, 115, 143, 132. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetters, Meerut, Allahabad 1968, 44 ff., 48-9. See also Sambur, Opleidingsschool van Inlandschen Ambtenaren). Bibliography: See the exhaustive bibls. to FARAS and FURUSIYYA. (F. Vire)
strengthened since the late 19th century through a large increase in those making the Pilgrimage, who re-formed a sort of intern party within Sarekat Islam norms and also brought back a better knowledge of political and military developments overseas. At the local level, the modernising aspect of Sarekat Islam was less evident, indeed was sometimes replaced by a protest against the cost to the peasantry of economic modernisation under the colonial aegis, or against the Chinese money-lenders to whom indebted or tax-burdened peasants had to turn. The years 1913-14 saw a peak of anti-Chinese violence. To say "I am a Muslim" at this period was a way for those at the bottom of the colonial racial hierarchy (below Dutch, Eurasians, and Chinese) to claim a more positive identity than that allocated to them by the Dutch term inlanders (native). Sarekat Islam by its very name tapped this sense of identity and grievance. In addition, Tjokroaminoto was a charismatic leader who became a focus for the messianic beliefs that had been a prominent feature of traditional movements, whatever their core aspirations, whether liberal or socialist. The role of Islam in introducing more modern concepts into political mobilisation in the Indies was certainly not uncontested. Socialist ideas first developed a significant presence in the Indies just at the time Sarekat Islam was established. The Dutch Socialist Sneevliet founded the ISDV (Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereniging, Indies Social Democratic Union) in May 1914 and, after a lack of success with the Eurasian community, turned his attention to Sarekat Islam. From 1916, the Semarang branch of Sarekat Islam was the centre of the Socialist wing, led by the 17-year-old Semaun. Semarang was then the most progressive and liberal city in the Indies, the centre of an embryonic proletariat (associated with the railways and service industries) and of trade union activity. At the second Sarekat Islam conference in 1917, the Semarang group moved to insert into the organisation’s programme the combating of “sinful” (i.e. foreign) capitalism, later to be extended to capitalism in general. The position of the Semarang group was strengthened after the October Revolution in Russia (which led to a dramatic rise in membership of Sarekat Islam), and they were joined by two central Javanese aristocrats, Darsono and Surjopranoto. An opposing group was led by Abdul Muin and Hadji Agus Salim (who had originally joined Sarekat Islam as a government spy but had been converted to its cause) were branded as tools of the colonial government. At the third Sarekat Islam conference, Tjokroaminoto succeeded in reconciling the two factions.

1919 was a turbulent year on Java, with sugar plantations set on fire and peasants refusing to perform their duties. In mid-year there occurred local incidents first in Sulawesi and then in West Java. The latter case ended in the slaughter by government troops of a Garut landowner, Hadji Hasan, and members of his family, after they had shut themselves into their house and refused to hand over the rice tax. It was claimed that there was within Sarekat Islam a clandestine “Section B”, dedicated to the overthrow of colonial rule. As planters and others in the European community panicked at the spectre of a Muslim uprising, the government reacted sharply, leading to a series of mass sentences and trials. It was also found that many of the middle-class Muslims who had founded Sarekat Islam to leave the organisation. The relatively liberal attitude to Islam initiated by Snouck Hurgronje’s policy advice to the colonial government was under serious challenge. In May 1920 the ISDV changed its name to Perserikatan Komunis di Indeia (“Indies Communist Union”), later “Party”) and in July 1920 the Communist Party of Indonesia was established. The latter now published the book Islam and Socialism (Islam dan Sosialisme) which represents a hardening of his attitude to Marxism. In it he attempts to demonstrate that Islamic socialism is the most perfect kind, not only by reference to Muhammad’s teachings but also by a reconstruction of society under the Orthodox Caliphs. He says that the state owned land, which was the same as ownership by the people; that society was neither autocratic nor bureaucratic; and that the army was a people’s army. Among the socialist regulations in force were prohibition of ribā, the institution of zakāt in lieu of the traditional taxes, the abolition of the traditional feasts and commemorations, the prohibition of communal prayers and during the Pilgrimage. As planters and their families panicked at the spectre of a Muslim uprising in 1919, the government reacted sharply, leading to a series of mass sentences and trials. It was also found that many of the middle-class Muslims who had founded Sarekat Islam to leave the organisation. The relatively liberal attitude to Islam initiated by Snouck Hurgronje’s policy advice to the colonial government was under serious challenge. In May 1920 the ISDV changed its name to Perserikatan Komunis di Indeia (“Indies Communist Union”), later “Party”) and in July 1920 the Communist Party of Indonesia was established. The latter now published the book Islam and Socialism (Islam dan Sosialisme) which represents a hardening of his attitude to Marxism. In it he attempts to demonstrate that Islamic socialism is the most perfect kind, not only by reference to Muhammad’s teachings but also by a reconstruction of society under the Orthodox Caliphs. He says that the state owned land, which was the same as ownership by the people; that society was neither autocratic nor bureaucratic; and that the army was a people’s army. Among the socialist regulations in force were prohibition of ribā, the institution of zakāt in lieu of the traditional taxes, the abolition of the traditional feasts and commemorations, the prohibition of communal prayers and during the Pilgrimage. In this book, Tjokroaminoto strongly attacks historical materialism as denying God, and deifying material things. He condemns Bebel’s famous dictum to the effect that it is not that God created man, but that man has invented God. Much of the work is organised not around specifically socialist ideas but around the ideals of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, in the context of Islamic thinkers of the period felt the need to justify Islam in terms of Western political ideals, whether liberal or socialist.

December 1927 saw the first federation of Indonesian political parties (PPPKI: Permusyawaratan Perhatian Politik Kabangsaan Indonesia, “Union of Indonesian Political Associations”), subsequent to the elimination of the Communist Party after an unsuccessful localised uprising in 1926. This began a phase in which there was pressure on all political parties to define or re-define themselves in terms of the nationalist focus indicated by the use of the word “Indonesia”. Sarekat Islam duly changed its name to Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (“The Sarekat Islam Party of Indonesia”). After Tjokroaminoto’s death in 1934, PSI lost much of its influence, and from 1937 on-
wards, a number of breakaway movements left to establish separate parties, adding to the plurality of Islamic organisations, which already encompassed the social movement Muhammadiyah (set up in the same year as Sarekat Islam) and the Nasyiriah (also known as the association of Ulama”) set up in 1926. In an evermore repressive colonial situation, it was impossible for any movement to replicate the early success of Sarekat Islam in mass mobilisation: in 1939, PSII, though still larger than any other political party, had only 12,000 members left. PSII was dissolved at the beginning of the Japanese Occupation, and in November 1943 the Nahdatul Ulama, ("Indonesian Muslim Council" or Masjumi) as a single organisational vehicle for Islam. This unity lasted until 1952, when the Nahdatul Ulama split off, and Indonesia’s first elections in 1955 were contested by a number of Islamic parties which, though they jointly obtained a majority of the votes, were unable to co-operate to form a government based on Islam.

Sarekat Islam is thus paradigmatic of that of political Islam in Indonesia, exhibiting a tremendous capacity for mass mobilisation, the necessity to address powerful competing ideologies both traditional and modern, and the effect of continuing internal divisions in preventing the translation of mass appeal into political dominance.


**ANN KUMAR**

**ŠARF (a.), a term of Arabic grammar. Literally meaning “averting”, “divergence”, this term became in later grammar the current indication for the science of “morphology” as a synonym for *tasrif* [v.]. In the early stages of Arabic grammar this term was used in completely different senses. In Sibawayhi’s Kitab, šarf is almost always connected with the verb *insarf* in the sense of “to be fully declined”, said of a noun. In Sibawayhi’s theory of grammar the normal situation for a noun is to have three case-endings to indicate the three cases (in Western grammars of Arabic such words are said to be triptotic in contrast to words that have only two endings, which are said to be diphtotic). This normal situation obtains when the noun is as near as possible to its lightest, i.e. most flexible form, the triliteral masculine noun. Such a noun is said to be completely *mutamakkin*, i.e. having full freedom of movement (synonym *mutanarj*). When a noun is diverted from this normal pattern it runs the risk of losing its full declension. This at least is the way the later grammarians (as for instance al-Zadjadi’s K. mā *yanšari* *tta*-*mā lā *yanšari*) view the behaviour of these forms. But it is clear that the Kitab šarf matters are somewhat different; here the emphasis is on the absence or presence of nunciation. The lightness of a word (i.e. its unmarked use with maximum syntactic freedom) enables it to carry nunciation, but when it deviates from its normal pattern, it becomes heavier (i.e. more marked) and as a consequence, loses the nunciation and full declinability (*tark al-*šarf, e.g. Kitab, i, 163.11; ii, 2.11 and many other examples, cf. Troupeau, 1976, 123, who translates šarf with “conversion”). It is difficult to explain this use from the lexical meaning of the word, since it is precisely the adherence to a certain pattern that brings nunciation and thus šarf, and only when a word is diverted from its normal pattern (*mašruf an al-*šafi) *lā lā al-*wa* is *mašruf* as al-Khalil says, *apud* Sibawayhi, Kitab, ii, 14.5.11, who himself uses the term *mašruf* an (in the same passage) it loses the šarf (for a detailed analysis of the treatment of this issue in the Kitab, see Reuschel, 1939, 41-7).

One explanation for application of this rule may be the behaviour of a word like *amīs* “yesterday”. Normally, this word has no nunciation and only two endings, since it is used as a temporal adjunct (*šarf*), i.e. in a more restricted construction than the syntactically free words. But when it is diverted from its usual category and used as a proper name it becomes fully declinable with nunciation (*mašruf*; Kitab, ii, 43.6 *la*a 9-*amīs* ḥanāna *layla* *āla* *l-hadd*). Perhaps this is the origin of the term: whenever words are diverted from their own category to another and then they acquire nunciation and full declinability. If this explanation is correct, the original meaning of the term has been generalised to all words receiving nunciation (and full declinability). In later grammar, the theory of full declinability was expressed in a canonical list of factors that cause words to lose one of their endings (the so-called *mašruf* or *šarf*): two factors from this list in combination (e.g. when a word is both feminine and used as proper name) cause a word to become diphtotic (cf. e.g. in al-Zamakhshari’s *Mufassal*, 9-10).

The discussions in this part of the Kitab are typically morphological problems, in which the test of the proper names is used as a device to find out what the status of a word is and to which category it belongs (cf. Carter, 1983). These problems have nothing to do with the syntactic relations within the sentence, since diphtotic words, even though they have only two endings, are syntactically used in all three cases. This may explain why in later grammar šarf was used as a synonym for *tasrif* and became one of the normal terms for “morphology”.

The lexical meaning of *šarf* “to divert, avert” is much clearer in the other sense in which šarf is used in early grammar, in particular by al-Farrā’. Here it means the divergence or non-identity between two constituents of the sentence. In the sentence *la*-*tal-*šarf *al-*samaka tasqarba *l-habana*, for instance, the sub-junctive of *tashraba* is explained by al-Farrā’ by a principle of “divergence” between the two verbs. This construction may be compared to the use of the accusative indicating referential non-identity in a sentence such as *zaydun khafjaka*, as against the sentence *zaydun sabhuka*, where the nominative indicates the identity of the two nouns. According to Carter, 1975, this is Sibawayhi’s theory (he uses the verb *šarf* in connection with this construction, Kitab, i, 418-19), but it became associated with Kūfān grammar under the name of *šarf*, which continued to be used in this sense in later explanations of the construction (cf. e.g. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf*, 229-30; Owens, 1990, 157 f.; Baalbaki, 1981, 22). The term is, indeed, fairly frequent in al-Farrā’ *Mā’tān* (e.g. i, 33; other instances in Carter, 1973, 298, n. 1).
SARF — SARI


SARF, a term of Islamic law [see Suppl.], a general geographical term specifically applied in southeastern Persia to the mountain region in the modern Persian province of Bulkūstān and Sistān adjoining the frontier with Pakistan-8.

In modern Persia, Sari is the ninth metre, and the first metre of the fourth circle. The modern Persian province of Baluchistan and a general geographical term specifically applied in north-west to southeast, and include the volcanic (still partially active) Kuh-i Bazman (3,489 m/11,478 feet) which connects the Sarhadd with the Djabal outliers, such as the Kuh-i Taftan (4,042 m/13,262 feet), any note is Khwāṣ or Vashī, in a broad and fertile valley on the western slopes of the Sarhadd mountain chain and situated on the road linking Zāhīdān (Zahedan) with Irānhār and Cāhāhār on the Makrān [q.v.] coast.

The Sarhadd's role in history has been mainly as a refuge area e.g. for the Mīhrabānī Malik of Nimruz in the 9th/15th century (see C.E. Bosworth, The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nīmrūz (247-861 to 949/1542-3), Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York 1994, 463-5). By the later 19th century, the region had become largely depopulated, with irrigation and agriculture abandoned, because of endemic banditry; this last provoked in 1916 a punitive expedition of the Indian Army mounted from British Balūchistān into the Kūh-i Mārofī (see R.E.H. Dyer, The raiders of the Sarhād, being an account of a campaign of arms and bluff against the brigands of the Persia-Baluchi border during the Great War, London 1921).

Bibliography: See also F.M. Skov, Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Iran, London 1902, 95, 136 ff., C.E. Bosworth, Historical notes on the Sarhadd region in Baluchistān, in Irān Habīb (ed.), Professor Mohammad Habīb centenary volume, Aligarh, forthcoming.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SARHANG (p.), a term denoting a rank of officer or commander in mediaeval Persian armies and paramilitary groups (cf. Vuller, Lexicon persico-latinum, ii, 261-2, 293; dux exercitus, praefectus). Thus the sarhangs were leaders of bands of 'ṣayyārs [q.v.] or Sunni orthodox vigilantes combating the Khāridzhīs in the 3rd/9th century Sīstān, and Yaḵūb b. al-Layth, founder of the Saffārī dynasty [q.v.], embarked on his power to rise by becoming a 'ṣayyār forces of a local leader in Būst, Šāhī b. al-Nadār al-Kinānī (Tāvšīq-i Sīstān, ed. Bahār, passim; Gardīzī, Zayn al-ḥāvrār, ed. Nazim, 11, ed. Habībī, 139; see the discussion by Bosworth in BSOAS, xxxi (1968), 539-40).

In modern Persia, sarhang denotes the rank of colonel.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SARĪ, Arabic form Sarīya, a town of the Caspian region of Persia, in mediaeval Islamic times within the province of Tabaristān, now in the modern province of Mazandarān [q.v.] (lat. 36° 33' N., long. 53° 06' E.). It lies some 52 km/30 miles from the Caspian Sea on the Tūzīn river (Hudūd al-ṣām, tr. 77: Tūzīn-Rūḏh) and in the hot and humid coastal plain; the surrounding region has always been famous for its silk production and its fruits.

Whether Sarī had any pre-Islamic history is unclear, though Islamic lore asigned its foundation to the legendary Fiṣḥādīd [q.v.] figure, Tahmūrīlah. Details are lacking of the first appearance of the Arabians there; this may have been in the time of 'Uṯmān's governor of Kūfah, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [q.v.]. Sūlāyman b. ʿAbd al-Malik's governor Yazīd b. al-Muḥallāb [see Muhallābids] temporarily occupied the town, but was compelled to withdraw by the Dābūyīd [see Dābūyā] Ḳịpsābāh Farrūkhān. The first Islamic building erected there was a congregational mosque built by the first ʿAbbaṣīd governor of Tabaristān, Abu ʿ1-Khūdāb, in 430/1040-5. It remained generally the capital of the indigenous Ṣipāḥbāhs, with the Arab governors installed at nearby Amūl [q.v.], although in the 3rd/9th century the Tāhirīd governors and the local ʿAlīdīs moved their capital to Sarī, and the Bawandīds remained there till the 7th/13th century. The town was flourishing in the 4th/10th century, according to the geographers, with a citadel surrounded by a moat and rampart and a flourishing textiles industry.

There is little mention of Sarī in later Islamic times. It suffered on Mongol times and was sacked by Timūr's troops in 795/1393, yet recovered and remained the capital of Mazandarān till the Zands, who transferred it to Bārūrūfīsh. Āghā Muḥammad Kāḏār Kāḏārī brought it back again to Sarī, but in the 19th century the town declined in favour of Amūl and Bārūrūfīsh-Bābul and only revived in the 20th century with the advent of the railway and of better road communications during the Pahlāvī period. It is now the capital both of a shahrestān or canton of the same name and of the province (ustān) of Mazandarān; in ca. 1950 the population was 25,000, but this has now risen to 185,844 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). See further, Mazandarān.


(C.E. Bosworth)

SARĪ, an Arabic metre with the following three main types, each consisting of six feet to the line and differing in the last foot (darb) only:

(a) -__-__- -__-__-__- -__-__-__- -
(b) -__-__- -__-__-__- -__-__-__- -
(c) -__-__- -__-__-__- -__-__-__- -

(in which = represents an overlong syllable i.e. consonant + long vowel + consonant). The first and fourth foot come in three variants: - _ _ _ _ _ and - _ _ _ _ _ - . The second and fifth foot have either - _ _ _ _ _ - or - _ _ _ _ _ - . In the work of Ibn al-Rūmī (221-76/836-96 [q.v.]), the distichs 36° 33' N., long. 53° 06' E.}

In Khālīlīan theory [see ʿarūf], sarī is the ninth metre, and the first metre of the fourth circle. The
scansion of the circle metre is mustaf'ilun mustaj'ilun
mqf'dtu (twice). Types (a), (b) ... and other
patrons. Al-Sarî himself was, however, not immune to
the accusation of sarika: Ibn al-Nadîm—amidst a
awwal al-sari*, thdnî 'l-sari*, thdlith al-sari*.

In practice, however, types (d) and (e) are called ra'djaz
qua by many authorities (cf. Ibn Râshîd, *Umda,
308, 323, 675, 798, 801, 802, 808; but note
that the fact of the metre which begins on p. 297
is said to be min mashtur al-ra'djaz).

A different system is found in al-Djoharî (d. 308/921[?]). He does not recognize the sarî
as an independent metre, but considers the six-
foot types as sub-forms of a barîid from which the second foot of each hemistich has been left out ('ârid
er-awrâka, 23-4; Ibn Râshîd, *Umda, i, 137, ii, 303).
The three-foot or maqûrî types, sc. (d) and (e) above,
are, according to him, sub-forms of ra'djaz ('ârid
er-awrâka, 46 n. 15).

For further statistics and a discussion of the growing
importance of the metre in 'Abbâsid times, see J.
Bencheikh, Poétique arabe, 203-40.

Bibliography: G. W. Freytag, Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst, Bonn 1830, 242-54; imd (ed.),
Hamasea carmina cum Tibrizi scholiis integris, Bonn 1828-51; Muhammad al-Dârnâni, *Irshad al-
sha'i 'alâ main al-Kâfi', Bûlak 1285/1865; Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Ma'rûzî, *Shirî Sânî al-Hamamâa,
ed. Ahmad 'Amin and 'Abd al-Salâm Hârûn, Cairo 1371-2/1951-3; Ibn Râshîd, al-*Umda fi maqûs al-
sha'i wa-adabkhî wu-ndakîb, ed. Muhammad Muhyî‘l-Dîn 'Abd al-Hamîd, 2 vols., *Cairo 1374/1955;
Abu Naṣr Imsâîl al-Djoharî, *Awrâd al-urawâka, ed. Muhammad al-Malîm, Casablanca 1984; J. Ben-

(W. Stoetzter)

AL-SARÎ B. AHMAD B. AL-SARÎ AL-RAFFÂ

He was born in Mawsil, where his father apprenticed
to the clothes-menders/jobbing tailors (raffâ‘un), hence his nickname, which is, however, not yet used by the contemporary source Ibn al-Nadîm (Fihrist, 169). In spite of his lowly occupation he acquired his nature to them to appropriate (ghasabd) verses they lik-
ed (Fihrist, 169, i, 12), but he is otherwise said to have been uneducated. After achieving a certain fame as a poet, he went to the Hamdânîd court in Aleppo in 345/956-7 (for the year, see Ibn d-Adîm, *Bughâya, ii, 428) and found ac-
ceptance among the court poets of Sayf al-Dawla.

The main feature of al-Sarî’s life as depicted in the sources is his constant feud with the two Khâlidî brothers, Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Hâshîm and Abu Uthman Sa’d b. Hâshîm (see al-Khâlidîyyân).

They too came from Mawsil and it seems that already early on al-Sarî accused them of stealing his own as well as other poets’ poetry. Ibn al-Nadîm, in his paraphrase on the Khâlidîs, concurs that it was second nature to them to appropriate (ghasabâ) verses they lik-
ed (Fihrist, 169, i, 21-3). To make the accusation stick, al-Sarî used the devious method of making copies of the dîwân of Kushadjim (d. 350/961 [q.v.]), whom he admired and emulated, and including the best poems of the Khâlidîs in them (al-Thâ’alîbî, *Yatîma, ii, 118; Yâkût, *Irshad, xi, 185). For the time of the Muhallabi’s successor al-Abbâs b. al-Husayn al-Sîrâzî (appointed vizier in 356/967, d. 362/973 [q.v.]) we have an anecdote related by Mu-
hâssîn b. Ibrâhim al-Sâbî (d. 401/1010; see al-
sârî, no. 8), according to which al-Sarî must have been a man of the most stated means at the time (apud Ibn d-Adîm, *Bughâya, ii, 429-30).

The main feature of al-Sarî’s life as depicted in the sources is his constant feud with the two Khâlidî brothers, Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Hâshîm and Abu Uthman Sa’d b. Hâshîm (see al-Khâlidîyyân). They too came from Mawsil and it seems that already early on al-Sarî accused them of stealing his own as well as other poets’ poetry. Ibn al-Nadîm, in his paraphrase on the Khâlidîs, concurs that it was second nature to them to appropriate (ghasabâ) verses they liked (Fihrist, 169, i, 21-3). To make the accusation stick, al-Sarî used the devious method of making copies of the dîwân of Kushadjim (d. ca. 350/961 [q.v.]), whom he admired and emulated, and including the best poems of the Khâlidîs in them (al-Thâ’alîbî, *Yatîma, ii, 118; Yâkût, *Irshad, xi, 183; Ibn Khullîkan, ii, 360). The feud between al-Sarî and his adversaries was a long-lasting one; in the account of al-Khâjî al-Taghîbdî, the first of this feud is described in detail (al-Mu‘âsharât, ii, 30-1). In the second passage, al-Sarî’s nemesis, who succeed in poisoning his relations with Sayf al-Dawla, al-Wâzîr al-Muhabbî, and other patrons. Al-Sarî himself was, however, not immune to the accusation of sarîka: Ibn al-Nadîm—amidst a
string of admiring epithets—calls him a man "of many thefts" (kathir al-sarika, Fihrist, 169, 1. 28). It is, however, important here to distinguish between two kinds of plagiarism, (a) taking possession (musa'ada) of other people's poems (musa'ada, for the term see e.g. Yatima, ii, 119, 1. 5), and (b) taking up, and playing with, existing and attributable motifs. Both play a role in al-Sari's literary life. On the one hand, Ibn al-Nadim mentions that al-Sari is said to have appropriated the poetry of his teacher Ibn Abi Barrak (Fihrist, 169, 1. 12), and al-Tha'alibī writes that he discovered a number of identical poems in the collection of poetry of the other Khalidīs in the handwriting of Abū 'Uthmān, the younger of the two poets, and the collection of al-Sari's poetry in the poet's own handwriting, both belonging to the bibliophile Abū Nasr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (Yatima, ii, 118-19; one of the poems he quotes in this regard is actually also included in Kūshādīm, Diwān, ed. Khayriyya M. Mahfūz, Baghdād 1390/1970, 230, no. 210, and has even a fourth avatar in an unattributed appearance in al-Sari's own anthology K. al-Muḥādib [see below, iv, 326, no. 717]. Al-Tha'alibī declares himself unable to decide whether the duplication of poems is due to tawārīḍ "two poets having the exact same idea" or musā'ātā "appropriating another poet's poems" (Yatima, ii, 119, ll. 4-5). If theft is involved, it is still unclear who is the thief and who the victim. In his chapter on the Khalidīs brothers, al-Tha'alibī thus uses the term tawārīḍ "two-way theft" to characterise the cases of strong similarity between the Khalidīs and al-Sari which he presents to the reader (Yatima, ii, 184-6 [Abū Bakr], and 199-201 [Abū 'Uthmān]). He also makes an important observation concerning the reason that made the free copying, or malicious stealing, of so many poems possible: there is, between al-Sari and the Khalidīs, "an amazing agreement and a close similarity in handling the reins of the rhymes and fashioning the adornment of the motifs" (Yatima, ii, 119, ll. 5-6). The only way of redress that a poet had to combat an infringement of his "copyright" was to complain (tazallum) about this injustice to the authorities, most commonly to the recipients of their poetry. A fair amount of al-Sari's poems contain such complaints against the Khalidīs.

The other type of plagiarism is the more regular and—in an age of mannerist poetics—hardly reprehensible type of adopting and, if possible, imitating the motives of other poets. Al-Tha'alibī gives a list of 44 such cases and praises al-Sari for his skillful "plagiarism" (huwa al-sarika wa-daydut al-akhlī, see Yatima, ii, 120, penult.). The "victims" are almost all "modern" poets, led by al-Mutanabbī who serves as a model twelve times. Al-Sari al-Raffāī has left three works, two of which, the Diwān and al-Mushūb wa l-mashārīf wa l-maṣāhīr, have been preserved. The latter is an anthology of the maṣārin-catalogue type, i.e. a topically arranged selection of poetic fragments with descriptions of the various parts of the beloved, of the lover, of spring, and of wine. The majority of the poems are "Moderns", but Umayyad poets have their fair share, while pre-Islamic ones occur very rarely. The Diwān was, according to Ibn al-Nadim (Fihrist, 169, penult.), edited by the poet himself shortly before his death on ca. 300 leaves which then added more material to it. It was also edited by an unknown "modern" adīh in the alphabetic arrangement according to rhyme letters. This may mean that the poet's edition was not alphabetical. If so, the situation may be reflected in the surviving manuscripts, some of which are alphabetical, while others are not the description of the ms. in Diwān, i, 188-208). However, the situation was very likely more complicated: al-Tha'alibī enumerates three sources for his knowledge of al-Sari's poetry: the Diwān as brought to him from Baghdād, a number of outstanding poems recited to him and given for copying by the famous poet and epistolographer Abū Bakr al-Khāṣāzmī (d. 383/993 [q.v. under al-Khāṣāzmī]), and a volume (muqallada) in al-Sari's own hand-writing in the possession of Abū Nasr Sahl b. al-Marzubān and containing many additions to the Diwān. But still, he says, he found in the secondary literary fragments of poems by al-Sari that he could not trace in his sources. Ibn al-'Āṣim lists nine people, among them Abū Bakr al-Khāṣāzmī, who are said to have transmitted al-Sari's poetry (Baghya, i, 428). The details of the early transmission of al-Sari's poetry are thus still obscure.

The opinions about al-Sari's stature as a poet were generally very high. He is even called "next in line" (nādi) after al-Mutanabbī and superior to him in tenderness (riṣāla) (on the title-page of the Diwān ms. Laleli 174, ed. Misbah Ghalawundī [?], 4 vols. [vol. 4, ed. Māqīūd Ḥasan al-Dhāḥabī, Damascus 1306-7/1987 (the ms. Vienna 359 bearing the same title is not al-Sari's work; the ed. has identified it as a rearranged version of Ḥalībat al-aṣmā' by al-Nawādīq [q.v.], see introd., n. 34]). The index of poetically described objects in the recent Diwān edition lists 150 items (!).

Not all of them yield monothematic poems, many are integrated into larger frameworks. Some of these seem to be unusual polythematic structures, possibly created by al-Sari. Thus poem no. 353 (Diwān, ii, 464-5) starts with a description of the morning and a rooster, leads on to a wine song, and ends with a panegyric on Sayf al-Dawāl. An interesting subgenre with al-Sari is his descriptions of his own poetry, of which al-Tha'alibī gives a small collection of examples (Yatima, ii). A close literary study is still lacking.


W. P. HIEHILSCHER

ṢĀRĪ AL-SAKĀTĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Mughallax, important Sūfi of the second generation of Sūfīs in Baghdād, 155-253/772-867.
Biography

Born as the son of a pedlar (sakati) who had settled at an early date in the Karkh [q. v.] quarter of Baghdad, Sari rose to be a distinguished wholesale trader, known for his honesty (Ta'rikh Bagdad = TB, ix, 189). Like other merchants, he devoted himself to hadith studies which, as the names of his teachers indicate, must have brought him from Baghdad via Kufa to Mecca (Hilya, x, 127).

At the age of ca. 35-40 he encountered the saint Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (d. 815 [q. v.]), which brought him from his homeland (ibid., ix, 117). His wandering years ended around 218/833 with his definite return to Baghdad. Probably already before his journeys he had won there Bishr al-Hafi (d. 840 [q. v.] as a paternal friend. For his views he was also indebted to Fu'dayl b. 'Iyad (d. 803 [q. v.]), whom he did not, however, come to know personally. He does not seem to have maintained close relations with al-Muhâsibi (d. 857 [q. v.]), who was very closely connected to him as far as Sufi ethics and self-education were concerned (cf. J. van Ess, Gedankenwelt, 10).

Sari in his statements as well as in the accounts about him, Sari appears as a noble, unselfish, helpful and dynamic personality who, as a member of the Islamic community, felt himself responsible for the well-being of many a Kur 'ân reader on the ground of his piety and religious knowledge, which he misuses for this, Luma', 201, l. 3; Meier, Abû Sa'id, 304; on a higher one, he censures the claim to social authority from that from which the hands are free" (Hilya, x, 116). From a certain moment onwards he withdrew completely into his own world of experience and permitted only intimates to attend to him. For this fourth period of Sari's life, too, people in Baghdad had a concrete explanation. Once he was teaching in his circle when the misanthrope Abu Dja'far al-Sammâk passed and marred the holding of further sessions by remarking: "Abu 'l-Hasan, you have become the resting-place of the idlers" (TB, xiv, 411).

Sari's character

In his statements as well as in the accounts about him, Sari appears as a noble, unselfish, helpful and dynamic personality who, as a member of the Islamic community, felt himself responsible for the well-being of his fellow men (cf. TB, ix, 188). This attitude had already won him the favour of Ma'ruf al-Karkhi and made him later responsive to the futuwwa [q. v.] of Ibrahim b. Adham, who did every kind of work for others but would himself never lay claim to their help. The after-effects of his influence also sharpened Sari's sensitivity towards good manners (adab, cf. Hilya, x, 120, l. 20-1, 122, l. 18-20). Like Ibn Adham, Sari was a man of action and not a theoretician. Knowledge ('ilm) interested him only in so far as it could be turned into deed ('amâl). He shared Bishr al-Hâfi's scepticism of knowledge of the hadith; according to him, it was "no provision for the hereafter" (ibid., x, 127). Consequently, he transmitted only traditions which were illustrated by his own attitude on which he would support the latter. He was no less at a loss with theology, even if occasionally he knew how to gain a Sufi aspect from a theologumenon (cf. Muhtasar Ta'rikh Dimashq = MTD, ix, 227 in the middle). There was only one knowledge for which he had a burning interest, namely, the paths to self-knowledge and self-education; as a protagonist of this field of knowledge, he particularly esteemed al-Mu'âshibî (Kû 'û al-Salih, ii, 35, l. 11-12 = Gramlich, Die Naturwissenschaft, 1, 6).

Like Ibn Adham, Sari was a man of action and not a theoretician. Knowledge ('ilm) interested him only in so far as it could be turned into deed ('amâl). He shared Bishr al-Hâfi's scepticism of knowledge of the hadith; according to him, it was "no provision for the hereafter" (ibid., x, 127). Consequently, he transmitted only traditions which were illustrated by his own attitude on which he would support the latter. He was no less at a loss with theology, even if occasionally he knew how to gain a Sufi aspect from a theologumenon (cf. Muhtasar Ta'rikh Dimashq = MTD, ix, 227 in the middle). There was only one knowledge for which he had a burning interest, namely, the paths to self-knowledge and self-education; as a protagonist of this field of knowledge, he particularly esteemed al-Mu'âshibî (Kû 'û al-Salih, ii, 35, l. 11-12 = Gramlich, Die Naturwissenschaft, 1, 6).

Other main features of Sari's character were his sincerity and veracity. Bishr al-Hâfi had trained him in the freedom not to fool others in anything (Luma', 373, l. 5-8), and Sari himself demanded that nothing should be done or left out "on behalf of people" but only on behalf of God alone (Sifat al-safa, ii, 213), in other words, that there should be practised what in 'Irâk was understood as ikhlas [q. v.] and which Sari, in association with al-Djurtdjânî, still called tâdâl al-irâda "purification of intention" (al-Sulâmî, 51; for al-Djurtdjânî, see Hilya, x, 112). In the method of carrying through this attitude against all impulses of hypocrisy (rija'), he largely followed al-Mu'âshibî (cf. ibid., x, 125, and van Ess, Gedankenwelt, 149 f.).

Above all, he fought a particular case of hypocrisy, which one might qualify as "business by means of religion". On a lower level he condemns "eating thanks to one's religion" (Hilya, x, 117, l. 7-10; see for this, Luma', 201, l. 3; Meier, Abû Sa'id, 304); on a higher one, he censures the claim to social authority from that from which the hands are free" (Hilya, x, 116). From a certain moment onwards he withdrew completely into his own world of experience and permitted only intimates to attend to him. For this fourth period of Sari's life, too, people in Baghdad had a concrete explanation. Once he was teaching in his circle when the misanthrope Abu Dja'far al-Sammâk passed and marred the holding of further sessions by remarking: "Abu 'l-Hasan, you have become the resting-place of the idlers" (TB, xiv, 411).

Sari's character

In his statements as well as in the accounts about him, Sari appears as a noble, unselfish, helpful and dynamic personality who, as a member of the Islamic community, felt himself responsible for the well-being of many a Kur 'ân reader on the ground of his piety and religious knowledge, which he misuses for this, Luma', 201, l. 3; Meier, Abû Sa'id, 304; on a higher one, he censures the claim to social authority from that from which the hands are free" (Hilya, x, 116). From a certain moment onwards he withdrew completely into his own world of experience and permitted only intimates to attend to him. For this fourth period of Sari's life, too, people in Baghdad had a concrete explanation. Once he was teaching in his circle when the misanthrope Abu Dja'far al-Sammâk passed and marred the holding of further sessions by remarking: "Abu 'l-Hasan, you have become the resting-place of the idlers" (TB, xiv, 411).

Sari's character

In his statements as well as in the accounts about him, Sari appears as a noble, unselfish, helpful and dynamic personality who, as a member of the Islamic community, felt himself responsible for the well-being of his fellow men (cf. TB, ix, 188). This attitude had already won him the favour of Ma'ruf al-Karkhi and made him later responsive to the futuwwa [q. v.] of Ibrahim b. Adham, who did every kind of work for others but would himself never lay claim to their help. The after-effects of his influence also sharpened Sari's sensitivity towards good manners (adab, cf. Hilya, x, 120, l. 20-1, 122, l. 18-20). Like Ibn Adham, Sari was a man of action and not a theoretician. Knowledge ('ilm) interested him only in so far as it could be turned into deed ('amâl). He shared Bishr al-Hâfi's scepticism of knowledge of the hadith; according to him, it was "no provision for the hereafter" (ibid., x, 127). Consequently, he transmitted only traditions which were illustrated by his own attitude on which he would support the latter. He was no less at a loss with theology, even if occasionally he knew how to gain a Sufi aspect from a theologumenon (cf. Muhtasar Ta'rikh Dimashq = MTD, ix, 227 in the middle). There was only one knowledge for which he had a burning interest, namely, the paths to self-knowledge and self-education; as a protagonist of this field of knowledge, he particularly esteemed al-Mu'âshibî (Kû 'û al-Salih, ii, 35, l. 11-12 = Gramlich, Die Naturwissenschaft, 1, 6).

Other main features of Sari's character were his sincerity and veracity. Bishr al-Hâfi had trained him in the freedom not to fool others in anything (Luma', 373, l. 5-8), and Sari himself demanded that nothing should be done or left out "on behalf of people" but only on behalf of God alone (Sifat al-safa, ii, 213), in other words, that there should be practised what in 'Irâk was understood as ikhlas [q. v.] and which Sari, in association with al-Djurtdjânî, still called tâdâl al-irâda "purification of intention" (al-Sulâmî, 51; for al-Djurtdjânî, see Hilya, x, 112). In the method of carrying through this attitude against all impulses of hypocrisy (rija'), he largely followed al-Mu'âshibî (cf. ibid., x, 125, and van Ess, Gedankenwelt, 149 f.).

Above all, he fought a particular case of hypocrisy, which one might qualify as "business by means of religion". On a lower level he condemns "eating thanks to one's religion" (Hilya, x, 117, l. 7-10; see for this, Luma', 201, l. 3; Meier, Abû Sa'id, 304); on a higher one, he censures the claim to social authority from that from which the hands are free" (Hilya, x, 116). From a certain moment onwards he withdrew completely into his own world of experience and permitted only intimates to attend to him. For this fourth period of Sari's life, too, people in Baghdad had a concrete explanation. Once he was teaching in his circle when the misanthrope Abu Dja'far al-Sammâk passed and marred the holding of further sessions by remarking: "Abu 'l-Hasan, you have become the resting-place of the idlers" (TB, xiv, 411).
The idea of narrowing what is permitted by means of wara* in such a way that zuhd practically loses its object goes also back to this heritage. This was in any case the topic in which Sarî proceeded (TB, ix, 190). When sure of their irreproachable, he was at least as well known for his humble and sincere behavior as by all means open to worldly titbits (MTD, ix, 217 below). But he followed Ibn Adhâm's ideas of wara* also in another aspect; not only did he not want to eat anything which might burden him before God, but neither should food render him indebted to any God (cf. ibïda [q.v.]), excessive service of God as practised by Das Sendschreiben, Kushayri, 59, 11. 9-10 = Gramlich, Das Sendschreiben, 41).

All along there had been a latent conflict between excessive service of God ('ibâda [q.v.]), as practised by the ascetics, and social requirements. Initially, Sarî had clearly decided in favour of the latter. He transmitted to his pupils (al-Sulâmî, 165, ll. 9-10) the relevant hadîth, taken over from Ma'rûf, "He who fulfills a wish of his Muslim brother is rewarded in the same way as one who has served God during all his life." (Manâtib, 626-7). In the last period of his life, however, he recommends as "the direct path into paradise" that "one should occupy oneself with the service of God, turn only to Him in such a way that there does not remain anything else inside oneself." (Hîyâ, x, 119). Ascetic piety expressed in works is certainly not at stake any more here, but it was on the one hand a matter of the delight of being alone with God (cf. ibïd., x, 117, l. 14, 253, l. 10) and on the other a matter of avoiding temptations, no less important for Sarî (al-Sulâmî, 50, l. 6-7).

With the conviction of his own depravity, Sarî enters the field of hyperbolism. This conviction may have been furthered by continuous self-criticism and by examination of his conscience, but it also corresponds to an old praxis of exercise in humility (cf. van Ess, Gedankenwelt, 158): one forces oneself to the notion that one is worse than everybody else. Fudayl b. 'Iyâd [q.v.] held the same view (Hîyâ, viii, 101). To the alarm of his pupils, Sarî did not even wish to have preference over homosexual boys (al-Sulâmî, 49, l. 10 ff.) and continuously squinted at the tip of his nose in order to investigate whether his face had not already become black because of his depravity (Hîyâ, x, 116; this passage became famous, cf. Ta'âarruf, 31, l. 8).

Sarî also gives a new turn to another ascetic motive, namely ostentatious and continuous mourning as it was practiced by the bakkâ'ûn and later by Fudayl b. 'Iyâd. Sarî still allows for this attitude when he mentions "weeping about one's sins" as the first of the "five most beautiful things" (al-Sulâmî, 54). Later, being mournful becomes for him the characteristic of someone who loves God (as in Hîyâ, x, 125, l. 24), and when he explains before al-Djunâydan "I should wish that the mourning of the entire mankind be thrown upon me." (ibïd., 118); this may conceivably have an altruisch meaning, but certainly not the former ascetic one.

Finally, a word on the primal ascetic motive of fear of God and His Judgement. It is true that reminiscences of both the absolute and the polarized fear of God are not lacking in Sarî's thinking (e.g. Hîyâ, x, 118, ll. 2-4, and al-Sulâmî, 53, l. 5), but the starting point of his reflections is a well-considered balance between fear and its counter-force, namely, hopefulness (for this problem see Massignon, TA, 116, 118). He perceives fear of God as a psychosomatic phenomenon. While speaking about this, he tried to extend the skin of his forearm, and when this proved to be impossible, he said, "If I were to assert that this skin had dried up on this bone out of love for Him, I would speak the truth" (al-Kushâyri, ii, l. 11 = Gramlich, Das Sendschreiben, 41-2). Elsewhere, too, he depicts the love of God as an inner burning (TB, ix, 191, ll. 7-10) and does not get tired of quoting corresponding verses on profane love (Lûmûa, 251, ll. 4-6). It is, therefore, no wonder that he also transmitted the famous-infamous hadîth al-šâkûk (al-Kushâyri, 112, l. 23 = Gramlich, Das Sendschreiben, 317; for the hadîth itself, see Massignon, Essai, 195-6).

Sarî represents here the well-known conviction that lovers of God would be tested by Him in the hardest possible way, so that the truthfulness of their love might prove itself. In a dream he hears God telling them: "I want to bring down upon you as many proofs as you have breaths, which not even the solid mountains would stand. Will you bear them patiently (a-tašûrinâ)" They answer: "If it is You who tests us, do whatever You wish!" (Sîfât al-šâfa'a, ii, 216, ll. 15 ff.) Sarî himself did not advance any further opinion on this, but we possess a vivid description by al-Djunâydan of the torments in question, where he depicts the desperate endeavours with which the mystic tries to win back the situation of bliss, caused by the union, after he has awakened from his ecstasy (Kushâyri, Cup, 34-8 = Gramlich, Islamihe Mystik, 19-22). Perhaps the linguistic virtuoso that the pupil was, retained here his master's experiences.

Sarî was indeed very well acquainted with the ecstatic heights of mystical experience. Al-Djunâydan does this with the help of a surmounting third notion: firstly, it is the shame (haya') before God's eye (Hîyâ, x, 117), which takes the place of the mere fear of His punishment; secondly, the longing for His APPROACH (Manâtib, ii, 253, l. 14-15, 247, l. 20 ff.); secondly, Sarî introduces here as a fourth binding force, after the example of Shâqîl b. Bâllîkhi (Adâb al-šâbâdat, 20-1), the love of God, which outshines the elementary experiences of fear and hope. On the other hand, he refines fear and hope into feelings of reverence (haya') and intimacy (uns) (Sîfât al-šâfu'a, ii, 215, ll. 7-8). All "new" notions are characterized as personal feelings towards God and therefore indicate that we find ourselves already in the sphere of mysticism. In the "five things next to which nothing else rests in the heart", Sarî gives a summing up, namely "fear of God alone, hope in God alone, love of God alone, shame before God alone, and intimacy with God alone" (Hîyâ, x, 124-5).

Sarî's mystical experiences

We are extremely badly informed about what Sarî made public of his mystical experience (cf. al-Sulâmî, 48, l. 3-2; al-Kushâyri, 10, l. 2 = Gramlich, Das Sendschreiben, 41). It is certain that this experience was completely under the imprint of the love of God. The impulse might go back to Ma'rûf al-Karkhî who, after his death, could only be imagined in paradise as being drunk with the love of God (Manâtib, 675-6) and who is said to have been moved by the love of God to that form of renunciation of the world which he also knew how to provoke in Sarî (Kât., iii, 82, l. 4 ff.). In fact, it is to al-Djunâydan exclusively that we owe all information on Sarî's love of God, and so it dates only from the third or fourth periods of his life.

Here, too, in the most authentic field of his mysticism, Sarî is seen as the practical man who is averse from all forms of speculation. He does not want to have anything to do with the Sûfî theory of love; on the contrary, he wants to understand love of God as a psychosomatic phenomenon. While speaking about this, he tried to extend the skin of his forearm, and when this proved to be impossible, he said, "If I were to assert that this skin had dried up on this bone out of love for Him, I would speak the truth" (al-Kushâyri, ii, l. 11 = Gramlich, Das Sendschreiben, 41-2). Elsewhere, too, he depicts the love of God as an inner burning (TB, ix, 191, ll. 7-10) and does not get tired of quoting corresponding verses on profane love (Lûmûa, 251, ll. 4-6). It is, therefore, no wonder that he also transmitted the famous-infamous hadîth al-šâkûk (al-Kushâyri, 112, l. 23 = Gramlich, Das Sendschreiben, 317; for the hadîth itself, see Massignon, Essai, 195-6).

Sarî represents here the well-known conviction that lovers of God would be tested by Him in the hardest possible way, so that the truthfulness of their love might prove itself. In a dream he hears God telling them: "I want to bring down upon you as many proofs as you have breaths, which not even the solid mountains would stand. Will you bear them patiently (a-tašûrinâ)" They answer: "If it is You who tests us, do whatever You wish!" (Sîfât al-šâfu'a, ii, 216, ll. 15 ff.) Sarî himself did not advance any further opinion on this, but we possess a vivid description by al-Djunâydan of the torments in question, where he depicts the desperate endeavours with which the mystic tries to win back the situation of bliss, caused by the union, after he has awakened from his ecstasy (Kushâyri, Cup, 34-8 = Gramlich, Islamihe Mystik, 19-22). Perhaps the linguistic virtuoso that the pupil was, retained here his master's experiences.

Sarî was indeed very well acquainted with the ecstatic heights of mystical experience. Al-Djunâydan
reports about a trance of the master, in which his face radiated in such a way that the bystanders could no more stand the sight (Lumã, 307, 12, 13 ff.). Moreover, Sari confirmed his ecstatic experiences (maw'addât hâdît') and intensive thoughts of God (adhkâr ka'tûyâ) could lead the mystic so far that “his face might be beaten with a sword without him being aware of it” (ibid., 306, 6-12).

He served as tezâkiîî (private secretary) to Khalîl Pasha when, in his second vizierate, the latter was given command of the troops in the Persian campaign, and of the army in the 1038/1628 campaign (q.v.) in place of Mehmed Efendi, who had just died, but was soon dismissed at the same time as his patron. After the latter’s death in 1038/1629, he remained out of office until 1040/1638 when he was appointed to the imperial rûdâb (q.v.). He accompanied Murâd IV on his Baghdad campaign and then became re'sî l-kâtûb for the second time. He continued in various positions until 1065/1655 when he retired from public life and devoted his remaining years to writing. His tomb is in the cemetery of Maltepe outside the Top Kapî (Gate of St. Romanus) in Istanbul (Gibb, HOP, iv, 79).

A member of the Bayrâmiyya tarîkh, Sârî ‘Abd Allah Efendi had a close relationship also with leaders of the Mawlawiyya (q.v.), and most of his works (in Turkish and Arabic) were connected with mysticism. His five-volume Djevâhir-i bewdîrî-i Melûmâni, written 1033-41/1625-31 and dedicated to Murâd IV, is a Turkish translation of the commentary on the first volume of Mawlawâni’s Persian Muthâhâr (q.v.), but has been described as an “encyclopedia of mysticism” (Akûn, loc. cit.), containing as it does information about various orders and legends of saints. The interpretation is closely related to Sârî ‘Abd Allah’s knowledge of Ibn al-‘Arabi’s (q.v.) doctrines. Although stylistically the work is part of the high culture, with sections in rhymed prose, it also contains sentences that are short and simple, and close to the spoken language (Banûrî, op. cit.). It was printed at Istanbul in 1288/1871. Among his other works are: Nasihatâ l-îmûlak, a Mirror for Princes and discussion of death and the hereafter; Themelât l-tâcîd, a discussion on mystical topics with Ismâ’il Kiranwâ (q.v.), which also refers to various orders and personages; Djevâhîrutâ l-tîdâya, another mystical work but dedicated to Murâd IV, with an introduction describing his recent conquest of Baghdad; and Dastûrâ l-tînqâh, a collection of official correspondence and other documents (some of his own composition), interesting from the aspect of foreign relations. He also wrote poetry and songs of a mystical tenor under the makîtâs ‘Abdi.

Bibliography: For further details and bibl., see Akûn, op. cit.

He also wrote reports about a trance of the master, in which his face radiated in such a way that the bystanders could no more stand the sight (Lumã, 307, 12, 13 ff.). Moreover, Sari confirmed his ecstatic experiences (maw’addât hâdît') and intensive thoughts of God (adhkâr ka’tûyâ) could lead the mystic so far that “his face might be beaten with a sword without him being aware of it” (ibid., 306, 6-12). It may be that what Sari once indicated as his nightly “experiences” (jau’âdâ'î) (Hilya, x, 121, 11. 20-1) were such states of trance, and that what he called his ahrâî (see wroko) were corresponding dhikr exercises. But since he considered ecstasy as a charisma (kardmâ), he did not (or course want to talk about it (cf. his postulate of the siyânât al-kardmâ, Hilya, x, 120, l. 13).
intimate terms with Bâyâezid II, since the only incident in his career to enter the Ottoman historiographical tradition is his embassy on behalf of this sultan to his son Prince Selim (Selim I [q. v.], 917/1511). (The Altasmanischen Annalen Chroniken, ed. F. Giese, Breslau 1922, 130; Ahmet Uğur, The reign of Sultan Selim I in the light of the Selim-nâme literature, Berlin 1985, 160, 171, 177; Djeffâl-zade Mustafa, Selim-nâme, ed. Ahmet Uğur and Mustafa Çuhadar, Ankara 1990, 258, 295). By the year 917/1511, Bâyâezid had also appointed him kâdi of Istanbul, a post which he held until 919/1513 or later (for wakifîyes which he validated in these years as kâdi of Istanbul, see E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul vakiflari tahrir defterleri, 935 (1534) tarihli, nos. 2107, 906). Selim I appointed him successively kâdi 'asker [q. v.] of Anatolia and kâdi 'asker of Rumelia. It was he who in 920/1514 issued the fatwâ sanctioning the opening of hostilities against the Safawids [q. v.] and the massacre of their adherents in Anatolia (for text and facsimile of the fatwâ, see Tekindâg, op. cit.). Taghâkörü-zade reports that Selim eventually dismissed him as kâdi 'asker of Rumelia “because of something that happened between them”, and re-appointed him to one of the Eight Madrasas. He seems to have ended his career as kâdi of Istanbul, since he validated wakifîyes in Istanbul in 924/1518 and 927/1521 (O. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, op. cit., nos. 917, 2163). He died, Taghâkörü-zade says, “in 928 or 929/1521-3, and was buried “next to his mosque in the city of Constantinople”. The mosque in question must be the mosque of “Sari Kez”, which Ewliya Celebi [q. v.] (Seyyah-nâme, i. Istanbul 1314/1896-97, 310) places “in the ‘Ali Pasha market, near [the mosque of Mehmedmed] the Conqueror”. The mosque gave its name to a quarter in the Fatih district of Istanbul, known variously as Sari Kez or Sari Güzel (Semavi Eyice, TJ, SHEHRI, DEFTERDAR (?-1129/1717), Ottoman statesman, born in Istanbul (hence: Şehrî), a son of a Muslim Turkish grocer. He styled himself El-Hâjjî Mehemmed ed-Defterî in the preface to his chronicle. He made his career in the financial department of the Porte [see Mâlîvîr]. In 1081/1671 he was employed in the office of the rûznâme-yi evvel kâlemi [q. v.]. He won the patronage of the defterdâr Kâmil ‘Ali Efendi, bashdefterdâr (in function 1102/1691-2) and was promoted to mektûbî (mekûtî) [q. v.], head of the secretariat of the principal defterdâr. The Grand Vizier Râmî Mehemmed Paşa [q. v.] appointed him principal defterdâr (17 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1114/5 May 1703). This was the first of his seven appointments to this high office. At the time of the Edirne Revolt he was dismissed (15 Ramadan 1115/23 August 1703). The new Sultan Ahmed III [q. v.] reinstated him soon at the behest of the rebels, who demanded Sari Mehemmed’s financial acumen to produce the necessary funds for their “Accession Fee” (gülüs bâkhusühî). Dismissed after this operation, he was relegated to the rûznâme-yi evvel office. Dismissed again on 23 Shawwal 1116/29 February 1704, he lost the position after eleven months. Re-appointed 14 months later, he remained in function for one year and 5 months. The next turn of office lasted from 20 Dhu 'l-Ka‘da 1119/12 February 1708 till 3 Qumâzîd 1121/10 August 1709, when he lost favour with the Grand Vizier Çorlulu ‘Ali Paşa [q. v.] and retired into private life at his konak in the Kumkapî quarter of the capital. The Grand Vizier of 1129/1717 succeeded him from the centre of power by appointing him (titular) maşulîrî of Salonica, ranking as a paşa of “two tails” [q. v.] and sending him as military governor to the frontier fortress town of Bender (Bessarabia) [q. v.]. Later, he was given the government of Izmid as well. Sari Mehemmed Paşa became defterdâr again in 1123/4-1712 for five months. After the conclusion of peace with Russia at Edirne (1125/1713), he was appointed a member of the boundary commission which settled the new border in Podolia. Upon their return to Istanbul, the sultan awarded caftans of honour to inter alio Sari Mehemmed Paşa, who soon was made defterdâr again (1126/1714). He appears to have been a client of the kapudanpaşa Hâджî Mehemmed Paşa “Djanîm Khodja” [q. v.]. Next year he joined the campaign in the Morea led by the Grand Vizier Damâd ‘Ali Paşa [q. v.]. His task was the provisioning of the army via Egîbbo [q. v.]. After the Grand Vizier’s death in the battle of Peterwardein, Sari Mehemmed Paşa received the rank of vizier (4 Ramadan 1128/22 August 1716). He had been hoping for the grand vizierate, but he loyally served under the new Grand Vizier, the aged Hâджî Arnavîd Kâhil Paşa [q. v.], fighting Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Imperial army near Belgrade. He seems not to have become member of the faction of the sultan’s favourite, Damâd Newshâhîrî Ibrahim Paşa [q. v.]. Sari Mehemmed openly vented his disappointed ambition and lost the confidence of the sultan. In 1129/1717 he was recalled to the Porte, and his new appointment as military governor of Salonica meant his disgrace. He received the order to organise a force of 3,000 to be recruited from the Evlâd-î Fâtihân (originally Anatolian Turks settled in Rumelia) at his own expense and to join the main army at Nîsh to take up the guarding of the “Iron Gate” of the Danube. He failed to comply, and openly criticized the sultan’s policy. His behaviour led to his downfall; he was accused of incitement to revolt and of previous misconduct in the field before Temesvâr in 1716, where his force of 10,000 dâlîk-serengeli volunteers withdrew without fighting. A kapûvânî bâkhusühî sent from the Porte had him executed in the castle of Kawala [q. v.]. His possessions in Istanbul, Salonica, Bender and Siwâs were confiscated. At least one son survived him, Mehemmed Emin, âlebeyî at Siwâs in 1139/1727 (see above, vol. I, at 295 a). Bibliography: Nasîrî ul-wuzerî we'l-umrî u seydî Kiştî ul-Gâldâste, ed. and tr. W.L. Wright, Ottoman statecraft. The book of counsel for vezirs and governors, Princeton 1935; ed. in mod. Tkish, with an introduction by H. R. Uğural, Defterdar Sârî Mehemmed Paşa, devlet adamlarına oğüster, Ankara 1987; a chronicle of Ottoman history 1656-1704, pop. ed. in mod. Tkish. A. Özcan, Zâbûdeh-ve okavat (olâlaylar özü), İstanbul 1977-9, 3 vols. (vol. 3 still to come?), a critical ed. by idem, announced in 1980; idem, Defterdar Sârî Mehemmed Paşanın mali bazi gênûs ve faaliyetleri, in GDAD, x-xi (1981-2 [publ. 1983]), 299-48; i. Parramaksozlu (ed.), Şâhidâr Mehemmed Âğâ. Nusretinâmé, İstanbul 1962-9, 3 vols., in 5, ii, index, s. v. Mehemmed Paşa.

SARI MEHMED PASHA — SARI SALTUK DEDE

Turkish warrior-saint of the 7th/13th century.

The sources on his life are extremely meagre. The earliest surviving work in which he is mentioned is Ibn Baṭṭuta’s Rihla. The author states that when he passed through the town of “Baba Saltuk” in the 14th century, he was considered to be a Bektashf saint (F.M. Köprüli, The Seldjiks of Anatolia, tr. and ed. G. Leiser, Salt Lake City 1992, 81 n. 82). Next, he appears as an able and valiant warrior who was driven off by the Ottoman historian Yazidji-oghlu (or Yazidji-zade) Ta̲rikh-i &utm-l-i Saldjuk, written by the same time, legendary stories related to Sari Saltuk had entered the Bektashi vilayet-names. The first two works were central to Ottoman historians links Sari Saltuk with the Bektashis. Yet by the 9th/15th century Sari Saltuk appears in Bektashi tradition as a shepherd whom Hâddji Bektaş sends, via Sinope, to Georgia, where he converts the Georgians. Then he goes to Dobrudja, where he kills a dragon which had captured the daughters of a king, at the fortress of Kafakra (Kılıçara). Afterwards, he calls the people to Islam and builds a teke (Köprüli, The Seldjiks, 54-5).

The earliest surviving work in which he is mentioned is Ibn Baṭṭuta’s Rihla. The author states that when he passed through the town of “Baba Saltuk” in the 14th century, he was considered to be a Bektashf saint (F.M. Köprüli, The Seldjiks of Anatolia, tr. and ed. G. Leiser, Salt Lake City 1992, 23-3). Indeed, Köprüli considers Sari Saltuk to be one of a series of legendary or semi-legendary Salijs who, as heroes in the pastoral folk-tale, become the focus of local traditions, and are replete with fabulous elements (including stories common to Muslim or Turkish traditions, it also reflects many other legendary or semi-legendary sources, it is generally held today that there actually was a saint named Sari Saltuk and that he was a disciple of Hâddji Bektaş. Moreover, the heterodox dervish Barak Baba [q.v.] claims, in turn, that he was a disciple of Sari Saltuk (Köprüli, Islam in Anatolia, tr. and ed. G. Leiser, Salt Lake City 1993, 113). Still, it is unclear if this Sari Saltuk and the one who accompanied the Turks to Dobrudja in the 7th/13th century were the same person.

In any case, by the mid 9th/15th century, it was the legendary Sari Saltuk who, as an heroic figure in the epic Saltuk-nâme, supplanted the vague historical personage in the Turkish consciousness. In 878/1473 when Prince Djiem [q.v.] was in Edirne guarding the Balkan borders while Mehmed II was on campaign against Uzun Hasan, he heard many stories about Sari Saltuk from various places in Rumelia and commissioned one Abu ‘l-Khayr al-Rûmi to compile a book about him. Abu ‘l-Khayr collected material for seven years, visiting all the places associated with Sari Saltuk in Anatolia and Rumelia, and then wrote his Saltuk-nâme. This work followed, but was superior to, the Batâl-nâme and Davâhmand-nâme as the last in the cycle of epic romances concerning the conquest of Anatolia and Rumelia. The first two works were centred on Anatolia, while the Saltuk-nâme focussed on Rumelia. In this epic, Sari Saltuk was a great Saint who had close relations not only with Hâddji Bektaş, but also with Djielal al-Dîn al-Rûmi, Abu Isḥâk al-Kâzarûrî and even Naṣr al-Dîn Khodja [q.v.]. He commanded miraculous powers and defended Muslims and converted unbelievers from China to Andalusia. He first lived in Sinope, then in the Crimea, then along the Danube, and finally in Edirne. He was often associated, initially, with the northern Anatolia. The Bolu sal-nâmâ of 1334/1915-6, 226, for example, states that the region of Bartin north of Bolu near the Black Sea had previously been referred to as “Saltuk ili,” the province of Saltuk.

His major objective was to Islamise Rumelia, and he predicted the conquest of that region in the time of the sons of Oθmân. Although the Saltuk-nâme is replete with fabulous elements (including stories common to those in the Bektashi vilayet-names), and blends numerous local traditions (he was often identified with such Christian personalities as St. George), his role with Muslim or Turkish traditions, it also reflects many historical events that occurred between 1200 and 1400, such as the struggle of the Anatolian Saldjûks and beyliks against the Mongols, Byzantines and other
Western powers; the relations of the Golden Horde with the West and Byzantium; the struggle of the Christian and the Moslem, and the establishment of the Ottoman State.

The Sârîkân-nâme was written, in fact, much like the first anonymous Ottoman chronicles. It is especially important for describing the psychological state of the unbelivers created by the Ottoman invasion of the Balkans (Köprülu, Th. Seljûk i, 43-52). It even sheds light on social life in Anatolia under the Ikhâns and in the Crimea under the Golden Horde.

Ewliyâ Celebi (d. ca. 1055/1648) reports the existence of two works, now lost, on the legendary Sârî Saltuk: a târîkâ from Yazdî-i oglu Memeh Medehi Celebi (d. 855/1451) and a Sârîkân-nâme by Kenân Pascha (d. 1069/1659) (q.v.) (Sehâhat-nâme, Istanbul 1896-1935, iii, 366/Tophaki Sarayı Bağdat Köşkü ms. 305, fol. 127b). Ewliyâ claims that his real name was Muhamm-ad Bukhârî, that he was girded with a wooden sword by Ahmad Yasawi (q.v.) and sent to the assistance of Hzâdji Bektaşı, who then sent him to Dobrudja; that he lived in Arpa Çukurci, Siwâs and Tokat; and that he was the patron saint, pîr, of the bazaar makers (q.v., ii, 334/Bağdat ms. 304, fol. 266a, and i, 659/Bağdat ms. 304, fol. 212b). Ewliyâ also relates the story that Sârî Saltuk instructed his disciples to bury him in seven coffins in remote towns in Rumelia (indeed, as far away as Sweden) “so that the ignorance of where the body really was would produce the story that Sârî Saltuk instructed his disciples to bury him in seven coffins in remote towns in Rumelia” (op. cit., i, 133/Bağdat ms. 304, fol. 266a ff.). This indicates, of course, that the legendary Sârî Saltuk was not only a strong symbol of the Islamisation and Turkification of Rumelia, but that he was also probably a composite of many of the warrior dervishes who went to that region after the original Sârî Saltuk’s death. Certainly, the fact that most of the followers of the original Sârî Saltuk eventually converted to Christianity is strong evidence that the legendary person was much more important and influential in this respect than the original. In addition to his burial sites in Rumelia, he had resting places as well in Anatolia. The latter are revered even today; Iznik, Bor near Niğde, and Dıyârbakır (G. Smith, Some turbesi namâms of Sârî Sal-ãoq, an early Anatolian Turkish gdzî-saint, in Turcica, xiv [1982], 216-25). Nevertheless, his “true” burial place is generally considered to be in Babadagi (q.v.) in Dobrudja just south of the Danube delta. This site was often the centre of Türkmen, gdzî, and heretical dervish activity. While on campaign, Bâyêzeêli II visited Babadagi in 889/1484 and built there a great mosque and zaviye dedicated to Sârî Saltuk. According to Ewliyâ, he also rebuilt the saint’s turbe, which had become an object of pilgrimage, and endowed a mosque and a madrasa on the site. He also repaired and humble reminder of a thriving Ottoman architecture, this had already been introduced in the days of paganism by al-Wâlid b. Muqghira (Nöldeke-Schwally, Gesch. d. Qur’an, ii, 285) (forte cut off) method of punishment may be of Persian origin (cf. Lette des Tan-sar, ed. J. Darmesteter in J, 4, Series 9, iii [1894], 220-1, 525-6; Sad Dar, 64, 5 = Sacred books of the East, xxiv, 327). In pre-Islamic Arabia, theft from a fellow-tribesman or from a guest was alone considered despicable, but no punishment was prescribed for it; the person had himself to see how he could regain his property (G. Jacob, Altarabisches Beduinenleben, 217-18; cf. J. L. Borchhardt, Bemerkungen über die Beduinen, Weimar 1831, 127 ff. 261 ff.). In the beginning of the 1st/7th century, the right or left hand was cut off; there was no fixed rule. The Kûrân leaves the point obscure, and one tradition says that Abû Bakr ordered the left hand to be cut off (Muawwâzât, Sarîka, bâb 4; al-Shâhî, Kitâb al-Umm, vii, 117). Cf. the variant of sûra V, 42, aynmusahum, transmitted by Ibn Mas‘ûd.

According to the teaching of the fâkhût, the thief’s right hand is cut off (for a second crime the left foot, then the left hand, then the right foot) and at the wrist; the stump is held in hot oil or fire to stop the bleeding. The Hâfîz and Zaydîs, however, put the culprit into chains (1) Theft and (2) Embezzlement.

The hanafis and zaydis, however, put the culprit into chains (1) Theft and (2) Embezzlement.

The jurists define theft for which the punishment is prescribed as the clandestine removal of legalliy recognised property (māl) in the safe keeping (hizâr) of another of a definite minimum value (nîsâb; among the Hâfîzis and Zaydîs 10 dirhms, among the Mâlikis, Shâhî’s and Shî’is ¼ dinár or 3 dirhms) to which the thief has no right of ownership; it is to be distinguished from usurpation (ghâsh) and embezzlement (khiyâna). By hizâr is meant guarding by a watchman or the nature of the place (e.g. a private house). Thus theft from a building accessible to the public (e.g. shops of the market, in the open air, baths) is not


Islamic legal theory distinguishes between al-sarîka al-sughrâ (theft) and al-sarîka al-kubrâ (highway robbery or brigandage), each with different hadd punishments.

(1) Theft (sârîka) is punished by cutting off the hand, according to sûra V, 42. This was an innovation of the Prophet’s; but, according to the Ausî’l literature, this had already been introduced in the days of paganism by al-Wâlid b. Muqghira (Nöldeke-Schwally, Gesch. d. Qur’an, ii, 285) (forte cut off) method of punishment may be of Persian origin (cf. Lette des Tan-sar, ed. J. Darmesteter in J, 4, Series 9, iii [1894], 220-1, 525-6; Sad Dar, 64, 5 = Sacred books of the East, xxiv, 327). In pre-Islamic Arabia, theft from a fellow-tribesman or from a guest was alone considered despicable, but no punishment was prescribed for it; the person had himself to see how he could regain his property (G. Jacob, Altarabisches Beduinenleben, 217-18; cf. J. L. Borchhardt, Bemerkungen über die Beduinen, Weimar 1831, 127 ff. 261 ff.). In the beginning of the 1st/7th century, the right or left hand was cut off; there was no fixed rule. The Kurân leaves the point obscure, and one tradition says that Abû Bakr ordered the left hand to be cut off (Muawwâzât, Sarîka, bâb 4; al-Shâhî, Kitâb al-Umm, vii, 117). Cf. the variant of sûra V, 42, aynmusahum, transmitted by Ibn Mas‘ûd.

According to the teaching of the fâkhût, the thief’s right hand is cut off (for a second crime the left foot, then the left hand, then the right foot) and at the wrist; the stump is held in hot oil or fire to stop the bleeding. The Hâfîz and Zaydîs, however, put the culprit into chains (1) Theft and (2) Embezzlement.

The jurists define theft for which the punishment is prescribed as the clandestine removal of legalliy recognised property (mâl) in the safe keeping (hizâr) of another of a definite minimum value (nîsâb; among the Hâfîzis and Zaydîs 10 dirhms, among the Mâlikis, Shâhî’s and Shî’is ¼ dinár or 3 dirhms) to which the thief has no right of ownership; it is to be distinguished from usurpation (ghâsh) and embezzlement (khiyâna). By hizâr is meant guarding by a watchman or the nature of the place (e.g. a private house). Thus theft from a building accessible to the public (e.g. shops of the market, in the open air, baths) is not
liable to the hadd punishment. This is further only applied to one who (1) has attained his majority (bāligh [q. v.]), (2) is compus mentis (‘ākil) and (3) has the intention (niyya) of stealing, i.e. is not acting under compulsion but freely (mukhtār). No distinction is made between free or slave, male or female. The punishment is not applied in case of thefts between husband and wife and near relatives nor in the case of a slave robbing his master or a guest his host. Views are divided on the question of the punishment of the dhimmī and the protected alien (musta‘min) with the hadd, and on the punishment of accomplices and accessories; in any case, the total divided among the latter must reach the nisab for the former. It is not theft to take articles of trivial value (wood, water, wild game) and things which quickly go to waste (fresh fruit, meat and milk), or articles in which the Shari‘a does not recognise private ownership or things which are not legitimate articles of commerce (mā‘il), like freeborn children, wine, pigs, dogs, chess-sets, musical instruments, golden crosses (the theft of a full-sized golden cross, something from the common good to the value of the share), also copies of the Qur‘ān and books (except account books), as it is assumed the thief only desires to obtain the contents. The conception of literary theft is unknown to fiqh.

The charge can be made by the owner and legitimate possessor (or depository) but not by a second thief. The legal inquiry has to be conducted in the presence of the person robbed. For proof two male witnesses are necessary or a confession (ikrār [q. v.]), which can, however, be withdrawn. It is recommended to plead not guilty if at all possible [see ‘Adīhā]. If the thief, however, has given back the article stolen before the charge is made, he is immune from punishment (ṣūra V, 43).

(2) Highway robbery or robbery with violence (mahrāba, kaf‘ al-tarīq) occurs when anyone who can be dangerous to travellers falls upon them and robs them when they are distant from any possible help or when someone enters a house, armed, with the intention of robbing (cf. Roman Law; Justinian, Novellae, 134, ch. 13). The Šī‘īs consider any armed attack, even in inhabited places, as highway robbery. The same regulations hold regarding the person and the object as above, especially the nisab. On the authority of sūra V, 37-8, the culprit is liable to the following hadd punishments. If a man has committed a robbery which is practically a theft to be punished with hadd, his right hand and left foot are cut off (the next time, the left hand and the right foot). If, however, he has robbed and killed, he is put to death in keeping with right of reprisal (kisā‘) and his body publicly exposed for three days on a gibbet or in some other way. The punishment of death is here considered a hadd punishment; the payment of blood-money (diya) is therefore out of the question. If the criminal repents, however, before he is taken, the hadd punishment is omitted; but the claim of the person robbed of the article for compensation and the taloī remain. All accomplices are punished in the same way; if one of them cannot be held responsible for his actions, the hadd punishment cannot be inflicted on any.

All these laws hold only for the hadd punishment which the judge can only inflict when all conditions are fulfilled. In all other cases the thief is punished with ta‘zir [q. v.], i.e. at the discretion of the late owner of the article or to make reparation. It is the same with the thief who comes secretly but goes away openly (mukhalta‘) or the robber who falls upon someone and robs him at a place where help is available (muntahib). Special laws were therefore frequently passed in Islamic states to supplement the Šari‘a, in Turkey, for example, by the Ottoman sultans Mehemmed II (Mitteilungen zur Osm. Gesch., i [1921], 21, 35), Süleyman I (1552), Mustafa II (1572-74), Ahmad (1617-17), Mehemmed IV and ʻAbd al-Meṣjīd. These laws endeavoured more and more to replace the hadd punishment by fines and corporal punishment. The Turkish criminal code of 1858 still only recognised fines and imprisonment for theft, although the Šari‘a was not officially abolished thereby [see Medjelle].

The punitive prescriptions of the Šari‘a regarding sarika, which have been either abolished or largely mitigated during the course of the 20th century, except in such countries as Saudi Arabia and the Sudan, seem likely to regain ground at the dawning of the third millennium in several parts of the Islamic world with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.


SARKĀR AKĀ (p.), a term used for a number of heterodox religious leaders within the broad Šī‘ī tradition. It appears to have originated in the 19th century, possibly in recognition of links between the title’s bearers and the Kāḏār court. The title (meaning something like “lord and chief”) was used for the first Akā Khan (Hasan ʻAli Shah, 1804-81 [q. v.] and several of his successors, as heads of the Nizāri Ismā‘īlīs (sometimes as Sarkār Akā Khan); it is, however, not in current use. Leaders of the Shāvhī branch of the Twelver Šī‘a [see ŠAVKHIYYA] have been termed “Šarkār Akā” since the time of Hājjī Mirzā Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī (1809-70 [q. v.], as referred to as Šarkār-i Kirmānī [1895], a great-nephew of Fath-ʻAli Shah and a son-in-law of Nasir al-Dīn Šāh. The title passed to his Kirmānī-based lineal successors within the Ibrāhīmī family until quite recently, and was particularly used of the leader of the latter part of the movement within the Bahā‘ī movement see BAHA’I] the title is reserved for ʻAbbās Effendi “Ab al-Bahā” (1844-1921), the son of Mirzā Husayn “Āli Nūrī Bahā” ʻAllāh [q. v.], whose
family had a variety of marital links to the Kadjars. In English usage, Bahāʾis refer to them as the "Master", which is both a partial translation of Sārkār Ākā and an echo of Persian terminology. (D. MacEoin)

SARKHAD [see SARKH.]

SARKHUD, a site 10 km/6 miles to the southeast of Ahmadābād [q.v.] in western India, capital of the sultans of Gujrat [q.v.] in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

Its fame arises from the complex of buildings built around an artificial lake, all of them still standing and excellent specimens of 9th/15th century Gudjarat architecture. They include the tomb of the saint Shīkh Ahmad Khattu "Gandji Bahā" (585/1186) and a mosque of sultan Muhammad Shāh (846-55/1442-51). It became a favourite retreat of Sultan Fath Khān Mahmūd Shāh Begā (862-917/1458-1511), who built the large tank, palace buildings and two mausolea for himself and his family.


SĀRLIYYA, the name of a group of Kākāʾis or Aḥl-i Ḥakk [q.v.] living in northern Īrāk, in a group of six villages, four on the right bank of the Great Zāb and two on its left one, not far from its confluence with the Tigris and 45 km/28 miles to the south-south-east of Mawsil. The principal village, where the chief lives, is called Wardak, and lies on the right bank; the largest village on the left bank is Suifya. The Sārlis, like the other sects found in northern Īrāk (Yazīdis, Ṣabaks, Bāḏjūrān), are very uncommunicative with regard to their belief and religious practice. The Sārlis themselves said that they were monotheists, believing in certain prophets, and have in the past attributed abominable rites to them. They believed that their chief had the power to sell terras as he could pay for; the dhīraš was not granted. The chief gave a medjidiyye.

The Sārlis were polygamous. They were said to have a sacred book written in Persian. These statements should be taken with considerable reserve. The Sārlis themselves said that they were simply Kurds and belonged originally to the Kāke Kurds who have some villages near Kirkūk. But the Kāke Kurds also had a mysterious reputation. A characteristic feature noticed in one of the Sārli villages (Suifya) was an ornament with triangular holes in the walls of the principal buildings of the village. Like the Yazīdis [q.v.], the Sārlis used Muslim names, and their chief in the early part of this century was one Tāhā Koča or Mullā Tāhā.

The present (1994) status, or even the continued existence, of these Sārlis, is unknown, given the present impossibility of western scholars undertaking ethnological field work in the Kurdish areas of northern Īrāk.


SARLP-I DUGHĀB ("bridgehead of Zhōb"). a place on the way to the Zagros Mountains on the great Baghdad-Kirmāngāh road, taking its name from the stone bridge of two arches over the river Alwand, a tributary on the left bank of the Diyalā. Sarpl in the early 20th century consisted simply of a little fort (kūr-khānā = "arsenal") in which the governor of Zōbāb lived (the post was regularly filled by the chief of the tribe of Gūrān), a caravanserai, a garden of cypress and about 40 houses. The old town of Zōbāb, about 4 hours to the north, is now in ruins. To the east, behind the cliffs of Hazār-Djārīb, lies the little canton of Beshīhe (Kurdish = "below") in a corridor running round the foot of the Zags giving access to the famous col of Pā-Tāk, on the slope of which is the Sāsānīd edifice called Tāk-i Girār. In the west, the heights of Mēl-Ya'kūb separate the verdant plain of Sarpl from that of Kaṣr-i Shīrin [q.v.]. Sarpl is the natural halting place for thousands of Persian pilgrims going to the atābāb [q.v. in Suppl.] (Karbalā) and other Shīf sanctuaries. When the pilgrimage season is at its height (in autumn and winter), a hundred tents may be seen near the bridge. They belong to the Kurdish gipsy tribe of Szūmānī (Fīyīd), the women of which are professional dancers and singers noted for their light morals. Sarpl corresponds to the site of the ancient Khalmānu of the Assyrians, Hulwān [q.v.] of the Arabs. The earlier name survived as the Kurdish name of the Alwand, i.e. Halawān. Traces of the old town are found mainly on the left bank (Pāwpal) where the land is level and beautiful.

Sarpul is noted for its antiquities: (1) the bas-relief of Pahlavi inscription on the cliff on the right bank of the Alwand; (2) two steles on the cliffs of Hazār-Djārīb (on the left bank) of which two are Sasanian (Parthian) and the third represents Anu-Bānīnī, king of the Lulubi; (3) two miles away, to the south of Hazār-Djārīb, is an Achaemenid tomb cut out of the rock and venerated at the present day under the name of Dukkān-i Dāwūd (David's workshop) by the Aḥl-i Ḥakk [q.v.], who have a cemetery at the foot of the rock.

Modern Sarpul-Dughāb is the chief-locus of a bakhsh of the same name in the shahristān of Kaš-ī Shīrin in Kirmāngāh. It contains (1975) a village (with a moustache). The Sārlis were polygamous. They were said to have a sacred book written in Persian.
ever by the influx of transhumants from their yaylaks or summer pastures in the mountains.


(V. Minsorsky)

**SARRADJ [see Sardj]**

**SARRADJ, BANU 'L [see IBN AL-SARRADJ, in Supplement IV]**

**SARRADJ, ABU MUHAMMAD DIAFAR B. AHMAD B. AL-HUSAYN AL-KARI**

(d. 500/1106), known as Dja'far al-Sarradj, or al-Sarradj al-Baghdadi, a Hanbali traditionist from Baghdad, noted for his poetry and author of the famous *Mandsik* al-habash (al-suddn), sibydn.

By mediaeval authors as "remarkable", and, in modern studies, has raised questions as to the underlying teaching on love and its connection with the Hanbali school of thought. Neither the origin of his texts, nor their presentation, which is void of any moralising, commentary, demonstrates a Hanbali character of the work (Bell), but the edifying effect of memorisation (dhikr) and the impersonal perspective prevalent in most of the narrations (Vadet) denote a moralistic attitude. In this vein, the work is comparable to earlier collections of edifying narrations or "reports", which were composed by representatives of the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa l'-Djamah", such as Ibn Abî 'l-Dunya wa l-zamam, Ibn al-`Amr b. al-Mubtaddi.


**SARRADJ, ABU NASR ABU AL-LAHN B. 'ALI, SUTTON**

author originally from Tüs in Khurâsân, who lived towards the middle of the 4th/10th century and died in his home town in 378/988.

The bio-bibliographical and hagiographic literature (*Aštâr, Tâbâhil*, ed. Nicholson, ii, 182-3; al-Dhâhâbi, *Ta'rikh al-Islâm*, cited by Nicholson in *The Kitâb al-Luma* 2, p. III; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nuddim*, i, 152; *Djiâmî, Najâhât*, no. 353; Ibn al-`Imâm, *Shabharât*, iii, 91) gives hardly any precise information about his life and upbringing. We do, however, know the names of some of his teachers and sources of information e.g. amongst others, Dja'far al-Khuldi (d. in Baghdad 348/960) and Ahmad b. Muhamad b. Sâlim of Basra (d. 356/967), the leading light of the Sâlimiya school. The fact that he frequented the company of this last and that he cites him does not, nevertheless, allow us to count him amongst the partisans of the Sâlimiya [q.v.] (see Nicholson, op. cit., pp. XI-XIV); the lively discussion which he had with Ibn Sâlim on the validity of the *ghabâtî* attributed to Abu Yazid al-Bistamî (Luma*; ch. Tafsîr al-ghâfitiyat), testifies all the same to his independence of mind.

From the text of the *K al-Luma* it appears that al-Sarradj travelled widely, since he cites, on occasion, conversations which he apparently had not only in Persia but also in 'Irâk, Syria and even Egypt. Above all, our sources mention the remarkable consequences of his spiritual elevation. Thus, invited during Ramadan to the presentation of the sermon in the *Shûmithiya mosque* at Baghdad, he is said not to have touched for a month the food which was brought to his cell (*Tadhkira*, ii, 182; *Najâhât*, no. 353; Hûjîwirî, *Kashf al-nahdhût*, ed. Zhukovski, 417).

'Âtîr, and Dja'îmî following him, further report that
al-Sarradj, carried off by a moment of ecstasy, plunged his face into a flaming brazier without suffering any pain or leaving any trace on his face; on the contrary, we know hardly anything further on his life and, in particular, have no information at all on his possible successors on the mystical path. As for his disciples, we know only one name, that of Abu 'l-Fadl of Sarakhs, the future master of Abū Sa‘īd b. Abī 'l-Khayr [q. e.]. (Muhammad b. al-Munawwar, Asār al-ta‘āshid, ed. Dh. Šafā, 27; Naṣafat, no. 354). This is a remarkable dearth of information about one who was called "the peacock of the poor" (fārsī al-du‘ūl), and whose authority and competence were widely recognised.

In fact, the personality of al-Sarrāḏj is completely hidden behind the K. al-Luma‘ ‘Book of shafts of light’, his main and probably only work, since, despite an affirmation of existence by Q̄āmid, no other title attributed to him is known to us. This work involves a treatise of considerable value, both from the richness of its documentary information on the Sūfism of the first Islamic centuries and also from the quality of the religious thought which informs it. Al-Sarrāḏj presents there the bases of knowledge understood in a mystical sense, contrasted with the Islamic religious sciences known at the time. He details in it the main stages and states of the mystical path; underlines the importance of the revealed sacred text and the prophetic example by highlighting the ways of interpretation followed by the Sūfis; describes the customs (ādāb) of Sūfī and cites the particularly significant texts of the great masters. The precision of his definitions in the technical lexicon of Sūfism is most valuable. He also deals with the tangible and controversial aspects of the Sufī life, such as the status of miracles (karamāt), the nature of ecstasy, the lawfulness of listening to music (qanṣ), the orthodoxy of the paradoxical utterances (muḥallah) attributed to certain maṣḥoḥiyya, and the doctrinal errors of several currents of thought claiming a connection with Sūfīm. Each chapter forms a little, autonomous treatise, in which the author cites abundantly hadīth and, especially, the dicta of the great masters of Sūfīm. His own points of view are not concealed at all but are fitted in fairly discreetly behind the teachings of the great figures in the tradition.

The importance of the Luma‘ was appreciated as soon as it appeared. Subsequent authors, like al-Kudūsī and the Riḍāa, found in it substantial bases of documentation, as did even Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, who drew upon it for several elements in his writings on the behaviour of Sūfīs (see esp. the Ḥyā‘, Book ii, K. Ādāb al-samā‘ wa ‘l-wa‘īqīd). The Luma‘ also contributed to the legitimisation of Sūfism as an Islamic science in its own right. Al-Sarrāḏj showed himself quite firm about the essential point: true Sūfīs are not merely in complete conformity with Islamic orthodoxy but they themselves make up its spiritual élite. It is not, then, a question of an apologia, in the strict sense of the term, or of a purely defensive justification of Sūfīsm, but it goes beyond that to an argued and assured statement of the harmonious integration of mysticism within the bosom of Muslim religious life. Being moderate and aiming at a consensus of opinion, al-Sarrāḏj’s language in the Luma‘ thus forms a particularly clear and vivid example of the conception which the Sūfīs had of themselves towards the end of the 11th/18th century.


(PI. LORY)

SARRUF, Ya‘qūb, a personage of the revival of Arabic culture and literature or nhāda [q. e.] (b. al-Hadīth, 18 July 1852, d. Cairo, 9 July 1927). Of Maronite origin, he was part of the first wave of graduates from the Syrian Protestant College in 1870 and taught for two years in American missionary schools. Little is known about his conversion to Protestantism. From 1876 onwards, together with Fāris Nimr [q. e.], his name was, for half a century, attached to the journal al-Muktaṭaf, which published 121 volumes over its life-span of 75 years. In order to make the first ever archival office of the Jesuits of the journal al-Muktaṭaf, which he founded in 1885 to Egypt, with his journal. Unceasingly remaining as close as possible to contemporary issues, he translated and popularised the latest scientific discoveries, defended freemasonry, and clashed with the Jesuits of the journal al-Maṣḥir and the reformists of the journal al-Manār [q. e.], since he was only interested in religion (as a Christian within an Islamic society) or politics (thus he did not take up a position against the British occupation of Egypt) from the scientific viewpoint. He championed Darwinian evolution, even though his lack of a specialist scientific training did not allow him fully to understand the philosophical bases of that doctrine. As well as numerous translations, he published three novels as separate volumes, Fāṭāt Mīr, Amtir Luhbān and Fatāl al-Fayyām, as well as biographical collections and works on natural history (Fusūl ‘l-ta’āhīt min mamlakatay al-bayārām wa ‘l-nahāṭ) and astronomy (Basā‘ū l-im al-falak wa-sawwar al-samā‘). As a journalist pre-occupied with science, he not only invented words to translate new English and French concepts into Arabic but also endeavoured to express himself in his own writings in a clear language. He proposed a theory of his own practice in this regard. His work shows the limitations of a person who acted as a channel of translation for a modern field of knowledge without taking part in its elaboration.


SÄRT, a term found in the history and ethnography of the Persian and Central Asian worlds. Originally an old Turkic word for ‘merchant’, it in the 4th/10th century, in fact, with this meaning, in the 11th-century sources, such as Mahmūd al-Kāhghā’ī’s encyclopaedic dictionary Dīwān lughāt al-Turk (Compendium of the Turkic dialects, tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, 3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1982-5, i, 269), and the
Evidently a loan-word from the Sanskrit for “caravan leader” (śrāvastī), it is attested in the Uighur translation of the *Saddharmapundarika sutra* as *sartavā*, which is explained as “head of the merchants” (*satikhaśgarī ulughī*) (*Kuansī im pāsar*, ed. and tr. Ş. Tökin, 1960, repr. Ankara 1993, 11), and in the Manichaean and Buddhist Uighur texts from Turfan (*W. Baüger and A. von Gabain, *Die turkischen Turfan-Texte II* and *Die turkischen Turfan-Texte V*, in Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung*, 3 vols., repr. Leipzig 1972-85, ii, 34 and n. 16 and n. 857, the latter in the form *sartuvaqšī*, which was also a designation for the Bodhisattva. See also Bartold’ı, ii/1, 162, 196-7, 253). It may have come into Uighur through Sogdian (*G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 846), stated that it was in the Sogdian language, the latter in the form *sartuvaqšī*, which is obviously derived from the same root (*e.g. ibid.*, ii, ed. E. Blochert, Leiden 1911, 541), occurs in Ibn Muhannā’s late 14th-century polyglot glossary with the meaning *al-muslimun* (P. Melioranskiy, *Al-muslimun vei Caghatay sozliigu*, ed. B. Atalay, Ankara 1970, 264-5, for other instances of its use by Nawā’i in the *Magāhis al-nafa’īs*, etc.; also Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turc-oriental*, Paris 1870, 334). In his description of Farghana, Babur referred to the population of the northern Fergana Valley as *iktarikh*, such as Muinis, Agahl and ThanaTi, although some of the pre-Uzbek Turkic tribes had already made the transition to sedentarism. Abu ’l-Ghażāli, the 17th-century *Caghātay* Turkish author of the *Sīra-i yu Turk*, frequently employed the expression “Uzbeks and Sarts” when referring to the entire population of *Khe‘izeram* (*Histoire des mongoles et des tatars par About-Ghāzi Behādūr Khān*, ed. and tr. P. I. Desmaisons, 1871-4, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 231, 236). The same usage survived until the 19th century, as attested in the works of historians of Khwāja, such as Mu‘nis, Āghā and Thana‘ī, although it also took on political significance (Bregel, 123-5; Bartold’ı, v, 223), as well as of Khokand (see T. K. Beisembiev, “Tajik-i shakhrukhi” kā tajriāsīkī istočnik, Alma-Ata 1987, 93).

The introduction of a critical mass of Turkic and Turkicised Mongolian nomads into Transoxiana as a consequence of the Uzbek invasions strengthened the general trend toward Turkicisation of the pre- and indigenous Iranian population. The degree to which Turkicisation and Uzbek sedentarisation had progressed by the 19th century is vividly indicated by the fact that the name Sār, which had first been applied to sedentary Iranians and then to both Persian and Turkic-speaking urban dwellers, began to be used chiefly for Turkic-speaking or bilingual town-dwellers, while the term Tājik, which had earlier been synonymous with Sār, was reserved for Persian-speakers only (Subtelný, 49-50; Fragner, 22). Moreover, it was now Kazaq (or Turkmen) in the case of *Khe‘izeram* who as nomads were contrasted with the Sārts as urban dwellers and agriculturalists in Bukhāra and Khokand (Bartold’ı, ii/1, 462, v, 223; Bregel, 123).

Although 19th- and early 20th-century European and Russian scholars adopted the use of the term Sārt for urban Turkic-speakers, who were regarded as the “native inhabitants” of Central Asia (Bartold’ı, ii/1, 462, ii/2, 305-5, L. Budagov, *Srnitel ‘niy slovar’ turk-soslovno-tatarskikh naroci*, St. Petersburg 1869, i, 612), Bartold’ı himself remained sceptical about this use, since he found no direct proof for it in the historical sources (ii/1, 462). No serious attempt was ever made to determine the dialectal differences between Sārts and Uzbeks either in Bukhāra or in Khwāja, although they certainly existed and historians of Khwāja, such as Mu‘nis, Āghā and Thana‘ī, had already made the transition to sedentarism. Abu ‘l-Ghażāli, the 17th-century *Caghātay* Turkish author of the *Sīra-i yu Turk*, frequently employed the expression “Uzbeks and Sarts” when referring to the entire population of *Khe‘izeram* (*Histoire des mongoles et des tatars par About-Ghāzi Behādūr Khān*, ed. and tr. P. I. Desmaisons, 1871-4, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 231, 236). The same usage survived until the 19th century, as attested in the works of historians of Khwāja, such as Mu‘nis, Āghā and Thana‘ī, although it also took on political significance (Bregel, 123-5; Bartold’ı, v, 223), as well as of Khokand (see T. K. Beisembiev, “Tajik-i shakhrukhi” kā tajriāsīkī istočnik, Alma-Ata 1987, 93).
popular etymology “yellow dog” (sari it), which reflected the traditionally contemptuous attitude about the term and it had in fact been used by the Sarts as a self-designation (ii/1, 462, ii/2, 314; B. Kh. Karmishewa, Oeckri etn- nizkoykit istorii yuzhnik rayonov Tadzhikistana u Uzbekistan, Moscow 1976, 147). Soviet historiography never dealt adequately with the term or with the Sarts as an ethnico-linguistic group (for an overview, see Bregel, 121-2), although rich ethnographic material exists for its study (see e.g. the bibliography in F.A. Voznesenskaya and A.B. Piotrovskiy, Mestnost, dina, toponymicheskaya, Mertvyi dlya bibliografii po antropologii i etnografii Kazakhstana i sredneaziatskikh respublik. Trudi Komissii po izucheniyu plenennogo sostava naseleniya SSR i sopredelnykh stran, iv, Leningrad 1927, 181-99).


(W. Barthold [M.E. Subtelny])

SART, the form of the name in Ottoman Turkish of the small village in Lydia in Asia Minor, the ancient Sardes (al Xapage of the classical authors, which makes Sами Bey write Sard), capital of the Ly- dian kingdom, situated on the eastern bank of the Sart Qay (Paktolos) a little southward to the spot where this river joins the Gediz Qay (Hermos). Although in the later Byzantine period Sardes had lost much of its former importance (as a metropolitan see) and been outflanked by Magnesia (Turkish Maghna [q. v.]) and Philadelphia (Aла Şehir [q. v.]), it still was one of the larger towns, when the Saldjuk Turks, in the 5th/11th century, made incursions into the Hermus valley. At the time, they were expelled by the Byzantine general Phocales (1118), but at the end of the 7th/13th century, Sardes had been by the Saldijkids (q.v.) for some time under a combined Greek and Turkish domination, until the Greeks were able to drive away the Turks a second time (Pachymeres, ed. Niebuhr, Bonn 1835, ii, 403). In the beginning of the 8th/14th century the city was surrendered to one of the Saldjuk amirs, and the town probably belonged during the remainder of that century to the territory of the Sarukhan [q. v.] dynasty, whose capital was Magnesia. So when in 752/1352 the principal Sart town had been burnt by the Turkmen ruler Bâyazid I, it had been in the congregation of the then Greek town Philadelphia, took possession of the Sarukhan country, Sardes was probably destroyed and never recovered again.

The modern settlement of Sart (lat. 45° 3’ N., long. 30° 42’ E., alt. 284 m./920 ft.) lies between the Sart Qay and the citadel hill. This hill is 5 km/9.2 miles to the north of the acropolis hill. At the other side of the Gediz Cay is situated the big necropolis of Sarde, a large plain of mounds called Bin Bir Tepe. North of this plain is the Mermer Lake, the ancient Lake of Gyges. The railway from Izmir to Alasehir runs along the southern Gediz Cay bank and has a station at Sart. Administratively, Sart now comes within the nahiye of Salihli in the  ilçe or province of Manisa.

Excavations at the classical, Roman and Byzantine site of Sardes have been undertaken, especially by American archaeologists since the early part of the 20th century. In recent decades, these have been associated with G.M.A. Hanfmann. See, in particular, his Sardis und Lydien, in Abb. Ak. Wiss. zu Mainz, geistes- und sozialw. Kl., Jhg. 1960, 499-536; idem (ed.), Archaeological exploration of Sardis (1958-1975). Sardis from prehistoric to Roman times, Cambridge, Mass. 1983. See also PW, 1, A.2, cols. 2475-8 s.v. Sardes, and Der kleine Pauly, iv, cols. 1551-2.


(1. H. KRAMERS*)

SARÜDJ, a town in Diyar Bâlak [q. v.], on the most southerly of the three roads from Biregîk [q. v.] to Urfa [see AL-RUKH] in 36° 58’ N. lat. and 38° 27’ E. long. As the name of the town is also that of the district, its relation to the ancient names An- thenhisia and Batnae is disputed; see Bibl. On account of the fertility of the district in which the town is situated, and its central position between the Euphrates on the one side, and Urfa and Harrân [q. v.], from each of which it is a day’s journey distant, on the other, the traffic through it brought it a certain degree of prosperity, especially as it was also important as a post-station between al-Ra’ka and Sumaysa. According to Ibn Khurradädibih, it was 29 farsaks from the former town and 13 from the latter. The principal occupation was settled by the natural suitability of the soil or growing fruit and the vine, as all the geomorphists tell us. Within the town itself Ibn Dubayir (late 6th/12th century) found or- chards and family-owned water.

Sarûdj—an ancient centre of Syriac Christianity, and the birthplace of Jacob of Sarûdj (d. 521) was captured, with the rest of al-Djazîra, by the Arab commander ɬiyâd b. ɬâmîn in 198-239. Three cen- turies later it came within the possessions of the Ham- dâns [q. v.] of Mawâtî and Aleppo, and then of the resurgent Byzantines. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, Diyar Bâlak was recovered by the Arabs, and in 1241 fell to the Franks held Sarûdj, in the face of attacks by the Ar- tukid Il-Ghazî and the Turkish governor of Mawsil, Mawûtî, until in Radjâh 1274 it was captured by the Christians and was granted by the Franks held Sarûdj, as part of the Frankish County of Edessa. The Franks held Sarûdj, in the face of attacks by the Ar- tukid Il-Ghazî and the Turkish governor of Mawûtî, Mawûtî, until in Radjâh 1274 it was captured by the Christians.
Sarudj was already in ruins. Nineteenth-century travellers described it much as did the mediaeval writers, but with the delimitation of the frontier, came around the same time, the amirate acquired a common frontier with the Ottomans, who annexed the amirate of Karasi [q.v.].

An important part of the fleet of Sarukhan was destroyed by the Crusaders of Amalfi, producing one of the usual raids organised in collaboration with Umur Aydîn-oghlu and directed against the Christian territories (1347). The exact year of Ilây's death is not known. In 1357 the amirate was governed by his son Ishâk Celebi, who was closely connected with the derwish order of the Mevlevîs or Mawlawiyya. It was probably Ishâk Celebi who established relations with the Byzantine emperor John V Palaeologus when the latter sailed to Phocaea in 1358 in order to liberate his son the son of the Osman, Ishâk, and had been held as prisoner by the Genoese. The emperor concluded a new treaty with the Sarukhan-oghlu and, furthermore, he took the amir's children as hostages to Constantinople. Ishâk Celebi probably died in 1388 and was succeeded by his son Khiîdr Şah, in whose days the amirate was annexed by Bayezid I [q.v. (1390)]. Khiîdr Şah was sent to Bursa where he died.

Immediately after the battle of Ankara between Timûr and the Ottomans (804/1402), the amirate was restored by Timûr to Orkhan Sarukhan-oghlu, who had followed him in his Anatolian campaign. It was taken by the Ottomans again in 1410 to become one of the important sanqâds of their state, while Maghîna became the residence of one of the heirs to the throne. Nomads of Sarukhan were transported by the Ottomans to Rumelia, and several soldiers were granted timars (the Sarukhanlı). In the territory of Sarukhan and, especially, in Maghîna, besides the important emigrants erected by the Sarukhan-oghullaris, new ones were added by the Ottomans to honour the residence of the Ottoman princes there: among them is the Murâdiyye mosque (after Murâd III), which was built by the great architect Sinân [q.v.].


(ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU)

SARWISTAN, a small town in the Persian province of Fars (lat. 29° 16' N., long 53° 13' E., alt.
1,597 m/5,238 ft.), some 80 km/50 miles to the southeast of Shiraz on the road to Nayriz [q.v.]. It seems to be identical with the Khawristân of the early Arab geographers, but first appears under the name Sarwistan ("place of cypresses") in al-Mukhdasdi as the end of the 4th/10th century.

It is notable for the tomb and shrine of a local saint, Shaykh Yusuf Sarwistanî, dated by its inscription to 682/1283, and for a nearby mysterious building situated on the Shiraz-Fasa road 12 km/7 miles south of Sarwistan, first noted in 1810 by the English traveller Win. Ouseley and described some 30 years later by Flandin and Coste. This has traditionally been taken by western scholars as a Sâsânid palace, but building on the vague resemblance to the Emperor Ardashir's palace at Firûzâbâd [q.v.] and on the fact that al-Tabâri, i, 870-1, tr. Nödlke, Geschichter der Perser und Araber, 111-12, says that Bahram V Gûr's minister Mîr Narsê laid out gardens near Firûzâbâd, including one with 12,000 cypresses (sârs). Recently, however, a detailed architectural study by Lionel Bier has shown that it is more likely to be post-Islamic and is probably a tomb. The source for the name is Sarwistan, a study in early Iranian architecture, Persia and the Persian questions, London 1986, with all the earlier bibl. given.

(C.E. Bosworth)

Sâsâni, Banû, the blanket designation in mediaeval Islamic literature for the practitioners of begging, swindling, confidence tricks, the beggar's jargon (munâgî, lughêt Bânî Sâsân) composed by the 4th/10th century traveller and littérateur Abû Dulaf al-Khazrâji and by the 8th/14th century poet Saâfî al-Dîn al-Hillî [q.v.], in which many of their tricks and scabrous practices are described. (The mediæval Islamic underworld. i. The Bânû Sâsân in Arabic life and lore, ii. The Arabic jargon texts. The qâsîda sâsânîyyas of Abû Dulaf and Saâfî al-Dîn, Leiden 1976.)

The origin of the name Bânû Sâsân is shrouded in mystery. The sources give several explanations, some of them implausible. A mythical Shaykh Sâsân is often mentioned as the founder of the fraternity of crooks and beggars. One oft-repeated story found in the sources, from the time of the Persian author and translator from Pahlavi into Arabic, Ibn al-Mukaffâ [q.v.], is that Sâsân was the son of the legendary Persian emperor of the Kayânûn line, Bahman b. Islandiyâr, but was displaced from the succession to his father, hence took to a wandering life amongst, as some sources state, the nomadic Kurds (a people notorious in mediaeval Islamic times for banditry and violent ways of behaviour). Other stories hold that the Persians as a whole took to begging in the Arab conquest of the 1st/7th century, and aroused pity and commiseration by claiming to be scions of the dispossessed Sâsânî royal house. The process whereby the name of a fallen dynasty is applied ironically or satirically to a later group seems psychologically possible; but some modern authors have supplied further etymologies for saâsân from Sanskrit or Persian (see Bosworth, op. cit., 1, 22-3).

Bibliography: Given in the article, and see also that to al-Mukawwârî; it should be noted that the critical text of the Kashf al-asrâr promised by the author of that article has regrettably not yet appeared. (C.E. Bosworth)

Sâsânîds, a pre-Islamic Persian dynasty that ruled a large part of western Asia from A.D. 224 until 651. In Arabic and modern usage, the dynastic name is derived from Sâsân, who is mentioned as a "lord" in the inscription of Shapur I [q.v.] on the Kašâb of Zoroaster (SKZ). The inscription of Narseh at Paikuli also refers to the royal clan of Sâsânân. Theophoric names in the Parthian period suggest that Sâsân may have been a minor deity or perhaps a deified ancestor. According to the late Sâsânî Kârnâmâg, Sâsân was the son-in-law of Pâpâk, who gave him his daughter in marriage because Sâsân was descended from Dârâ, the last Achaemenid king. Ardashir I [q.v.] was their child, although he is afterwards regarded as the son of Pâpâk. In the account of al-Tabâri (i, 814), derived from the late Sâsânî Xwaday-nâmâg, Sâsân was custodian of the fire temple of Anâhitâ at Išâkhr [q.v.], married to a member of the Bazrângid ruling family in Fârs [q.v.], and the father of Pâpâk.

The rise of this family to power was aided by Parthian (Arâsacid) preoccupation with their own civil war and conflict with the Romans. In about 205-6 Pâpâk overthrew the last Bazrângid ruler of Fârs and ruled at Išâkhr; he was succeeded by his son, Shâpûr, in about 209. Shâpûr's younger brother, Ardashir I, succeeded him in about 216, expanded his rule over the rest of Fârs, Khusûzân [q.v.] and Kirmân [q.v.], and, allied with the rulers of Adiabene and Gar- makan, defeated and killed the Arâsacid Artabanus V in battle on the plain of Hormizdagân, probably in western Media, in about 224. He commemorated his victory in a rock inscription at Firûzâbâd near Gûr and Kâhlâî (see KAHLÂÎ), as well as those of the maâmân genre [q.v.] and of the hâmar [q.v.]. He was succeeded by Ardashir II, who was posthumously anointed by the people. (The mediæval Islamic underworld. ii. The Bânû Sâsân in Arabic life and lore, ii. The Arabic jargon texts. The qâsîda sâsânîyyas of Abû Dulaf and Saâfî al-Dîn, Leiden 1976.)

The present writer has studied in detail this material and also two long poems written substantially in
in 226, but failed to take Hatra (al-Hadr [q. v.]), conquered Media, and was turned back from Armenia (Arminiya [q. v.]) by the sons of Artabanus in about 227. In the east, he occupied the rest of the Parthian empire by force and intimidation, extinguishing the royal fires of local rulers. He also occupied coastal Babylon (Urfa [q. v.]) in Arabia. In 230 he invaded Roman Mesopotamia, claiming everything as far as Ionia and Caria by ancestral right from Cyrus to Darius, the last Persian king, whose kingdom Alexander had destroyed. Hatra went over to the Romans, whose counter-invasion of Armenia and Media by the generals of Alexander Severus was beaten back by Ardashîr with heavy losses on both sides. After the death of Alexander Severus in 235, Ardashîr was able to take Nisibis and Carrhae (Harrân [q. v.]) in 238. In 240 his son, Šâpûr, was crowned as co-ruler, possibly to secure the succession. Hatra fell to them in 240, and they appear to have been victorious in Armenia before Ardashîr died early in 242.

Ardashîr I was the real founder of the Sasanid monarchy. This was initially based on a cult of divine kingship that continued from the Arsacids, so to 227 it has been called the <i>theopator</i> (<i>God of divine descent</i>) and represented as receiving a diadem from Tyche on their coins, and had a royal, dynastic fire dedicated to them as to the other gods. On his coins Ardashîr's earliest crown resembled that of Mithradates II, he was called "the Mazda-worshipping god, Ardashîr, who is descended from the gods", and the reverse bore the image of a throne mounted on a column with the inscription "the fire of Ardashîr". His royal fire was kindled at the beginning of his reign in 224-5. In rock reliefs, he was shown receiving a ring-like object from Ohrmazd, who was also portrayed as a king, probably to show the divine nature of royal authority, and/or that Ardashîr ruled the world on behalf of Ohrmazd. Later tradition credits Ardashîr with having the Avestan teachings collected and adding the five Gatha days to the Zoroastrian calendar.

The Achaemenid legacy was also important for the early Sasanid monarchy, beginning with the irredentist claims of Ardashîr (also made by the late Arsacids) reported by the Greek and Latin writers (who called him Artaxerxes). This legacy may be seen in the Sasanid dynastic roots at Istâghâr, the use of architectural motifs from Persepolis in Ardashîr's palace at Fīrūzâbâd, the choice of the major Achaemenid site of Naksh-i Rustâm for his rock reliefs, inscriptions, and fire temples, and the later claim of their descent from Dârâ. Under Šâpûr I this is seen in his use of an Achaemenid building at Naksh-i Rustâm for his inscription and in the interest of some of his officials in viewing the paintings of Esther and Ahasuerus (Artaxerxes) in the synagogue at Dura.

The structure of the Sasanid state under Ardashîr was outwardly similar to that of the late Arsacids with various elements from the Achaemenid, and Parthian heritage. Ardashîr founded his capital, Ctesiphon, at the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, creating the province of Mesopotamia, and attacked Babylonia (Asterozan). Šâpûr defeated and killed Gordian at Massice on the middle Euphrates, which he renamed Péroz-Šâpûr ("victorious is Šâpûr", also called al-Anbâr [q. v.]). Philip the Arab made peace with Šâpûr for 500,000 denarii and promised to help in the campaign against Armenia, which stabilised the frontier for about ten years.

In 252 Šâpûr had the Arsacid king of Armenia, Khusrav, assassinated. The latter's son, Tiridates, fled to the Romans, while the sons of Tiridates joined Šâpûr. One of them, Artavazdes, ruled Armenia from 252 until 262. Claiming Roman harm to Armenia, in 256 Šâpûr attacked the Romans on the Euphrates, destroying a Roman army at Barbalissos, taking Dura, occupying Mesopotamia, and invading Syria, where he took Antioch (Antâkîya [q. v.]) with the help of a local senator called Cyriades, who took the imperial title with Persian backing. Šâpûr campaigned up the Orontes valley as far as Emesa (Hims [q. v.]) and returned to Mesopotamia. The Persian garrison in Syria was massacred in 257, Cyriades was murdered by the people of Antioch, and Dura was reoccupied by Roman-Palmyrene forces between 256 and 260. Between 256 and 258 Šâpûr I settled his Syrian captives in Khûzistân at a new city called Weh Antioch Šâpûr ("the Better Antioch of Šâpûr"), which became Dündâyshâbûr (Gondeshâhpûr [q. v.]).

Between 258 and 260 Šâpûr besieged Edessa and Carrhae and defeated a Roman relief army near Edessa, taking Valerian captive. According to Kirdîr, who was with the army, Šâpûr then pillaged, burned, and destroyed Antioch and Syria, Tarsus and Cilicia, Caesarea and Cappadocia, as far as Greece, Armenia, Georgia (al-Kurdj [q. v.]), Albania, and Balasagan up to the Gates of the Alans. Except for Magians (Magi [q. v.]), who were not harmed, Šâpûr deported tens of thousands of captives to Fars, Parthia, Khûzistân, and Babylonia. He was harrassed on his return by Odatâin of Palmyra, who retook Carrhae and Nisibis, besieged Ctesiphon, recovered the booty (although Kirdîr claims the booty was returned), captured Šâpûr's concubines, and restored the Roman frontier between 262 and 267. Šâpûr's settlement of his captives was part of the economic development of his state through the use of captive labour, and a denial of those labour resources to the Romans in the provinces from which they came. They were used to build dams, bridges, and irrigation works in Khûzistân, and to build Šâpûr's palace at Bishapur in Fars. They also introduced eastern Mediterranean cultural influences where they settled.

Šâpûr commemorated his achievements in at least seven rock reliefs, and left a major inscription (SKZ) on the eastern wall of the Ka'ba of Zoroaster at Naksh-i Rustâm in Parthian, Middle Persian, and Greek sometime after 262, when he replaced Artaevazes with his own son, Hormizd-Ardashîr, as great-king of Armenia (262-72). In his inscriptions Šâpûr was called "the Mazda-worshipping god, Šâpûr, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, of divine descent." There was a royal fire at Bishapur; Šâpûr's coins were the first to have the fire altar flanked by two attendants (in the 3rd century sometimes the king and queen) on the reverse; he founded many Bahrâm fires, of the god of victory, in every land; he gave benefits to many Magians; he established name-fires for his own soul and for members of his immediate family and daily sacrifices of sheep, bread, and wine for twenty-nine members of the royal family, living and dead. Several of his sons had the names of deities. Such royal patronage of the Magian cult, with fires possibly beginning to replace cult...
images, should be balanced by Shapur’s reputation for tolerance, his patronage of both Kirdir and Mānī (who converted some members of the royal family), and his toleration of Christian and Jews. The latter were largely unaffected by their persecution for respecting Persian law and paying taxes. According to Eliseas Vardapet, in the 5th century, Shapur issued an edict that people of every religion should be left undisturbed in their belief. According to the Denkard (DKM, 412-13) he collected Magian literature which had been dispersed in India, the Byzantine Empire and other lands, that dealt with medicine, astronomy, and philosophical subjects, added them to the Avesta, had a copy put in the royal treasury, and considered bringing all systems into line with the Mazdayasian religion. There has been modern speculation that Shapur favored a universalizing religious syncretism corresponding to his imperial ambition.

In his inscription (SKZ) Shapur described his empire as consisting of Fars, Partījava, Khūzestān, Maysān, Asōrāstān (Babylonia), Adiābān, Arabia (Bēth ‘Arbāyē), Aḏgarbāyrgān, Armenia, Iberia, Maxelōnia (Lazica), Alřan, Balāṣagān up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of the Alans, the Elburz mountains, Media, Gurgān [q.v.], Marw, Harāt [q.v.], Aḵahrāsh, Kirmān, Sīstān, Tugrān, Mākrān [q.v.], Pārdān, Hind and the land of the Kuḥāns up to Pasḵābūr (Pāḵwār?), to the borders of Keš, Sogdiana and the mountain of Shāhs (Tashkent [q.v.]), and Mazon (‘Umanā) on the other side of the sea. The only definition of the difference between Iran and non-Iran is given by Kirdir, according to whom Iran included Mavsārān, Aḏgarbāyrgān, Isfāhān [q.v.], Rayy [q.v.], Kirmān, Sīstān, Gurgān, Marw, and as far as Pasḵābūr in the east. Non-Iran was the territory in the northwest including Armenia, Iberia, Maxelōnia and Balāṣagān up to the Gates of the Alans.

Centralising tendencies under Shapur were expressed in three ways. Members of the royal family participated in rule from the beginning of the dynasty and their appointment as sub-kings began the process of converting client kingdoms into provinces. By the end of Shapur’s reign five of his sons, who did not start local dynasties, ruled Sīstān, Gīlān, Kirmān, Maysān and Armenia as kings. Second, he continued Ardashir’s policy by founding at least eleven cities out of the expanding royal domain (dašt-āğerdārē), and appointed governors (dāḏbars), with a staff of scribes, a treasurer, and a judge, for at least eight to ten new and existing cities. None of these cities were in the territory of sub-kings and thus constituted the core of directly administered territory in Asōrāstān, Khūzestān, Fars, Media and Aḵahrāsh (Khorāsān). Third, administration was centralised at an increasingly hierarchic and elaborate royal court, attended by members of the Varāz, Sūren and Kāren families, who had Sasanid dynastic names but no ad- ministerative positions. (Two princes called Sāsān were also raised by the Farrāgī and Kidūḡān families.) Court officials included the bidāxī (or pitāxī, viceroj regent?), hazārābed (commander of the royal guard), framādār (steward of royal property), chief scribe, chief judge, treasurer, and market inspector (wuzūrd̄, agoranāmā). From the third century the Sāsānīd ruling classes were organized into a hierarchy in descending order of kings and queens (shahābd̄ārē), princes (waspat-hrāgān), grandees (wuzurgd̄, wuzurgd̄ān), including powerful senior officials and court officials, and the minor nobility (āzādān).

When Hormīdz-Ardashīr (Hurmuz [q.v.], 272-73) succeeded his father, his brother, Narsēh, the Sakān-šāh, became king of Armenia (272-93). Hormīdz-Ardashīr was the first to be called “king of kings of Iran and non-Iran” on his coins. He allowed Mānī to preach, but he promoted Kirdir to Ohrmazd-mowbed (mobadh, [q.v.]), and put him in charge of ritual and sealing contracts. The third century was a transition period between the Hellenistic tradition of expressing political allegiance through the cults of deified rulers and the emergence of confessional religions with mass memberships that became identified with states. By the mid-third century Manicheanism, Christianity, and an early form of Mazdean Zoroastranism were all spreading in Sasanid territory. The success of the Mazdean presence in the late 3rd century was related to the career of Kirdir, the proliferation of Bahrmār fires, and the need of the family of Bahram I [q.v.] (273-76) to legitimise their succession against the claims of his brother Narsēh. Bahram I had been king of Gīlān under Shapur; he was shown being invested by Ohrmazd in a rock relief at Bishāpur; he wore the solar crown of Mithra on his coins; and enjoyed fighting, hunting, and feasting. When Mānī heard of his accession, he set up fourteen rock reliefs up to the Gates of the Alans, and claimed to have destroyed idols and established the place of the Yazads. He also claimed to have suppressed Jews, Buddhists, two kinds of Christians, “baptists”, and Zan-
diks (probably Manichaeans). Manichaeans were persecuted under Bahram II, their leader, Sisinnios, was killed, but they were protected and patronised by Amr b. 'Adi, the amir of the Lakhrūm (Lakhrūmids [q.v.]) at al-Hira [q.v.]. Kirdir's claims may have been exaggerated, but they mark the first recorded attempt to create a mass constituency for Magianism and an affirmation of the Mazdaean identity by opposition to other religions in the late 3rd century.

These developments also contribute to the thesis that the Sasanids persecuted non-Mazdaeans when the monarchy was weak and needed support from the Mazdaean priests. In addition to the Bahram's problem with legitimacy, Bahram II had to fight two fronts. In 283 a Roman army under the emperor Carus reached Ctesiphon, but Carus died and the army withdrew. However in 287 Bahram II made peace with Diocletian in order to deal with the revolt of his brother Ohrmazd in the east. According to the terms, the Sasanids ceded their claims to upper Mesopotamia and western Armenia, and an Arsacid prince was enthroned in western Armenia as Tiridates IV, leaving Narseh with eastern Armenia. By the end of his reign Bahram II had defeated Ohrmazd, conquered Sistan and made his heir Sakanshāh.

The death of Bahram II in 293 set off a dynastic civil war. One noble faction, led by Wahān, and joined by the king of Maysan, Ādurfarnbāg, supported the succession of the Sakanshāh as Bahram III. Other nobles rebelled, gathered in Asorestan, and sent for Narseh, the last son of Shāpūr, who came from Armenia to Iran and met them at Paikuli north of Khānkīn [q.v.]. There Narseh was proclaimed king by an assembly of nobles that included Shāpūr the tax collector (haragbūd), Pāpak the bidaxār, Ardāshīr the hazārāh, Rakshī the spāhīd and the heads of some of the great families. This event was commemorated by a stone monument bearing a major inscription in Middle Persian and Parthian, that includes events later than the meeting in 293. In this inscription Narseh proclaimed his legitimising propaganda that "Shāpūr willed that this one [Narseh] should be lord over Erān-tahr, because he was the best, the most just, and the most vigorous after Shāpūr." He also recorded his recognition by twenty-seven rulers, who either acknowledged him as king of kings, according to Āvaknīn and others, or acknowledged his right to the throne, according to Frye. If the first, it would indicate that the state was being reorganised around a new, loosely-organised state; if the second, it would indicate a significant contraction of the state since the time of Shāpūr, and the revivals of local rulers. Narseh then defeated the king of Maysān and rival forces in Khūzūstān, captured and executed Wahān (the fate of Bahrām III is unknown), and replaced the name of Bahrām I on the relief at Bíshāpūr with his own.

He was called the Mazdaean, divine Narseh, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran. By descent from the Gods' [q.v.] on his coins, which had his own face in the flames of the fire-altar on the reverse. In a rock relief at Nakhš-i Rūstām he is depicted receiving a ring from a female figure, usually identified as Anāhītā, and at Paikuli he claimed to have recovered Armenia for the land of Iran through Ohrmazd, all the yazads and the Lady Anāhītā. Beneath the common veneration of Ohrmazd one can see a shift from one yazad to another, from Verehrāghna to Anāhītā, associated with the new branch of the dynasty. Narseh, worth the policies of the Bahrams, neglected fire temples, perhaps in favour of his own royal fire (his eldest grandson was called Adur-Narseh "the fire of Narseh").

In 296 Narseh conquered Armenia, invaded Mesopotamia, and prepared to invade Syria. Diocletian sent the Caesar Galerius, whose forces were crushed by Narseh. Galerius regrouped at Antioch and invaded Araman, and defeated Narseh in 297. Narseh defeated and captured his family, while Diocletian advanced to Nisibis. In 298 Narseh secured the return of his family by ceding several districts on the upper Tigris to the Romans and setting the frontier at the Tigris. Tiridates was restored in Armenia, which was enlarged in the east to the frontier of Media. The king of Iberia was to be invested by the Romans, and Nisibis was to be a place of commercial exchange. The treaty of Nisibis thus marked a return to the balance of power at the end of the 3rd century with the recovery of the late Roman empire under Diocletian.

Narseh was succeeded by his son Hormizd II (302-9), who continued his father's policies and was represented in combat in a rock relief at Nakhš-i Rūstām. It was during his reign that Armenia became Christian under Tiridates IV, making Christianity a political issue for the Sasanids, especially after the conversion of Constantine in 311, and dividing Armenia henceforth between pro-Roman Christians and pro-Sasanid nobles.

Hormizd II had several sons; the eldest, Adur-Narseh took the throne briefly when his father died in 309, but the officials and priests at court made a posthumous son, Shāpūr II (309-79), king and enthroned him as an infant. Shāpūr II's minority lasted for fifteen years; his reign lasted for seventy years, the longest of any Sasanid king. The survival of the Sasanid state during Shāpūr II's minority indicates the strength of ruling institutions by the 4th century and the fact that the monarchy had become more important than the monarch as a focus of loyalty for nobles, officials and priests who had a vested interest in the system. The state was held together by its administrative structure, and a glimpse of local officials going back and forth to court is provided by two inscriptions on a doorpost at Persepolis from 311 and 327. According to post-Sasanid accounts, the main problem during Shāpūr II's minority was the incursion of Arabs from Eastern Arabia into ʿIrāq [q.v.], Khūzūstān and the coast of Fārs. At his majority in 324 Shāpūr II drove them out of ʿIrāq, began to build long walls and a trench (ʿAbdād Sābūr) along the desert frontier in the south-west to keep them out, sailed from Fārs to al-Baḥrayn, defeated the Arabs there, made eastern Arabia a province with garrisons and officials and may have built the Sasanid fort at Sirāf [q.v.] as a naval base. He resettled Arabs in Khūzūstān, Fārs and Kirkūm.

The resumption of war with the Romans over Armenia and Mesopotamia from 337-8 to 350 coincided with the first persecution of Christians in the Sasanid state and support for Shāpūr by anti-Christian pro-Sasanid Armenian nobles. In about 350 Shāpūr II had the Armenian king Tirān killed and may have made the latter's son, Arshak (ca. 350-67), king. At about the same time, Christians rebelled at Susa; Shāpūr II had the city razed and trampled by elephants and built the new city of Šīrāz (Shiraz) nearby. The persecution lasted until the end of his reign, encouraging the thesis that henceforth Christians tended to be persecuted during wars with Rome.

At mid-century Shāpūr was driven eastwards by the invasion of Central Asia by Chionite Huns. Iranians mixed with Huns were driven south and attacked eastern Iran. In the 350s Shāpūr II campaigned in the east against the Chionites and Kuhāns. The Kuhāns
were conquered and their territory governed into the early 5th century by a series of nine Sasanid royal princes with the title of Kuhshangshah according to Lukeinos and Gobha, although historians put this in the 3rd century. Shapur II came to terms with the Chionites, concluding a treaty of peace and alliance with them and the people of Gilan (Gelanii) in about 358.

He then returned to the Roman front with Chionite, Gelanii, Albani and Segestani allies. In a letter to Constantius he revived Achaemenid irredentist claims to territory as far as the river Strymon and the border of Macedonia, as saying that it was his duty to recover Armenia and Mesopotamia, which had been taken from his grandfather, Narseh, by the Romans, by defeating them. He took Adrian in 359 and Singara in 360, deposing the population to Persia. In 363 Julian marched down the Euphrates and invaded Babylonia, while Armenian forces marched east from Carrhae. Julian's rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem encouraged Jews at Maoba (Wet-Ardeghur, across the Tigris from Ctesiphon) to believe the Messiah had come to return them to Palestine; thousands of them marched out of the city and were massacred by Shapur's troops. Ammianus Marcellinus, who was with Julian's army, has left a first-hand account of his campaign and a description of Babylonia. He described wall-paintings of hunting scenes in a palace near Ctesiphon, an annual fair at Batnae in Fars at the beginning of September to buy goods brought by Indians and Syrians by land and sea, and cities and villages all along the coast of the Gulf where many ships sailed back and forth. He also described the battle-order of the Sasanid army at Ctesiphon with mail-clad cavalry in front, infantry behind them and elephants in the rear. The Romans won the battle at Ctesiphon in 363, but Julian was killed, and Jovian secured the retreat by ceding Nisibis, Singara and the trans-Tigris districts that Narseh had lost, and abandoning Armenia. Between 368 and 370 Shapur took Armenia by a combination of diplomacy and force, won over some nobles and satraps, invited the king, Arvagah, to a banquet, blinded, imprisoned, and killed him, pillaged Armenia, drove the Roman protégé out of Iberia and enthroned his own son. Roman counter-measures left Iberia divided and Armenia under a son of Arvagah as a Roman protégé, whom they had killed in about 376.

The reign of Shapur II marked the beginning of a shift in royal legitimising ideology from being of divine nature and descent to being human and descended from the Kayanid (q.v.) kings mentioned in the Avesta. Shapur II was the last Sasanid king to be called "of divine descent" on his coins. In his letter to Constantius, in 358, he called himself "king of kings, partner with the stars, brother of the sun and moon. The translation was symbolised by emphasis on the royal fortune, Hvarnah (xwarrah, faur), as a yazad the subject of a Yagi, represented by a ram with a bow around its neck. At the siege of Arvad, in 359, Shapur wore a gold ram's head set with gems. The garrison of Maoba, in 363, extolled in song the justice and good fortune (justitiam felicitatemque) of their king. He ordered the Christian, Pósi, to venerate the "fortune (god) of Shapur, king of kings, whose nature is from the gods." According to Lukeinos, the dynastic myth of Kayanid descent through Dara was invented in about 350 by a Christian, Kayanid, who wrote a chronicle telling how the Hvarnah of the Kayans had watched over Ardašir I in the form of a ram with a bow around its neck, ensuring his victory over the Parthians.

The 4th century also saw a shift from rock reliefs to royal silver objects with hunting scenes. The metal came from a single source and the objects were probably produced in a royal workshop beginning with Shapur II, such as that run by Pósi at Erangshahr-Shapur (Kardhe dhá Ladhain). Shapur II was also associated with royal banqueting customs and court protocol.

This same century was a period of sharpening religious conflict, inter-faith polemic and the consolidation of religious identities. The polemic lines were drawn among Magians, Manicheans, Christians, Jews and Manichaics, Magians and Christians opposed Manicheans and Manichaics; Magians and Jews opposed Christians, probably indicating who felt threatened by whom. According to the Dékard (iv, 26-7) Shapur II (who may have been Zurvanite) issued an edict defining true belief and condemning false belief, but does not say what they were. Under Shapur II the rad, Mahrapsar, sanctioned the confiscation of the property of Manicheans for the royal treasury. The latter's son Ardabur was involved in royal financial decisions in the formulation of Mazdaean doctrine, remembered and quoted in later tradition. He stood for judicial procedure, an ethical reduction of the sphere of life controlled by fate and the embodiment of the spiritual in the material, and he opposed Manicheans. The spread of popular piety was reflected in the motto "reliance on the yazad" on personal seals, although the meaning of yazad was beginning to shift from the divine beings in general to a term for Christ and the cross.

The organisational structures of Magians, Christians and Jews underwent elaboration in this century. The earliest references to a supreme moubed and to a priestly hierarchy with territorial jurisdictions corresponding to secular administrative divisions belong to the reign of Shapur II. As part of the ruling class, Magian priests and the attendants of fire-temples were exempt from paying the poll tax. Christians formed an ecclesiastical structure under the primacy of the bishop of Ctesiphon from the early 4th century, which made it easier for the state to deal with them. Shapur II required the bishop of Ctesiphon, Shem'on bar Sabbā'ē, to collect a double poll tax and land tax from Christians because they were living in peace. Jews were ruled indirectly through their exilarch in return for taxes, loyalty and defence. Subordinate officials of the exilarch administered justice, collected taxes for the government, supervised markets, preserved order and defended Jewish towns. The 4th-century exilarch, 'Ukba bar Nehemiah, established the principle that the law of the government was to be obeyed just as the Torah. By the end of the 4th century, there was an alliance between the exilarch and the rabbis, who staffed the religious courts, where they applied religious law to the life of the community, acting as local administrators, collected the poll tax and enforced dietary laws as market inspectors. By this century world-affirming doctrines were being used by the representatives of authority in the new order: Mazdaean priests, Jewish rabbis and the Christian clergy, who used ritual and law to exercise social control.

Under the successors of Shapur II a three-way power struggle emerged among the monarchy, the vazāngān or nobles, and the Magian priests, while the pressure from steppe peoples increased. The Sasanids were generally successful in warfare in the east until the mid-5th century. Ardašir II (379-83) was most probably the brother of Shapur II; an investiture relief at Tāk-i Bustān near Kirmāngāh (q.v.) is usually
The Sasanid dynasty was founded by Ardashir I, who overthrew the Parthian empire and established a new dynasty in Persia. Ardashir and his successors, including Shapur I, ruled over a vast empire that extended from the borders of the Roman Empire in the west to the borders of the Huns in the north. The Sasanid empire was characterized by its religious tolerance and its respect for the traditions of Zoroastrianism. The Sasanid kings were known for their patronage of the arts and sciences, and their patronage of learning and scholarship was instrumental in preserving and developing the traditions of Persian literature and culture.

In the late 5th century, the Sasanid empire faced numerous challenges, including invasions by the Huns and the thiếupagh, who threatened the security of the empire. However, the Sasanid kings were able to resist these challenges and maintain their power through the use of their military and political resources. The Sasanid empire declined in the 7th century, and was eventually replaced by the Arab conquest.

Overall, the Sasanid dynasty was a period of great cultural and political growth in Persia, and its legacy continues to shape the history and culture of Iran today.
to be purified and converted to Magianism, and he is said to have visited this shrine on the feasts of Sada (the midwinter fire festival) and Nawruz [q.v.].

Tradition also associated Bahram V with importing Indian musicians, who secured peace with the Hephthalites in return for tribute, gave Armenian Christians religious freedom and made Armenia a royal province. By the late 5th century, Sasanids began to have dates in the regnal year of the king. The desire of Balash to build a new fire temple as slaves. In 470 two rabbis and the son of the exilarch were imprisoned and executed, and in 474 or 477 Babylonian synagogues were closed, schools destroyed, Jews were made subject to Persian law and Jewish children were turned over to Magians to be raised. When Fruz died fighting the Hephthalites in 484, the uzurgdn enthroned his brother Balash (484-8), who secured peace with the Hephthalites in return for tribute, gave Armenian Christians religious freedom and made Armenia a royal province. By the late 5th century, Sasanids began to have dates in the regnal year of the king. The desire of Balash to build a new fire temple for sinfulness and assigned to the royal domains for several years. In 455 Yazdajird II is said to have outlawed the Jewish Sabbath.

The death of Yazdajird II was followed by a dynastic civil war between two of his sons, Hormizd III (457-9) and Fruz (459-84), who defeated and killed his brother. During the civil war the Albanian king rebelled and allied with the Huns north of the Caspian. After war with the Albanians, Fruz made peace, permitting Albanians and Armenians to remain Christian, and the Byzantines subsidised the defence of the Caucasus passes. Upon consulting with Marbut, the mowbedan mowbed, the title of the chief judge and supporters of his religion in the Avesta and in the development of the myth of the Kayanid descent of the Sasanid kings included in the Book of Kings (Xwaday nāmag) that contained material from at least the 5th century. Drought, famine and the decimation of the Hephthalite and civil wars may have created an agricultural and demographic crisis in the state, while the uzurgdn engaged in local oppression under a weak monarchy. Kubadh I allied with the Zaradush tagan, that captured the Sasanid state at the end of the century and survived as a sectarian form of Magianism. Contemporary with the Monophysite movement in the Byzantine empire, this was related to political support for some particular form of the dominant faith, the enforcement of religious conformity for political reasons, the popularisation of Magianism through forced conversion and the impact of the Avesta, which sanctioned the sharing of wealth, women, and wisdom. Drought, famine and the decimation of the uzurgdn in the Hephthalite and civil wars may have created an agricultural and demographic crisis in the state, while the uzurgdn engaged in local oppression under a weak monarchy. Kubadh I allied with the Zaradush tagan and their leader Mazdak [q.v.] as a means of popular support against the uzurgdn and the priests. He tried to force the Armenians to convert, permitted or ordered the sharing of women and redistributed land. The sharing of women and property may have been intended to undermine the uzurgdn, break down social barriers to marriage between nobles and commoners, repopulate the state and restore agriculture, but people were allowed to help themselves, causing disorders in 494-5. In 496 the uzurgdn deposed Kubadh over his policy toward women and held an assembly to decide what to do with him. Procopius reports that it was not legal to enthrone a commoner unless the royal family was extinct and that the majority were unwilling to kill a member of the royal family, so they imprisoned Kubadh and enthroned his brother Qamasp (496-99).

Kubadh escaped to the Hephthalites, whose army restored him to the throne in 499. Qamasp was blinded and imprisoned because, according to Procopius, no-one with a physical deformity could be king. Kubadh's second reign began with a series of natural disasters: in 503, famine, and in 505 the Hephthalites crossed the Oxus, and in about 469 defeated and captured Fruz, who lost Harat to them, agreed to pay them tribute, left his son Kubadh as a hostage to guarantee its payment and levied a general poll tax over his entire state to ransom him. The great drought and famine led him to remit taxes, but together with the beginning of persecution under Yazdajird II, may have encouraged械elizations among Jews in 468, four hundred years after the destruction of the Temple. About that time, the Jews of Isfahan are said to have flayed two hirbeds, and Fruz ordered half the Jews of Isfahan killed and their children to be turned over to the Sro ADuran fire temple as slaves. In 470 two rabbis and the son of the exilarch were imprisoned and executed, and in 474 or 477 Babylonian synagogues were closed, schools destroyed, Jews were made subject to Persian law and Jewish children were turned over to Magians to be raised. When Fruz died fighting the Hephthalites in 484, the uzurgdn enthroned his brother Balash (484-8), who secured peace with the Hephthalites in return for tribute, gave Armenian Christians religious freedom and made Armenia a royal province. By the late 5th century, Sasanids began to have dates in the regnal year of the king. The desire of Balash to build a new fire temple for sinfulness and assigned to the royal domains for several years. In 455 Yazdajird II is said to have outlawed the Jewish Sabbath.

The death of Yazdajird II was followed by a dynastic civil war between two of his sons, Hormizd III (457-9) and Fruz (459-84), who defeated and killed his brother. During the civil war the Albanian king rebelled and allied with the Huns north of the Caspian. After war with the Albanians, Fruz made peace, permitting Albanians and Armenians to remain Christian, and the Byzantines subsidised the defence of the Caucasus passes. Upon consulting with Marbut, the mowbedan mowbed, and other judges, Fruz put Mihr-Narseh in the service of the Ohrmazd- Fruz made peace, permitting Albanians and Armenians to remain Christian, and the Byzantines subsidised the defence of the Caucasus passes. Upon consulting with Marbut, the mowbedan mowbed, the title of the chief judge and supporters of his religion in the Avesta and in the development of the myth of the Kayanid descent of the Sasanid kings included in the Book of Kings (Xwaday nāmag) that contained material from at least the 5th century. Drought, famine and the decimation of the Hephthalite and civil wars may have created an agricultural and demographic crisis in the state, while the uzurgdn engaged in local oppression under a weak monarchy. Kubadh I allied with the Zaradush tagan, that captured the Sasanid state at the end of the century and survived as a sectarian form of Magianism. Contemporary with the Monophysite movement in the Byzantine empire, this was related to political support for some particular form of the dominant faith, the enforcement of religious conformity for political reasons, the popularisation of Magianism through forced conversion and the impact of the Avesta, which sanctioned the sharing of wealth, women, and wisdom. Drought, famine and the decimation of the uzurgdn in the Hephthalite and civil wars may have created an agricultural and demographic crisis in the state, while the uzurgdn engaged in local oppression under a weak monarchy. Kubadh I allied with the Zaradush tagan and their leader Mazdak [q.v.] as a means of popular support against the uzurgdn and the priests. He tried to force the Armenians to convert, permitted or ordered the sharing of women and redistributed land. The sharing of women and property may have been intended to undermine the uzurgdn, break down social barriers to marriage between nobles and commoners, repopulate the state and restore agriculture, but people were allowed to help themselves, causing disorders in 494-5. In 496 the uzurgdn deposed Kubadh over his policy toward women and held an assembly to decide what to do with him. Procopius reports that it was not legal to enthrone a commoner unless the royal family was extinct and that the majority were unwilling to kill a member of the royal family, so they imprisoned Kubadh and enthroned his brother Qamasp (496-99).

Kubadh escaped to the Hephthalites, whose army restored him to the throne in 499. Qamasp was blinded and imprisoned because, according to Procopius, no-one with a physical deformity could be king. Kubadh's second reign began with a series of natural disasters: in 503, famine, and in 505 the Hephthalites crossed the Oxus, and in about 469 defeated and captured Fruz, who lost Harat to them, agreed to pay them tribute, left his son Kubadh as a hostage to guarantee its payment and levied a general poll tax over his entire state to ransom him. The great drought and famine led him to remit taxes, but together with the beginning of persecution under Yazdajird II, may have encouraged械elizations among Jews in 468, four hundred years after the destruction of the Temple. About that time, the Jews of Isfahan are said to have flayed two hirbeds, and Fruz ordered half the Jews of Isfahan killed and their children to be turned over to the Sro ADuran fire temple as slaves. In 470 two rabbis and the son of the exilarch were imprisoned and executed, and in 474 or 477 Babylonian synagogues were closed, schools destroyed, Jews were made subject to Persian law and Jewish children were turned over to Magians to be raised. When Fruz died fighting the Hephthalites in 484, the uzurgdn enthroned his brother Balash (484-8), who secured peace with the Hephthalites in return for tribute, gave Armenian Christians religious freedom and made Armenia a royal province. By the late 5th century, Sasanids began to have dates in the regnal year of the king. The desire of Balash to build a new fire temple for sinfulness and assigned to the royal domains for several years. In 455 Yazdajird II is said to have outlawed the Jewish Sabbath.

The death of Yazdajird II was followed by a dynastic civil war between two of his sons, Hormizd III (457-9) and Fruz (459-84), who defeated and killed his brother. During the civil war the Albanian king rebelled and allied with the Huns north of the Caspian. After war with the Albanians, Fruz made peace, permitting Albanians and Armenians to remain Christian, and the Byzantines subsidised the defence of the Caucasus passes. Upon consulting with Marbut, the mowbedan mowbed, and other judges, Fruz put Mihr-Narseh in the service of the Ohrmazd-
Byzantine refusal to pay for the defence of the Caucasian passes served as a pretext for predatory war against them. In 503 Kubādh took Armin and carried off the survivors as slaves. The Byzantines made war against them. In 503 Kubādh took Amid and carried off the survivors as slaves. The Byzantines made peace in 506 and paid an indemnity to Kubādh, who returned the conquered territory and the captives from Armin. The internal situation was stabilised with the Mazdakites in control for thirty years. After his restoration, Kubādh required the Arab ruler of al-Hira al-Mundhūr III (ca. 505-54) to become a Mazdakite. When the latter refused, Kubādh got the Arab ruler of the Kinda [q.v.], al-Hārīth b. ‘Amr, whose kingdom was at its height in the early 6th century, to impose Mazdakism on the Arabs in Nadjel and the Hitjāz [q.v.]. In 525 al-Hārīth defeated al-Mundhūr and occupied al-Hira until his death in 528.

Apart from the suppression of the wuzurgān, who never recovered their power in the state, the Mazdakite period was less of a break with than a continuation of 5th-century developments. The interests in conversion and spreading Magian observance in this period were renewed also by the emergence of herēbāts as Magian missionaries, according to Chaumont, who were encouraged to return to their villages to instruct people and establish schools, where they taught children to recite the Yaṣīṣh. Mazdak is said to have persuaded Kubādh to extinguish all but the three original sacred fires, which were associated with Avestan ideology, and the Mazdakites may have contributed to their elevation in the late Sasanid period. Kubādh’s reputation does not seem to have suffered, and he was credited with a reform of the Magian calendar. Kubādh gave his sons Kayānīd names and was called “Kay” on his coins along with increasing astral symbols.

Kubādh also began the reforms associated with the recovery of the Sasanid state in the 6th century. He instituted the use of an official seal for marzbdn to use on documents, many examples of which are attested from the late Sasanid period. He began the survey of agricultural land in lower ‘Irāk for tax purposes, and began the creation or reorganisation of administrative districts later called in Arabic kuswar, and subdistricts called tāṣīg, which became the basis of late Sasanid local government.

The same period saw a schism in the Christian Church in Sasanid territory with the introduction of a Nestorian majority and Monophysite minority, but actually involved the adoption of the diophistie christology of Theodore of Mopouzestia, favoured by Bar Sawmā, bishop of Nisibis, who convinced Fīrūz that, if the Sasanid Church adopted Theodore’s doctrine, there would be less reason to fear Christian collusion with the Byzantines. He was excommunicated in 485 by his own cathedral, Acraeus (484-96), who favoured the adoption of Chalcedon (451). The doctrine of Theodore was institutionalised at the school of Nisibis, founded under Bar Sawmā’s patronage in 496, and that year Mūsā, the Christian court astrologer of Ḏūmān, got royal permission (for the first time) for the election of his relative Babā in as catholico (497-515), who removed Bar Sawmā’s excommunication at a synod in 499. By the 6th century, Nestorians controlled the Church and spread Theodore’s doctrine while those opposed to them tended to become Monophysite. The Armenians reacted against the Council of Chalcedon in 491, adopted a christology close to that of the Monophysites and broke completely with the Byzantine Church by 609.

The late Sasanid state emerged in the 6th century, to assume royal power. They were assembled, a document was read declaring Khusraw to be Kubādh’s successor and they declared Khusraw king. This is the first attested example of such a procedure, which was the basis for theoretical generalisations in the Testament of Ardashir and the Letter of Tansar, both 6th-century works.

Khusraw I (531-79) purged his rivals among the royal family and the wuzurgān, suppressed the Mazdakites, and ruled fairly unopposed. There are recurring references to assemblies during his reign, where policies were approved. In 532 he made peace with the Byzantines by evacuating fortresses in Lazica, while the Byzantines resumed their subsidy to defend the Caucasian passes. Khusraw I fortified the pass at Darband and built a long wall to defend the Gurgān plain. He was famous for his justice and support of Mazdaean religion, was remembered as Anūshirwān [q.v.] (“orthographic lion”) and is the model for the Messengers of the World in Sasanid legend. His coins were the first to have stars between the horns of crescents, and from 535 had the slogan “may he prosper” (ahžīn). The capital at Ctesiphon-Weh-Ardashīr grew into a metropolis (al-Madā’in [q.v.]) of several cities, and it was most likely Khusraw I who built the great audience hall (Īwān or Tāk-i Kišā) there.

The distinction between nobles and commoners was restored, the property of Mazdakite leaders was confiscated and given to the poor, and property taken by force was returned to its former owners. Wuzurgān kept their status but lost their power to a bureaucratic élite of royal officials who collected taxes directly. A new class of military landlords (dahāqān, dīkhān [q.v.]) was created from the azaqān, who were given land by the treasury in return for military service and forwarding taxes, as a basis for the army and support for the monarchy.

The state was divided into four quarters, of the South, West, North and East, each under a military governor (ṣabīḥād), and divided into districts and subdistricts, with marzdāns in frontier districts. An elaborate central administration run by officials (kār-dārān) was divided into departments with parallel
hierarchies reaching down into the provinces along vertical lines of authority with overlapping checks at the local level and books on the duties of officials and mobeds. Confidential officers were used as internal spies and messengers, and there was a royal post for communication. The heads of departments were members of the royal court along with the grand chamberlain, grand counsellor, head steward, head of servants, royal warden, royal astrologer, head physician, chief of craftsmen and chief of cultivators; these titles were sometimes combined and may have been honorific. There were at least seven departments: the chancellery, the registry department to seal documents, the finance department to collect taxes, the department to administer the royal domain, the judiciary, the priesthood, including the office of judicature, the priesthood, including the office of wuzurgdn, which was a digest containing the opinions of jurists, and the office of the royal family, which was produced for the expanded system.

Khusraw I finished the cadastral survey in the Sawaïd and replaced the agricultural tax as a proportion of the harvest by a tax per unit of area under cultivation according to the type of crop, computed in cash, but paid in cash or kind. He also established a regular, annual poll tax of 4, 6, 8, or 12 dirhams, to be paid in three instalments, on the male population between the ages of 20 and 50. Members of the royal family, wuzurgdn, soldiers, priests and royal officials were all exempt and agreed to its imposition.

A highly developed legal literature was produced in the late Sasanid period covering legal procedures and social, economic and criminal activity. The Dādestān nāmag was a collection of judicial decisions; the Mādagān was a digest containing the opinions of jurists and royal rescripts from the 5th century until the twenty-sixth year of Khusraw II (616). Based on Magian ethical principles and religious requirements, the application of this legal system helped spread a Magian way of life.

The late Sasanid social ethic emphasised order, stability, legality and harmony among the theoretical four estates of priests, soldiers, officials and workers, so that each would perform its specific duty toward the others. These estates were supposed to be hereditary, but in practice were overlapped by a vertical social hierarchy of the royal family, wuzurgdn, provincial governors, small military landholders and local officials, freemen and slaves. There are scattered references to organisations of artisans and merchants.

The Sasanids monopolised the transit trade, exchanging goods with the Byzantines at markets along the western frontier at Nisibis and Dubios in Persia and Armenia. Procopius describes how numerous merchants from all over Persia and some under Byzantine rule came to Dubios and traded for goods from India and Iberia.

Khusraw I was famous for his love of literature and philosophy; works were translated from Greek, Syriac and Sanskrit into Middle Persian, a set of royal astronomical tables (Zīgīs-i Shāhī) was produced for him and there were philosophical discussions at his court. Paul the Persian, a Nestorian theologian and Aristotelian philosopher, in a Syriac introduction to logic addressed to Khusraw, argued that knowledge was better than belief based on the relativity of religious belief. These resulted in a variety of opinions.

War was resumed with the Byzantines from 540 to 561 over the control of Armenia and Lazica, encouraged by Ostrogothic ambassadors, for plunder, and to divert and employ the military aristocracy. In 540 Khusraw I invaded Syria, took Antioch, burned the city and deported the survivors, and seized or extorted huge amounts of gold and silver there and from other cities on his way. He was then sent against the Byzantines in Syria with public baths and a hippodrome and put under the charge of a chief of artisans (karubad) as a manufacturing centre. In 541 the Lazies offered Khusraw I the prospect of attacking the Byzantines by sea through their land, and he invaded Lazica with Huns as allies and established direct rule there. In 542 he invaded Syria up the west bank of the Euphrates as far as Commagene. Finding nothing left to plunder or extort, he deported farmers from Callinicus on his return. He defeated the Byzantines in Armenia in 543 and invaded Mesopotamia in 544; the Byzantines agreed to a five-year truce and paid 2,000 pounds of gold. The truce was broken in its fourth year when the Lazies allied with the Byzantines to expel the Sasanids. The fall of Petra to the Byzantines in 545 was reported as the worst important five-year truce, and negotiations for a peace treaty were begun in 556. Khusraw turned to the east, where the Western Turks invaded Central Asia and defeated the Hephthalites. In about 557-8 Khusraw took the Hephthalite territory south of the Oxus. A fifty-year peace was concluded with the Byzantines in 561, by which the Sasanids evacuated Lazica in return for an annual payment of gold, religious freedom was guaranteed for Christians under the Sasanids and Magians under the Byzantines, and Nisibis and Dara were confirmed as centres for the silk trade. Khusraw's gold coins of 564 contained universalist slogans: "he who makes the world without fear" and "may he cause the world to prosper". In 564 a member of the Suren family was made governor of Armenia, who built a fire temple at Dvin (Dvin [q. v.]) and killed a leader of the Manichaeans, provoking an Armenian revolt in 571. The Byzantines withheld their payment and indecisive warfare was renewed over Armenia and Mesopotamia from 572 to 582. There was a war with the Turks in 569-70, and between 575 and 577 a Sasanid naval expedition conquered al-Yaman [q. v.] from the Ethiopians. The Armenian revolt ended with a general amnesty in 578.

The conflict between the crown and the wuzurgdn resurfaced in the reign of Hurmizd IV (579-90), who had been on his way to India to follow in Khusraw's footsteps. Hurmizd I. Hurmizd IV is said to have favoured the common people against the wuzurgdn, possibly as a basis of support for the crown, killed some 13,000 Persian notables, executed the Jewish exilarch in 581 and closed the schools, and reduced the pay of the army. He also suppressed the priestly order of mobeds, for the rest of the Sasanid period and into early Islamic times, khoras. He also represented the imperial, not the princely, power, and in the 588-90 persecution of Jews and Christians. In 588 Hephthalite subjects of the Western Turks invaded the east, reaching Bādghīs [q. v.] and Harāt. Bahram Cübin [see BAHRAM], of the Mihrān family and spābed of the North, defeated the Western Turks at Harāt in 589, crossed the Oxus and defeated the Eastern Turks, and was then sent against the Byzantines in Albania, where he was defeated. Jealous of Bahram's popularity, Hurmizd IV deposed him on the pretext that he had held back the troops protecting Bahram IV rebel in the trans-Caucasus, according to Theophylact, or in the east, according to the Syriac Khuzistān chronicle. Towards the end of 589 Bahram marched against al-Madâzin, where the nobles rebelled early in 590, led by Bindoc and Bistām, brothers-in-law of Hurmizd.
who released the nobles from prison, deposed, blinded and killed Hurmizd IV, and enthroned his son Khusraw. Bahram defeated them in Adharbaydjan, promised to return conquered territory and promised peace. One army marched through Armenia, reinforced by 12,000 Armenians and awaited in Adharbaydjan by Bindoe with 8,000 Persians. The other went through Mesopotamia and defeated Bahram in Trak; Bahram headed for Adharbaydjan, was defeated by Bindoe near Lake Urmia, and fled across the Oxus to the Turks, where he was assassinated a year later. When Khusraw returned to al-Madâ’in, his generals and the Christians killed him. Many of the Jews of Mahoza for supporting Bahram.

Khusraw II (591-628) returned Dara and Mayyâfarikin [q.v.] to the Byzantines in 591, and ceded Armenia up to Lake Van and Tiflis. He remitted the half land tax, put one uncle, Bindoe, in charge of the administrative bureaux and treasuries, and the other, Bistâm, over the north-east. Bindoe was soon executed, and Bistâm rebelled in the north-east, striking his own coins at Ravy from about 592 to 596. In 598 an expedition annexed al-Yaman as a province. Khusraw II established his rule over the entire state by 601.

The reign of Khusraw II was the most extreme expression of late Sasanid political absolutism and imperial ambition. In a letter to Maurice, he called himself “king of kings, master of those who have power, lord of peoples, prince of peace, savour of men, good and eternal man among gods, most powerful god among men, most honored, victorious, ascended with the sun and companion of the stars.” He was represented as the cosmoconor. His image was observed in 624 on the inside of a dome on a building at Ganzak enthroned in the heavens with the sun, moon and stars around him. He is said to have had a celestial throne with a canopy of gold and lapis lazuli on which the stars, signs of the zodiac, planets and Harûn al-Rashid (?—656) were represented. He is also said to have been surrounded by over 360 astrologers and magicians, whose advice he sought constantly. He was called Aparwâz (Patwiz [q.v.] “the triumphant”), and the slogan “may he make Iran prosperous” occurred on some of his coins. The rock reliefs in the large grotto at Tak-i Bustân are probably his, as are the remains of a palace at Kasr-i Shirin [q.v.] near Dastgerd (Daskara) Christians. He amassed a huge royal treasure, accumulated from the time of Firuz, reorganised the state into 35 administrative districts and built 353 fire temples, where 12,000 hêrbêla recited rituals.

He eliminated all rival sources of power, probably in compensation for insecurity at the beginning of his reign. The Jewish exilarchate was suppressed; after 590 there was no exilarch for the rest of the Sasanid period. Jewish schools were closed and the rabbis became the de facto leaders of the community. In 596 he had his own candidate elevated as “Nestorian catholicos, but being deceived by a group of physicians, astrologers and Christian courtiers over the elevation of a successor in 604, after the latter died in 609, he refused to allow the election of a catholicos for the rest of his reign. In about 602 the Lakhmirids were suppressed and their last king, al-Nu’mân III b. al-Mundhir [q.v.], was executed. After a Sasanid army was defeated by the Banu Shayhân at Dhu Kâr [q.v.] between 606 and 611, al-Hira was put under a marzubân and the desert frontier restored.

In 602 Maurice was deposed and killed, giving Khusraw the opportunity to regain territory ceded to the Byzantines by posing as his avenger, starting the last and greatest Sasanid-Byzantine war. Between 604 and 610 Sasanid armies under Shahin, spâhel of the West, and Shahbarzâz conquered Armenia and Mesopotamia, and invaded Syria and Anatolia. Byzantine weakness during this phase of the war was due to their lack of local support and the occupation of their forces putting down local disturbances and revolts, that destroyed their own manpower in Syria. The second phase started with the accession of Heraclius in 610; Khusraw now intended to conquer the entire Byzantine empire. In 611 with Shahin’s army covering in Anatolia, Shahbarzâz invaded Syria, taking Antioch, and Damatbas (813). Then marching down the coast taking the towns to prevent Byzantine reinforcements by sea, he turned inland, conquered Galilee and the Jordan valley and besieged Jerusalem in May 614, joined by tens of thousands of messianic Jews. When Jerusalem fell, tens of thousands of Christians were killed, 300 monasteries and churches burned, 35,000 captives, mostly craftsmen, deported to Sasanid territory along with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross, and a Bahram fire established there. The Jewish alliance broke down in 617, their administration of Jerusalem was ended and they were expelled from the city. The treatment of Christians in Palestine was moderated by the influence of Christians at the Sasanid court; some prisoners were freed, money was sent for relief, and the rebuilding of churches and monasteries was allowed. Chalcedonian bishops were expelled from Mesopotamia and Syria, and their churches turned over to Monophysites. From 616 to 620 Shahbarzâz conquered Egypt as far as Ethiopia in the south and Libya in the west, and installed a Coptic Patriarch in Alexandria. Meanwhile, an Armenian army under Sembat Bagratuni defeated Hephtalites north of Lake Helmand and looted as far as Balj [q.v.]. During this phase of the war, the Sasanids were inconsistent in responding to local support from Jews and Muslims as Monophysites, and may have played them off against each other; they also failed to develop a navy, and Khusraw II was unwilling to consider peace while he was winning.

Instead of trying to reconquer lost provinces, the Byzantines took the war to the Sasanids in its third phase. In 622 and 624 Heraclius invaded Armenia, faced by Khusraw II himself in Adharbaydjan. Burnig towns and villages, Heraclius drove Khusraw II out of Ganzak and Shâz. Khusraw II fled to al-Trak, while Heraclius wintered in Albania. In 625 Heraclius defeated three Sasanid armies in Adharbaydjan and Armenia. With the war going badly, Khusraw II turned against the Christians, executed Nestorians in upper Trak, deported Monophysites from Edessa to Sîstân, raised taxes and took treasures from churches to finance the war.

In its fourth phase, the war escalated in 626; the Sasanids allied with the Avars in eastern Europe, while the Byzantines allied with the Khazars [q.v.] north of the Caucasus. The joint Sasanid-Avar siege of Constantinople failed in 626, as did the Byzantine-Khazar siege of Tiflis. In 627 plague broke out in Palestine, and Heraclius invaded Armenia with Greek, Laz and Iberian troops, and with Khazar
cavalry. Descending to the Tigris valley, he defeated Sasanid forces at Nineveh, marched down the east bank of the Tigris, took and demolished the royal palace and magazine at Damascus, and took the royal treasures. Khusrav II fled to al-Madāʾin and set up a defensive line along the Nahrawān [q. v.]. Unable to find a ford due to disastrous flooding of the Tigris and Euphrates in the winter of 627-8, Heraclius returned to Ganzak, and waited for political developments in the capital. Khusrav II suspected and feared everyone, arrested all officers who had fled by the Byzantines and ordered them to be executed, imprisoned thousands of people and executed the workmen who failed to close the Tigris breaches. Furious at his behaviour and rejection of peace proposals, in February 628 a group of generals and high officials entered the capital, opened the prisons, proclaimed his son Kubād II king, arrested and imprisoned Khusrav II and insisted that Kubād execute him, because there could not be two kings at once.

Kubād II reigned for eight months (February to September 628), was called Kubād Firūz (“victorious”) on his coins and was popularly called Shīrūya/Shīroeq. Persians called him “the unjust,” and he was identified as the Antichrist in apocalyptic literature. He was remembered as a parricide and fratricide; he killed all of his adult brothers, leaving only sisters and children, creating the subsequent dynastic problems. During his reign, one-third to one-half of the population of Irāk perished from plague, probably brought back from Syria by Sasanid armies. He also began peace negotiations with the Byzantines based on mutual evacuation and the freeing of prisoners of war and deportees. He reduced taxes and allowed the election of a Nestorian catholicos.

Kubad II was succeeded by his seven-year-old son, Ardāshīr III (September 628 to April 630), with Mah-Adur-Gushnasp as regent. Shahrbaraz seems to have broken with Khusrav II by the end of 626, and had refused to recognise Kubad II or evacuate his provinces. In the summer of 629 he negotiated with Heraclius on his own, evacuated Egypt and Syria, returned to al-Madāʾin, purged his enemies and those responsible for the death of Khusrav II, and made himself regent. He returned the True Cross to Heraclius, but was defeated by the Khazars. On 27 April 630, he killed Ardāshīr III, made himself king and reigned for 42 days until he was killed by his own guard on June 9.

This was followed by an extreme dynastic crisis, with eleven rulers in two years. Burān (630-1), daughter of Khusrav II and wife of Kubād II, struck coins, built bridges, and completed the peace negotiations with the Byzantines before being deposed and killed in the fall of 631. In the latter part of 632, a grandson of Khusrav II, Yazdajurd III [q. v.] (632-51), was proclaimed king at Istābkār at the age of sixteen or twenty-one and brought to al-Madāʾin. Yazdajurd III was the last Sasanid monarch. The Sasanid position in the Arabian peninsula had already been lost; their system of military colonies and tribal alliances in al-Yaman, Umān, and al-Bahrān collapsed when defeated by the Byzantines followed by a four-year dynastic crisis (628-32) made them unable to support their garrisons and Arab proconsuls. The treaty of Ḥudaibiyah [q. v.] in 628 enabled the Muslims to take control of the local rulers. The Sasanids were expelled from Sīn and Badghīs, to defeat Yazdajurd’s followers. Yazdajurd III fled to Irāk, was killed in a miller nearby in 631. His son Firūz took refuge in T’ang China, while Magians and Hadjar acknowledged the Prophet Muhammad and converted to Islam, while Magians in al-Bahrān and coastal Umān were allowed to pay tribute. The ra’id of Khālid b. al-Walid [q. v.] in 633 destroyed most of the Sasanid system of fortresses along the desert frontier of Irāk, crippled their Arab allies there and provoked a major Sasanid effort to restore the border. But they were unable to follow up their victory over the Muslims at the Battle of the Bridge in 634 because of factional conflict at al-Madāʾin. The Muslim victory at al-Kādiṣiyya [q. v.] in 636 resulted in the loss of Irāk to the Sasanids; Yazdajurd fled to Ḫulwān [q. v.] and then to Rayy. The fall of Irāk affected the subsequent conflict because the Sasanids had lost the heart of their state: the administrative centre at al-Madāʾin, the tax base, that amounted to one-third of the total revenue, the royal treasure, substantial military forces and the leadership of many nobles. The Muslims now held these resources, assisted by former Sasanid soldiers and officials who defected to them. The caliph ‘Umar I [q. v.] had intended expansion to stop there, but attacks on lower Irāk by Sasanid forces in Khuzistān provoked the Muslim conquest of that province from 639 to 642. Yazdajurd III raised a major army and sent it to Nihawand [q. v.] in order to block any Muslim advance and possibly to retake Irāk. The defeat of this army by combined Kūfīan and Baṣraṇ forces in 642 was a second military disaster for the Sasanids; it secured Khuzistān and Irāk for the Muslims, ended organised resistance in the Dībāl [q. v.] and opened the Iranian plateau to the Muslims. Yazdajurd III fled to Ḫisāfah and then to Ḫisāfah, where he tried to organise the defence of Baṣra. But the Baṣraṇ army conquered Fārs in 649-50; Yazdajurd III fled to Kirmān and Sītān, pursued by Muslim forces, and arrived at Marw. Resenting Yazdajurd III’s financial demands, the marsūbān of Marw allied with Nizāk Tarḫān [q. v.], the Hephthalite ruler of Bāḏghīs, to defeat Yazdajurd’s followers. Yazdajurd III fled from Marw, and was killed by a miller nearby in 651. His son Firūz took refuge in T’ang China, but he and his son Narseh were unsuccessful in getting Chinese help to restore their dynasty. The fall of the Sasanids did not mean the Muslim conquest of Persia, which took several more decades [see IRAN. v. History]. The Sasanid Book of Kings (Xwaday nēmāq) achieved its final form in the reign of Yazdajurd III, and, because he had no successor, his regnal years continued from 632 as the era of Yazdajurd. Magians took that year as the end of the millennium of Zoroaster, and the beginning of the millennium of Oshēdar.

The significance of Sasanid history lies in providing an example of a late antique state and society that broadens the understanding of that period, in the development of monarchic and religious institutions, and the formation of religious communities, that created precedents for religious groups as political minorities. The Sasanids left a legacy of royal absolutism and bureaucratic administration, and Sasanid motifs continued in the art and architecture of the Islamic period and spread to the east and west. Branches of the dynasty survived long afterward as local rulers. The Bawandids (Bawand [q. v.]) of Tabaristān [q. v.] claimed descent from Kāwūs, the son of Kubad I, and ruled until 750/1349. The Dāwawīyids (Dabuwa [q. v.]) also claimed descent from Ibn Firūz, and ruled in Tabaristan and Gilan in the 11th century. The Bādūsbanids [q. v.] claimed descent from them, and branches of this dynasty lasted until 975/1567 and 984/1574.

Bibliography: The literature on subjects related to the Sasanids is huge; only an updated selection is given here. General treatments and introduc-

On seals and bullae, for Sasanid coins, see Gobi, Sassanian coins, Bombay 1924, repr. 1976; R. Gobé, Sasanian numismatics, Brunswick 1971; M. Mitterchen, The mint organization of the Sassanian Empire, in Numismatic Circular, lxviii (1986); R. Curiel and R. Gyselen, Momma les fossiles de Bishapur, in Str xvi (1987), 7-43. Other works on coins are given below by period.


On seals and bullae, for Sasanid coins, see Gobi, Sassanian coins, Bombay 1924, repr. 1976; R. Gobé, Sasanian numismatics, Brunswick 1971; M. Mitterchen, The mint organization of the Sassanian Empire, in Numismatic Circular, lxviii (1986); R. Curiel and R. Gyselen, Momma les fossiles de Bishapur, in Str xvi (1987), 7-43. Other works on coins are given below by period.


On Kubâdh and Mazdak, in addition to the literature cited in the article mazdak, see O. Klimäk, Early 7th century Persia: From the Chosroean to the Khusruan dynasties, Prague 1977; H. Gauhe, Mazdak: historical reality or invention?, in Stlt, xi (1982), 111-122; Tafazzoli, Observations sur le soi-disant Mazdak-Nâmag, in Acta Iranica, xxiii (1984). For a thought-provoking reassessment, see P. Crone, Kavâd’s heresy and Mazdak’s revolt, in Iran, xxix (1991), 21-42.


936/1529 built by a saint Sayyid Djamal al-Din Husayn b. Sayyid Fāqir al-Dīn, an immigrant from the Caspian coast town of Āmul (see Shamsuddin Ahmad, Inscriptions of Bengal, v, Rajshahi 1960, 24-7, 28-9, 34-5). Satgaon was an important mint town since the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The earliest coin discovered so far is dated 729/1328, while the latest is 957/1550.

The first European contacts with Satgaon date from the 1530s when Portuguese ships started using its port. Unfortunately, due to the violence often practiced by the Portuguese in the area, the population of this grand city—once called Porto Piqueno or the little Heaven by the early Europeans—started dwindling. The final ruin of Satgaon seems to have been brought about by the silting of the river Sarawati, as the port almost lost its navigability towards the end of the 10th/16th century.


SATĪH b. RABI'A, a legendary diviner (kāhin) of pre-Islamic Arabia, whom tradition connects with the beginnings of Islam; in reality, we are dealing here with a quite mythical personage like the other demoniacal monster in appearance like a man cut in two (ghūl al-insān: cf. van Vloten, in WZKM, vii [1893], 157-8, and Sgūk). Satīh, whose name means "flattened on the ground and unable to rise on account of the weakness of his limbs" (Lisan al-’Arab, iii, 312), is described as a monster without bones or muscles; he had no head but a human face in the centre of his chest; he lay on the ground, on a bed of leaves and palm branches, and when he had to change his position "they rolled him up like a carpet"; only when he was irritated or inspired did he inflate himself and stand up. His close resemblance to Shīkh is accentuated by legend which makes them both be born without the intervention of a father in the night before the death of the kāhin Turayfa (the wife of ‘Amr Muzayyiyā, ancestor of the tribe of this name, who is said to have foretold the catastrophe of the breaking of the dam of Ma’ārib in the Yemen). She is said before dying to have made the two newborn monsters come to light; a few months later spitting in turn the classic method of transmitting magic power), declared them her successors in the art of kāhina.

In spite of these characteristically mythical features, Arab genealogical tradition has not refused to give Satīh a place in its system, but gives him a name and a paternity (Rabi‘ī b. Rabi‘a b. Māzīn b. Dhib) which connect him with the Ghassānid branch of the tribe of Azd (just as it connects Shīkh with the Banū Sa‘b, a branch of the Banū Murra and more precisely with the Banū Dhibi (Ibn Durayd, I:67, 286; Wüstefeld, Genealog., i11, 11; according to others, the Banū Dhibi belonged to the ‘Abd al-Kays, a tribe belonging to the Rabī‘a group); there (even) if he became to have been in historic times an Azd clan claiming descent from Satīh (Abū ‘Hātim al-Sidjestānī, Kitāb al-Mu‘ammarin, 3, in Goldziher, Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie, Leiden 1896-9, ii).

Among the legends associated with the name of Satīh some are connected with the pre-historic of Arabia and others with Satīh as an archer, interpreter and judge (kāhin) without any regard for history or chronology, being totally fictitious; sometimes we find him dividing among the sons of Nisār (Mudhar, Rabī‘a, Lyād and Anmār) their father’s estate (Ibl, ii, 46, 47; al-Dhahabī, ed., ii, 39); sometimes we find him consulted with Shīkh by al-Zarbī al-Azdāni (Wüstefeld, Gen. Tabellen, D, 13) regarding the real position of Qasī, the ancestor of the Żarbī tribe, to whom al-Zarbī had him forced to promise his daughter in marriage (Aghānī, i, 75). In al-Ya‘qūbī ( Та‘Rākīh), i, 288-90, it is he who decides the difference which arose between ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet’s grandfather, and the two Kaysi tribes al-Kilāb and al-Ribāb, regarding the ownership of the well of Dhu ‘l-Harm discovered by the former in the vicinity of al-Ta‘if; but the parallel versions of the same story either do not mention the name of the arbitrator or give him that of another kāhin, Salama b. Abī Haya al-Kudrū (al-Maṣṣādī, Amīthāl, ed. 1284, i, 36 = ed. 1310, i, 30; Yākūt, iv, 11, 829; Lā‘î, xiii, 283).

Two other legends, on the other hand, have a completely Islamic stamp; according to the first, given by Ibn Ishāq, who does not give his sources, Satīh consulted— as always, with Shīkh— by the Lāhmidt chief Rabi‘a b. Nsār regarding a dream which had terrified him, reveals to him that South Arabia will be invaded by the Abyssinians and that after the expulsion of the latter and the brief dominion of the Persians it will be conquered by a Prophet (Muhammad); as a result of the oracle, Rabī‘a b. Nsār sends his son ‘Arr at the head of the tribe to the king of Persia who settles at al-Hira; this is the "South Arabian" version of the foundation of the Lāhmidt dynasty (cf. G. Rothstein, Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira, Berlin 1899, 39). The second and most widely disseminated legend goes back to a certain Hānī al-Maqhdūmī, who is said to have lived to the age of 150 years and about whom Muslim historiographical tradition knows nothing (see Ibn Ḥaḍjar, Ḥaṣba, vii, 279, no. 8, 929). It forms part of the cycle of the al-lām al-nubahwa, that is, of the miraculous signs which confirm the truth of the prophetic mission of Muhammad. In the night when the latter was born, remarkable phenomena occurred throughout the kingdom of Persia. The king (Kisrā Anūṣhirvān), not being able to get an explanation from his magicians, asked the king of al-Hira, al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir (an anachronism!), to send him someone who could explain it. Al-Nu‘mān sent ‘Abd al-Masīh b. Bukayla al-Ghassānī (on whom see al-Sidjestānī, Kitāb al-Mu‘ammarin, 38; Caetani, Annali dell’ Islam, xvi, 1905, 14. A.H., i, 1906, § 328), who, not being able to explain these marvels himself, went to Satīh, his maternal uncle, who lived in the desert. He found him at the point of death, and his appeal was unanswered; only after his nephew had addressed him in verse, did the kāhin predict to him the coming fall of the Persian Empire and its conquest by the Arabs, etc. Having delivered this oracle, his uncle Satīh died.

Satīh claimed to receive his knowledge of the future from a familiar spirit (nāgī, see kāhin), who had overheard the conversation of God with Moses on Mount Sinai and had revealed part of it to him. Here we see the influence of the Kur‘ānic passage (LXXII, 1) about the djinn who overhear God’s utterances.

The calculations of the Arab historians on the age reached by Satīh are naturally completely fanciful, those of them who place his birth at the time of the bursting of the dam at Mārīb and his death at Muhammad’s birth, give him a life of 600 years. It should be observed that Abū ‘Hātim al-Sidjestānī (see above), whose version is markedly different from the others (he does not speak of his monstrosity, puts his home in al-Bahrāyn, etc.), makes him die in the reign
of the Himyartic king Dhu Nuwas and therefore does not know of his prophecy to Kisra Anushirwan.

Bibliography (in addition to works quoted in the article)
Sawaj, Aitab, Sin 9-12; Tabari, i, 911-14, 981-4; (Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber, 254-5);
Lafi, iii, 312-13 (with variants on the text of al-Tabari); Dinawari, al-Akhbar al-tawil, 56; Ibn Abd Rabbihi, al-`Id al-farid, i, 133-4, 4th ed., i, 94-5;
Shafi al-Makaml al-Haririyu, ed., 216-17; (commentary on the 18th Makama); Dihyabakri, Ta'lih al-Khamis, i, 227-8; Mas'udi, Muruqqi, iii, 304 - § 1249; Kazwini, Gudjarat, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 318-20; Ibn Khallikani, Waqayat al-a'yan, ed. ABBAS, ii, 230-1, tr. of Slane, i, 487-8;
Damiri, Hayat al-hayawdan, 1st ed., i, 46-9, 2nd ed., i, 43-4; Freytag, Arabumproverbia, i, 160; Causain de Perceval, Esaire sur l'histoire des Arabes anciens, i, 96-7;
Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad, i, 134-6. A new analysis of the documentation used in this article, with some additions, has been made by T. Fahid in his La divination arabe, 2Paris 1987, see exp. 44, 66, 83, 101, 165, 186-9, 250.

G. LEVI DELLA VIDA. [T. FAHID]

SATPANTHIS, adherents of a group in India that broke away from the main Nizari Ismaili da'wta in the Subcontinent in the 10th/16th century. Also called Momin or Imam Shahn, these followers of the Satpanth (the true way) gave their allegiance to Muhmmad Shahn, the son of Imam Shahn, a Nizari Ismaili da'is and son of one of the major pirs of the tradition, Hasan Kabir al-Din. They continue to preserve their own version of the ginans, literary expressions of devotion and religious teaching common to the da'wta tradition in India, and do not acknowledge the Imams of the Nizari line. Their main centres are at Pirana in Gujurat and Burhampur [q. v.] in Khandesh.


SATYA PIR, literally "the true saint", the name of a cult which flourished in Bengal and claimed both Hindu and Muslim adherents. Islam's entry into Bengal gave birth to some important socio-religious trends which expressed themselves in cults like the Vaishnavite, the Dharma and the Satya Pir ones. According to the Shkk Subhodhaya, many local sadhus, who were mostly Tantric Gurus, embraced Islam and adopted devotion to Pir, to whom they attributed supernatural powers. Cults like Satya Pir, Panpir, Manik Pir, Ghora Pir and Madari Pir centred round Pir and attracted both Hindus and Muslims to their fold.

Tradition ascribes the origin of the Satya Pir cult to a Brahmin youth of Mymensingh, Kanka by name, who accepted a Muslim saint as his spiritual preceptor. At the behest of his Pir he composed during the reign of the Bengal Sultan `Ala al-Din Husayn Shahn in ca. 907/1502 an epic poem Vidyasundara kahini to pronounce the spiritual glories of the Satya Pir. Originating in northern and eastern Bengal, the Satya Pir cult became popular all over the province. The first Bengali poet to compose verses on Satya Pir was Shawkh Fayd Allah, the Satya Pir kama was composed at some time between 952-83/1545-75. Since Fayd Allah was an expert in music and had written Ragmala, the first book on music in Bengali literature, the cult of Satya Pir spread through music and song also. Later on, considerable literature appeared on Satya Pir in Bengali. Viyapati, a Hindu poet of the 16th century, composed his poem Satya Pir anvait, which further popularised the cult in Bengal. In the later part of the 19th century, the cult lost its earlier popularity due to the opposition of Muslim reformist movements. The view that Sultan Husayn Shahn (989-1549) was the originator of the Satya Pir cult lacks contemporary evidence, though the possibility of the sultan encouraging the cult, from mixed motives of superstition and policy, cannot be ruled out.

The followers of the Satya Pir cult make special offerings on the day of the full moon. They place a wooden plank which they consider to be the seat of the Satya Pir, and put food and comestibles on it and distribute them as tokens of blessing. The Satya Pir Bhia (dwelling) stands on the site of the famous Buddhist monastery at Paharpur in Râjdshahi district. Its custodian still enjoys rent-free lands, though, barring a few areas in Bengal, the Satya Pir cult is non-existent now.


K. A. NAZMI

SAUJ-DI-BULOK [see SAWJ-DI-BULOUK]

SAUL [see TALUT]

SÄWA (older form Sawaij, cf. the nisba Sawaij, found at the site of Säwï), a town of northern Persia some 125 km/80 miles to the southwest of Tehran, a town of northern Persia some 125 km/80 miles to the southwest of Tehran, a town of northern Persia some 125 km/80 miles to the southwest of Tehran, a town of northern Persia some 125 km/80 miles to the southwest of Tehran, a town of northern Persia some 125 km/80 miles to the southwest of Tehran, a town of northern Persia some 125 km/80 miles to the southwest of Tehran, a town of northern Persia some 125 km/80 miles to the southwest of Tehran. It was formerly on the Kazwin-Kumm road used in mediaeval times but now replaced by the modern paved roads-system centred on Tehran, and on the main caravan and pilgrimage route from southwestern Persia and lower Tir to Rayy and Khurásan, but this too has been replaced by the modern highway from Khözistân to Arák and Kurn and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran, through the Kerman plain and then to Tehran. The town has thus lost important modern times and the agriculture of the surrounding district has been affected by decreasing water supplies and the encroachment of salt desert. Säwa itself is situated in the northwestern corner of a plain watered by the Kara Cay (the mediaeval Gâwmâh river) which rises in the mountains between Hamadhan and Säwa and waters out eastwards into the Great Desert.

1. History.

Säwa is not known before the Muslim period. W. Tomasek (Zur historische Topographie von Persien, in SB Ak Wien, cii [1883], 154-7) connects its name with the Avestan word sava, Pahlavi savâka, "advantage, utility" (?). The Persian dictionaries gives "pieces of gold" for sava. According to Tomasek, Säwa corresponds to the Sevavina or Sevavina of the Tabulae Peutingerianae.

The medieval geographers placed Säwa within the province of Dibâh, but they state that it was attached administratively both to Hamadhan and to Rayy at various times. It was often linked with the town of Aba or Awa [q. v.] to its south on the Gâwmâh river. The geographers describe Säwa as prosperous because of the transit traffic, its camels and camel-drivers...
being famous, and as having a Friday mosque, baths and fortifications. The people were strongly SunnI, hence often at odds with their neighbours in Awa who were fervent Shi'i (see Hudiid al-šalam, tr. Minorsky, 133, §31.22; Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 211-13, 228-9; Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, 539-42). Ibn al-Azhir, ed. Beirut, viii, 512, mentions an attack of Kurds on the Pilgrimage caravan near Sawa in 344/955-6. In ca. 420/1029 the lord of Sawa is recorded as one Kārnūr al-Daylamī, who allied with the incoming bands of Ghuzz [q.e.] to besiege Rāy (ibid., ix, 320). It suffered badly from sacking by Čingiz Khiin and the Mongols in 617/1220, who burn down a library there of what Yākūt calls unparalleled richness and which also contained, according to al-Kazwini, scientific and astronomical instruments. By the next century, however, it had revived, and Hamd Allāh Mustawfī describes it as within a fertile agricultural district and as flourishing. Its walls were 8,200 ells in circumference, having been rebuilt by a local magnate, Kāmrān Zahtīr al-Dīn Alī b. Malik Shīr al-Dīn Sāwadjī. The people of Sawa were still Sunnīs of the Shi'i madhhabs, but the surrounding villages had become largely Shi'i; the whole district of Sawa produced revenue of 25,000 dinārs (Yākūt, Buldān, ed. Beirut, iii, 179-80; al-Kazwini, Athār al-bilād, ed. Wüstenfeld, 258; Mustawfī, Naẓa, 62-3, tr. Le Strange, 67-8).

Among the European travellers, Marco Polo mentions Sāwa ("Saba") as the town from which the three Magi kings set out for Bethlehem and where they are buried in a square sepulchre. This Persian-Christian legend must be based on a local popular interpretation of the Biblical incident, and with its minaret naming as builder a local vezier, vizier of several Il-Khanid rulers of the 13th century (see Mustawfī, Naẓa, 221). The barrage is said to have been restored under the Safawids; it is known as band-i Shāh 'Abbās. It occupies the passage between two hills and is about 65 feet high, 100 long and 45 thick. Beside it on the left bank, the road rises in a kind of spiral; caravans were thus able to ascend the dam, which was used as a bridge, and descend on the west side by a gradual slope on the right bank.

(ii) The fortress of Kiz-kaf'a on a rock in the centre of an amphitheatre of hills not far from the dam.

(iii) The mosques and minarets of the town itself. The Friday Mosque on the south side of the town, rebuilt in the Safawid period by Shāh Tahmāsp I, may well occupy the site, so Minorsky thought, of the Friday Mosque mentioned by al-Mukaddasī, 392 n. 1 ("distant from the market"); it incorporates an ancient structure, and Būyid period inscriptions (so far unpublished) have recently been uncovered there. Adjacent to it, but free standing, is a brick minaret, which may well occupy the site, so Minorsky thought, of the Friday Mosque mentioned by al-Mukaddasī, 392 n. 1 ("distant from the market"); it incorporates an ancient structure, and Būyid period inscriptions (so far unpublished) have recently been uncovered there. Adjacent to it, but free standing, is a brick minaret, which may well occupy the site, so Minorsky thought, of the Friday Mosque mentioned by al-Mukaddasī, 392 n. 1 ("distant from the market"); it incorporates an ancient structure, and Būyid period inscriptions (so far unpublished) have recently been uncovered there.
SAWA — SAWAKIN

87


3. The town's role in Muslim legend.

Sawa plays an important part in the legends of Muhammad. According to a frequently quoted tradition (for details see A. Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed, i, 134 ff., and Th. Noldeke, Das Leben und die Gesinnung des Mohammed, i, 134 ff.), it is the island where their children were born, and from which the Prophet was born. The site was still pointed out to al-Kazwini in the 7th/13th century. According to a later version of this tradition quoted by al-Firdawsî, the islander who shaved Saad's beard and thus corresponded to the movable capital of the caliphs is preserved the Sasanian name Sawa, which may be heard as s-wa’d, “market” (Bedawyet name is derived from u-suk, “market”).

The king sent them back to this harbour, a coral island (DjazArt Sawakin), 360-450 m/1,200-1,500 feet in diagonal, rises ca. 2 m/6½ feet above high water mark. Another two small and one larger island (DjazArt al-Shaykh ‘Abd Allâh al-Djabarti, marked on British maps variously as Condenser-, Hospital-, or Quarantine Island) are connected to the mainland today by silt and salt-pans and no longer recognised as islands. DjazArt Sawakin is the site of the old town, a typical Arab-Islamic Indian Ocean merchant settlement. Its houses, built mainly of coral, are up to four storeys high; most have tumbled down today. A causeway built in 1878 links the island to the mainland (al-Kayf; Bedawyet: u-Gef). There, the dwellings are mostly Bedja [q. v.] huts built of Reed, palm mats, driftwood, and more recently, scrap metal or sackcloth. Much of al-Kayf is surrounded by the remnants of a fortified wall erected 1887-8. Outside the wall a number of suburbs have grown, in particular around the water storage basin al-Fula and the salty wells at al-Shata. The mainland settlement has been more populous than the island town since at least the early 19th century; in 1814, the number of its inhabitants was estimated at 5,000, compared to 3,000 on the island. The population grew only slightly during the century and fell to ca. 3,500 during the Mahdist wars. After a brief recovery (1904: 10,500) it dwindled to around 4,000 during 1937-67, but rose again in the 1970s. The local census of 1979 gave a figure of 13,714 inhabitants (all on the mainland). Sudanese Bedja and refugees (often from Eritrea) each constituted about 40%.

Popular etymology has inspired several legends concerning the island. The best-known story tells of seven virgin slave girls sent from Ethiopia to a northern king. Upon arrival they were found to be pregnant and explained that during an overnight stay on the island of Sawakin they had been visited by seven djinn (‘ab’a djinn), and that “the djinn had done it” (sawâ’i djinn [sic]), for it was “the djinn’s dwelling” (sakan al-djinn). The king sent them back to the island where their children were born, and from them descended the inhabitants of Sawakin (‘ab’a Sawakin). The lexicon, 1852-1940: “Sawakin” is the name of a town on the island in his Kâmis s.v. ’aj-k. Roper argued that the name is derived from sâk “market” (Bedawyût u-rak, construct form i-sâkib, which may be heard as i-sowkim; Correspondence, in Sudan Notes and Records, xxii [1939], 293-4).

The port, one of the few sheltered anchorages with a fairly reliable supply of water on an otherwise inhospitable coast, has probably been used since Antiquity. Attempts to identify it with place names collected by Greek and Roman geographers from the heterogeneous information brought back by merchants have, however, remained inconclusive. Most likely candidates are Λυχνη Εὐγενείας "port of good tidings", Αἴτης "round shield", and Σάκχο Λυχνη (all from Pтолемей; the latter is found on Tabula XV, Codex Urbanus Gracac II, fols. 87 (86)-88 (87)), and Sacc/Sacca/Suche of Plinius. The name Sawakin is first mentioned in the 4th/10th century as a minor port in the country of the Bedja with trade connections to Djudda and Nubia (al-Hamdani, 41, 133; Ibn Hawkal, 55; Yâkût, iii, 182; Ibn Sulaym al-Uswâni, Akhâr al-Nuba, in al-Makrizî, K. al-Mawdât, ed. G. Wiet, Cairo 1922, iii, 257, 272). The export of grain and animal products from its hinterland to the Hidjaz was probably the earliest and most stable source of Sawakin's income, but its natural harbour also gave it a certain significance as an anchorage on the trade route between Egypt and the Yemen, even while 'Aydâbî [q.v.] was still the largest port on the Sudanese coast. This significance increased in the 6th/12th century after the decline of Bâdi', and Sawakin subsequently became involved in the struggles for control of the Red Sea trade between Dahlab [q.v.], Egypt, and the Meccan Sharifs. The Fatimids established a special fleet to protect the ships of the Kârîmî [q.v.] merchants threatened by pirates while travelling between 'Aydâbî and Sawakin. On occasion, Sawakin and Dahlab went to war over control of the islands lying between them. Sawakin's local rulers (Muslims since at least the 7th/13th century) collected customs from the ships calling at the port; they had, however, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the rulers of Egypt and to pay them tribute. In case of insubordination they faced punitive expeditions.

By the early 8th/14th century the Sharifs of Mecca [q.v.] gained control over Sawakin (Ibn Battûtâ, ii, 161-2, tr. Gibb, iii, 362-3), perhaps driven by a desire to secure a trade route that reduced their dependence on grain imports from Egypt. They were only able to establish a foothold on the African coast by cooperating with the Bedja, whose rulers (the Hadârîb) maintained direct control of the more important port of 'Aydâbî. Both sides had to acknowledge a measure of Egyptian sovereignty.

Following the decline of 'Aydâbî, Sawakin became the largest northeast African port north of Masawwâ [q.v.], serving as an entrepôt for the upper Nile basin and as the major point of embarkation for pilgrims from the Sudanic belt. Through the commercial networks of the Banyâ (Hindu and Jain merchants from India) Sawakin partook in the lucrative (but fluctuating) Indian Ocean trade. Towards the end of the 8th/14th century, the Hadârîb moved their capital to Sawakin. Egyptian pressure continued; Sawakin was sacked in 843/1439-40 and had to submit to the authority of the Mamlûks (who used it as a place of banishment) until the end of their rule.

The 10th/16th century saw two major changes in the geopolitical situation. The Ottomans became the leading military power in the Red Sea after their conquest of Egypt and the defeat of the Portuguese, and they succeeded the Mamlûks of Sawakin. Their first landing there occurred around 1520, and in 962-4/1555-7 Özdêmir Pâsha [q.v.] established the Eyalet of Habesh [q.v.], with Sawakin as its administrative headquarters. The residence of the beylerbeyi was transferred several times between Sawakin, Maşawwâ [q.v.], and Djudda until 1113/1701, when the province was finally united with the sandîq of Djudda and the port of 'Abd al-Hamam of Mecca, with Djudda as the seat of the administration of the kitâb makâm of the sandîq of Sawakin was appointed by way of annual tax-farming.

Secondly, the Funj sultanate of Sinnâr [q.v.], the new political centre on the Nile, tried to gain control over the port, which led to fighting with the Ottomans. Neither of these outside forces was able to maintain complete authority over Sawakin, however; they had to come to terms with the Bedja amir who resided on the Kafî (the families monopolising this office became known as 'Artegâ'). In theory, the amir shared the revenues of the port (customs and a poll-tax for pilgrims) with the Ottomans; in practice, he only paid if he felt they were strong enough to pose a threat.

The diversion of the trade route from India to Europe around Africa caused a depression of Sawakin's international trade in the 17th-18th centuries. But its function as a trans-shipment centre for African trade continued, and as the major point of embarkation for pilgrims it became subject to Egyptian domination (though not sovereignty) even before the conquest of the Sudan. In 1830 the Ottoman Sultan officially recognised this situation, but when Egypt had to evacuate most of her acquisitions in 1841, the Red Sea territories were nominally returned to the Ottomans. They were unable to exert effective control, however, leaving Sawakin and Maşawwâ practically independent. Late in 1846, the Ottomans leased both ports to Muhammad 'Ali for the duration of his lifetime against payment of an annual tribute of 5,000 purses (the amount suggests that Egypt had strategic rather than economic interests). In 1849, they reverted to the Ottomans, though an actual Ottoman presence was not re-established until 1851. Egypt continued her efforts to gain control of Sawakin, which many regarded as an easier outlet for the increasing Sudan trade than the Nile route. In both cases the Ottomans were unable to outdo the Indian and Arab competitors; the latter were increasingly left with smuggling and the slave trade (formally illegal since 1855). Nevertheless, the export of ghee and grain to the Hidjaz remained the largest and most stable part of Sawakin's trade.

Political stability and the economic opportunities attracted a large and cosmopolitan population, and the building boom of the 1870s effaced much of the earlier architecture. The over-ambitious modernisation projects devised by the Egyptian administrators largely failed, however, and the exaction of forced labour, heavy taxation, and increasing "foreign" control did
SAWÅKIN — SAWDA BT. ZAMÁ

not help the government's popularity. A significant part of the local population left the town during the Mahdiyya [q.v.], and from 1884-91 Sawakin, the only Sudanese town never conquered by the Mahdiists, was the chief base for British military operations in the eastern Sudan. This was shoreward of Sawakin, though it never stopped. The important route to Berber was reopened in 1891, and for a brief time Sawakin flourished again as an import centre for the new Condominium authorities.

Natural deficiences made it unfit for modern shipping, however, and after 1905 it was replaced by the newly-constructed Port Sudan which, apart from having more room for expansion, was better situated for the British greater control over maritime commerce by limiting the role of Sawakin's indigenous urban population and of the Egyptians. By 1910, the administrative and economic centre of gravity had shifted to the new port, and after most merchants transferred there (1923-5), Sawakin fell into disrepair. In the mid-1940s, over 80% of its houses had collapsed. The customs were finally closed in 1946, and Sawakin was left only as the pilgrimage traffic which was officially restricted to the old port during 1908-52 and lingered on until 1973.

The relocation of the Sudan's official dhow harbour to Sawakin in 1968-72 gave the town a new function as a centre of boatbuilding, dhow trading, and fishing. Its social composition was radically altered by the influx of drought and war refugees during the 1970s; the island town remains deserted, and Sawakin now consists of a collection of villages on the mainland. A new impetus has been given by the large container port opened in 1991 to relieve pressure on Port Sudan.

and humorous. 'Aisha used to say: “There is no woman in whose skin I would rather be ... town, a fine sanctuary, dedicated to the local god Athtar dhu Risaf (Athtar d-Risaf) has been almost wholly preserved by...
the sand which has covered it. It was partially excavated by the French Archaeological Mission in the Yemen Arab Republic in the winter of 1988-9 (Breton, 1992), and is notable for the quality of its architecture, inscriptions on the supports of the lintel of the entrance porch, as well as the monolithic pillars supporting the stone covering. The main figures of this décor are young women on a podium (which the people in the Djawf call "Daughters of Ad", referring to the mythical tribe of that name [see Attar]), ibexes in movement, ostriches, snakes interwined in pairs, bulls' heads and geometric motifs. The very ancient inscriptions carved on the pillars of the entrance porch (SW/BA/I/1-4) and carbon-5 analysis of the wood found in the mortar of the enclosing wall allow us to date the oldest parts of the temple to the 8th century B.C.

The Irrigated perimeter of the wall round the tell is now hardly discernible. The traces of a tamarisk thicker (aft) which struck the discoverer of the site, Hayyim Habshush (ed. and summary tr. Goitein, Arabic text, 1992, 31 ff.; for a complete list of these, see Avanzini, 1995).

Al-Sawdā' is the ancient Nṣ'nn, shown by four inscriptions at the site containing this name (al-Sawdā' 52 = CIH 440/4; al-Sawdā' 75 = RES 2902 = M 126/1; SW/BA/I/5 and 6); the vocalisation of the name was probably Nashāhān, if one relies on the above-mentioned toponym of Al-Arabī in Arabic, a poem of the 12th century A.D. (Madeung, 1992, 37). This last was the capital of a small independent kingdom, equally called Nashāhān, in the 8th century B.C. and at the beginning of the 7th century. The only person with the title of king is known: Sumhuyafa Yarsān, son of Luba'ān, king of Nashāhān (S'mdh'f Y'rn bn Lm mlk Nṣ'nn, in SW/BA/I/5 and 6; see also RES 3945/14-17 and al-Sawdā' 4, where the same person is mentioned without a title). The kingdom's territory included the town of Nashāhān, that of Nashāhān (Nṣ'nn), in the modern al-Bayda, and a district called Ayk (Ydp), with numerous settlements. At the beginning of the 7th century B.C., the kingdom of Saba', which already dominated the basin of the Adhanat (Ydp, modern Ḍhana) river and the northern sector of the Djawf, undertook to impose its protection over Nashāhān, probably fearing that the latter would unify the Djawf and become a threat to Sabaean supremacy in South Arabia. Led by a muqarrab (a sovereign superior to the kings, whose name means "unifier") Karib'il Watār, son of Dhamar al-Sawa', Saba' launched two successful campaigns against Nashāhān, which emerged from the struggle seriously weakened, losing territory to Saba' (Nashkh'm and Ayk'm) and suffering under severe conditions (destruction of the royal palace called Aflar (frat) and the enceinte of the capital, installation of a Sabaean garrison and the building of the temple of Almahak (Smkh), the great god of the Sabaean, in the centre of the town [see on this war: Robin, forthcoming]). Its independence was thus compromised, and it was soon annexed by the kingdom of Ma'ān (attested from ca. 700 B.C. to 120-100 B.C., with its capital Karnaw, Knw, in the lower Djawf), and then some decades before the disappearance of Ma'ān, by Saba' (sec al-Sawdā' 52 - CIH 440, the oldest Sabaean language text found at the site). This was the time when the Arabs, notably the tribe of Amir (mlm or 'mr), settled in large numbers in the Djawf (Robin, 1992, 59-60, 158); a Madhābi text from Nashāhān, whose ductus dates from around the 2nd century B.C. (al-Sawdā' 80 - RES 2917 = M 139), mentions precisely "the war of Amir" (dr 'mr) (l. 2).

At the time of his South Arabian expedition, the Roman Aelius Gallus, who reached Mārib [q. v.] in 25 B.C., seems to have taken Nashāhān, for amongst the towns of the Djawf which he legends took by storm, Pliny mentions Nestum (vars. Amnestum, Hanesum) (von Wissmann 1976, 317, 401). Around A.D. 80-90, Nashāhān was a Sabaean stronghold with a royal garrison when the kingdom of Hadramawt invaded the Djawf during the reign of Karib'il Bayān, king of Saba' and Dhū Raydān, son of Dhāmar Mārth (Ja 643/22). A 3rd-century inscription shows that one of the great Sabaean families, the Banā' (Uṭqilū'àn 'Āṣiīn, attested in the expression "the temple of Banā' at Nashāhān (Es 76/7)). Only one inscription from the site of al-Sawdā' goes back to this period, al-Sawdā' 51 = IH 604, a decree pronouncing upon it, appears, the inalienability of the crown's landed property, palm groves, vines and fields of various kinds. Nashāhān passed under Himyaritic control when Himyar [q. v.] annexed Saba' at the end of the 3rd century, and the last mentions of the place date from the 4th century. The site was abandoned between the end of the Himyaritic period (6th century) and the 10th century, for the Yemeni scholar al-Hamdānī [q. v.] mentions it as a ruin (al-khârbah al-Sawdâh bi l-ishâkiyya, ed. Müller, 1976/12, see also tr. Faris, 1938, 64, 66, Faris, 1940, 104, 106) belonging to the Nashkiyyān (ed. Šahrīb, 12).

Our knowledge of the religion of Nashāhān is confined to two lists of deities and the names of some temples. The official pantheon of independent Nashāhān, given in two texts (al-Sawdā' 3 and 5), includes in the protocolary order 'Aḥtar Šahrīkān, Wadd, Aranyada, 'Aḥtar Dhū Garāb and 'Aḥtar Nashk. The inscriptions further mention other gods, such as 'Aḥtar Matab Khamīr, 'Aḥtar Dhū Kabd and Rahṣ (al-Sawdā' 3 and 5). Four temples are known from the texts: Riṣāf, consecrated to 'Aḥtar (this temple, whose name is attested solely in the compound 'Aḥtar Dhū Riṣāf, may possibly be identifiable with the one excavated by the French Mission outside the town); Saywad, the temple of 'Aḥtar Matab Khamīr, to be located in the eastern part of the town, according to al-Sawdā' 3 which mentions it; Garb'tum, the temple of 'Aḥtar, attested in the expression "the temple of 'Aḥtar Dhū Garb'tum", whose building is commemorated by al-Sawdā' 5 = CIH 420 but whose exact localisation is unknown; and Nasab, the temple of Wadd, mentioned in al-Sawdā' 4/2, whose localisation is equally unknown. To these temples should be added that of Almakāh, built "in the centre of the town of Nashāhān", after the Sabaean victory (RES 3945/16). Finally, several dedications to 'Aḥtar Dhū Kabd from the Minaean period (al-Sawdā' 24-6) lead one to think that there was also a temple dedicated to this deity.

The first description of the site of al-Sawdā' is owed to the expedition of Joseph Halévy, a Jew from Adrianople, of Hungarian nationality, who became a naturalised French citizen after the expedition, and his Yemeni Jewish guide Hayyim Habshush, in the spring of 1870 (Halévy, 1872, 82-5, 200-14, who writes the name as "Es-Soud"; Habshush, ed. and tr.
The history of the Kurdish tribes of the district is only really known from Safavid times onwards. During the 19th/16th century, the Mukri chiefs pursued an opportunistic policy between the rival powers of the Ottomans and Safavids. Safavid and Ottoman forces fought several battles, the latter's at Dūnūm challenging and defeating in battle Shāh Ismā'īl in 912/1506-7 and then later sought investiture of his lands and military help from Sultan Selīm I. His successors variously sought the aid of Shāh Tahmāsp I and Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent. Towards the end of the century, Sārim's great-great-nephew Amīrā Beg (II) adhered to Sultan Murad III, who added to his hereditary lands in Mukri Kurdistan the vilayet of Shāhrbābār and the sangāak of Mawāli. But after the Ottoman conquest of Adhārbarbādjun during the Perso-Turkish War of 986-98/1578-90, the Ottomans were in a stronger position, and Amīrā Pāša (as he now was) made subordinate to the Ottoman governor in Tabriz, reduced to authority only over his hereditary lands and compelled to pay an annual tribute of 15 000 £ of gold. In the early 11th/17th century, the historian Iskandar Beg Munṣū (q. v.) was an eyewitness of Shāh 'Abbās I's expedition against the Mukris and Brādost Kurds (see his Ta'rīḫ-i Ālamārā, tr. R. M. Savory, Boulder, Colo. 1978, ii, 1009-19, years 1018-19/1609-10), and the episode of the siege of Dūnmūn (south of Urmiya on the Kāsimlu river) became a favourite theme of later Mukri heroic ballads.

In the early 19th century, the Turkish governor for the Kādžīs in Marāḡa, Ahmad Khān Mukaddam, took strong measures against the Mukris by massacring several of their chiefs. In the last decades of the century there was fierce sectarian fighting between the Sunnī Kurds of Sāwj-būlak and the Shi'is of the Marāḡa district. After 1905 the Sāwj-būlak district was gradually taken over by Ottoman forces under Meḥmed Fāḍil Pasha, until 1914 the old frontier between Turkey and Persia was restored through its delimitation by Russian and British representatives. The region was the scene of fierce Russo-Turkish fighting in the First World War, beginning with the assassination of the Russian Consul at Sāwj-būlak, Colonel A. Iyās, at nearby Mīyāndābād. After the War, under Rīḍā Shāh Pahlavī (q. v.), the name of Sāwj-būlak town was changed to Mahābād. For the subsequent history of the modern town, and especially its role as capital of the short-lived Kurdish Republic of the Azerbaijan, see chapter 14 of this article. Bibliography: Sir R. Ker Porter, Travels in Georgia, Persia etc., London 1822, iii, 453-98; Col. Monteiht, Journal of a tour through Azerbaijian, in JRGS, iii, 1833, 5-6; J. F. Fraser, Travels in Kurdishtan, London 1834; J. C. Rich, Narrative of a residence in Kurdistan, London 1836, i, 223-260; H. Rawlinson, Notes on a Journey from Tabriz in 1838, in JRGS, x (1840), (extremely important article); Ritter, Erdm. Forsch., viii, 1893, 857-59, 603-4, 631, 807, 822, 940, 944, 1014-36; M. Wagner, Reise nach Persien und dem Land der Kuren, Leipzig 1852, ii, 100-2; Scherfel-nameh, ed. W. Veliaminoff-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860, i, 279-96; fr. F. B. Charmoy, St. Petersburg 1873, ii, 153-55; Thielmann, Streifzüge im Kaukasus, Berlin 1875, 321; G. Hoffmann, Auszüge aus syrischen Akten pers. Märtyrer, in Abb. d. K. Munde des Morgenlandes, 1880, 208-10; H. Schindler, Reisen im nordwestlichen Persien, in der Zeit von 1882 bis 1887, Berl. Berichte xvi (1883), 331-43; Mrs. Bishop (Isabella Bird), Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan, in the Geogr. Journal, London 1891, ii, 207-10; J. de Morgan, Miss. scient. en Perse, Etudes géogr., ii, Paris 1895, 1-44 (photographs, maps); W. B. Harris, From Batum to

AL-SAWDÄ' — SĀWDJ-BULĀK

Goitēn, 45-6). Finally, the site was visited by the Egyptians Muhammad Tawfīk in 1944-5 (Tawfīk, 1951, pl. 1, marking the itinerary followed) and Abūm Fakhrī in 1947 (Fakhrī, 1951, i, 147), then by the Russian P. A. Griažnevič and the Italian Paolo Costa in December 1970 (Griažnevič, 1978, 220-1), and finally by the French Mission from September 1980 onwards (Robin, 1980, 192-3).


(CH. Robin)

SĀWDJ-BULĀK, a Persian corruption of soghuk bulāk "cold spring", Kurdish Sāb-lākh, the name of a district in southwestern Adhārbarbāyān, to the south of Lake Urmiya, and also the former name of its chief-loc, the modern Mahāhad [q. v.]. The district comprises essentially Mukri Kurdistan, inhabited by the sedentary Mukri and Debokhā tribes of Kurds, speaking the Kurmāndī form of the Kurdish language (classically described by O. Mann in his Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden, in Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1880, 208-10; H. Schindler, Reisen im nordwestlichen Persien, in der Zeit von 1882 bis 1887, Berl. Berichte xvi (1883), 331-43; Mrs. Bishop (Isabella Bird), Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan, in the Geogr. Journal, London 1891, ii, 207-10; J. de Morgan, Miss. scient. en Perse, Etudes géogr., ii, Paris 1895, 1-44 (photographs, maps); W. B. Harris, From Batum to

Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden. Kurdisch-persische Forschungen, 4th ser. vol. iii/1-2; Berlin 1906-9. Cf. Minorsky's bibliography on Kurdistan in EP, art. KURDS. E. Language, and confessionally being Sunni Muslims of the Shafi school, the modern Mahāhad [q. v.]. There were formerly a Neo-Arami-speaking Jews in the town of Mahāhad. For a detailed geographical and topographical description of the Sāwj-būlak district, see Minorsky's EP art. s. v., on which the present article is based.

SAWDJI, SAWDJI, the name of three Ottoman princes.

The name would appear to originate in the Old Turkish (especially, Eastern Turkish) word saw ‘‘word, piece of discourse, utterance’’, found as early as the Orkön inscriptions, then in the Turfan Uyghur texts, in the late 5th/11th century Kutadghu bulg [q.v.] and up to the 8th/14th century, after which it is not attested as a separate word (Chlauson, An etymological dict. of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, 782-3). Cf. also the name of the slave commander of the Saljuq sultán Alp Arslán Sawdji. Sawdji would accordingly be ‘‘purveyor/conveyor of a message > prophet’’. In the later 8th/14th century it appears in onomastic in Sawdji Ağha, head of a contingent of troops in Murăd I’s army against the Karamänds, and it is about this time that it is attested in the Ottoman royal house itself (see below).

(1) Sawdji Beg, in the old Ottoman chronicles also called Sawl Vart or Sawl Ball, etc. was one of the younger brothers of ʿOṯmân [q.v.], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and a son of Ertogrul. He supported his brother on his campaigns and fell (684/1285-6) in the battle at a place which the Byzantine writers call the field against the two princes. After an unsuccessful battle at a place which the Byzantine writers call ‘ʿAkbilgin’ (Chalc., 43,4), Sawdji fled to Didymotichon, where he was surrounded and forced to surrender to his father. He was blinded and then beheaded.

The execution took place in 787/1385-6 and the body was brought to Bursa and buried there. Murâd I had apparently made up his mind to get rid of Sawdji, as he had appointed his son Bâyezid to watch his movements. Nevertheless, in a letter to Bâyezîd in Ferîdûn, Münzûr-i sölâîn, i, 107 (of the beginning of Rabîʾ I 787/1385-6), with Bâyezîd’s answer, op. cit., esp. 108 above, according to which the Kâdi of Bursa must have passed a death sentence on Sawdji. The execution of Sawdji was the first of a long series of similar cases, in which princes dangerous to the Ottoman heir-apparent were put out of the way.

(2) Bibliography: J. von Hammer, MOR, i, 190, 599; Zinkeisen, in MOR, i, 237 ff.; Hâdîdji Khalîfîa, Tâcidim al-tawârisîch, under the year 787; Sa’d al-Dîn, Tâcid al-tawârisîch, i, 100 (following Idrîs Bîlîssî); A.D. Alderson, Structure of the Ottoman dynasty, Oxford 1956, index at 157; IA art. Savi (M. Tayîb Gökbûlîgin). (F. Babinger-[C.E. Bosworth])

SAWḵ (A.) is a food preparation of some antiquity, and one widely known throughout the mediaeval Middle East. Al-Thaʿlabî attributes it first appearance to Alexander the Great, and in the physicians’ works of both eastern and western Islamic lands. It was recommended for travellers and was used to feed armies in the field. For all its fame, it rarely appears described in the extant culinary manuals, although some recipes are found in the earliest (4th/10th century) work by al-Warrâq (K. al-Ṭabikh, ed. K. Öhrnberg and S. Mrroueh, Helsinki 1987, 37-6). Preparation was chiefly from wheat and barley, the former preferred among the lower urban classes which could afford it. The wheat grain was first washed and then soaked in water overnight. Discarding the water, the wheat was next fried thoroughly until brown. When cooled, it was ground, sieved and then stored for use when it could be eaten by adding sugar. An alternative, more complicated method was to husk and dry the grain before frying. This basic preparation could then be used in other types; for example, in sawîk ramûmn three portions of wheat sawîk to one of pomegranate (ramûmn) seeds were mixed together, cooked, sieved and sugar added. Sawîk was also added to the dough in making the pastry, kaḵ. According to al-Râzi (K. fi Ḟaṣ ṭuḥbūt al-agḥidhyâ, Cairo 1888, 7), pomegranate and apple sawîk were intended only for medicinal purposes, while wheat and barley types were for nourishment. Plain sawîk was considered a nourishing substitute for fresh fruit when it was unavailable. Medicinal preparations made from barley are described by Isaac Isrâ’îlî (K. al-agḥidhyâ, facs. ed., Frankfurt 1986, ii, 72-8), and clearly physicians envisaged different ways in which it could be used to achieve different effects within a regimen of health.

Bibliography: In addition to the above references, see Kana al-fawa’d ʿt tanâz al-mawâ’ud, eds. M. Marîn and D. Waines, Leiden 1993. (D. Waines)

SAWM (A.), a term of Islamic law, denoting the bargaining involving both vendor and purchaser that occurs before a sale. Sawm is a classical term which, although pre-contractual, influences the formation of the contract and has a legal effect upon it. Sale is prohibited if a higher bid is offered by a third party during the negotiation leading to the sale agreement. Al-Bûkhârî and Muslim record the prohibition of making a sale after what is known as a ‘‘successful battle’’ at a place which the Byzantine writers call ‘ʿAkbilgin’ (Chalc., 43,4). Sawdji fled to Didymotichon, where he was surrounded and forced to surrender to his father. He was blinded and then beheaded.
enter into the latter after the manifest approval of the vendor. The prospective purchaser can take the commodity for examination, even if he proposed a lower price than the vendor requested. If, during this period, the commodity is damaged, then the full price requested by the vendor becomes liable. It is interesting to compare bay6 and sawm with ḥāliba and nikāk [q.v.] since they represent parallel sequences. Ḥadīth often refers to the two types of contract together. This indicates the personal aspects of bay in Muslim society as well the formal dimension in marriage.


SAWM (a.), with Siyām, meaning from the root r-w-m; the two terms are used indiscriminately. The original meaning of the word in Arabic is "to be at rest" (Th. Nöldeke, Neues Beiträge zur sem. Sprachw., Strassburg 1910, 36, n. 3; see previously, S. Fränkel, De vocab. ... in Corano peregrinis, Strasbourg 1908, 20: "quiescere"). The meaning "fasting" may have been taken from Judaean-Aramaic and Syriac usage, when Muhammad became better acquainted with the institution of fasting in Medina; this is the sense of the word in the Medinan suras.

Origin of the rite. That fasting was an unknown practice in Mecca before Muhammad's time cannot be a priori assumed. Why should not the ḥanafī [see HANIF] also have used this religious custom? In the Meccan suras, as above mentioned, there is a reference to sawm in XIX, 27: a voice commands Mary to say "I have made a vow of sawm to the Merciful, wherefore I speak to no one this day". Observing silence as a Christian fasting practice (cf. Afrāhāt, ed. Pariso, in Patr. Syriaca, i, 97) may have been known to Muḥammad. In the year 2/623-4, according to unanimous reliable Muslim tradition (cf. A.J. Wensink, Mohammed en de Joden te Medina, Leiden 1908, 136-7, contra e.g. A. Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed, iii, 53-9), the revelation of the sūra II, 179-81, abolished the 'Āsha' a fast as an obligation by the institution of the fast of Ramāḍān. On the question why Muḥammad chose this particular month, various opinions have been expressed. The most plausible is that of A.J. Wensink, who has called attention to the particularly sacred character of the month of Ramāḍān even in pre-Islamic times (on account of the hayyat al-kadr in his Arabic Neue-Jahr und the Feast of Tabernacles, in Verh. Ak. W. Arst., N.S. [1925], xxvii, 1-3; see also M. Th. Houtsma, Oor de Israëlische Vastendagen, in Versl. en Med. Ak. Wetensch., Afd. Letterk., Series 4, ii [Amsterdam 1898], 3 ff.).

The first regulations concerning the manner of the Muslim fasting are given in sūra II, 179-81, which probably belong together (Nöldeke-Schwally, 178, contra Th.W. Juynbo, Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, 114, who considers v. 181 at a later revelation; al-Bayḍāwī also assumes that it was revealed in separate parts). The fast is also mentioned elsewhere in Kur′ān II, 192; IV, 94; V, 91, 96; Fasting in the month of Ramadan is the fourth pillar of Islam; whoever denies the obligation to fast is a kafir, except for the recent convert or one who has not been in contact with the 'ulumā'. Whoever omits to fast without good cause, without, however, denying the compulsion to fast, may be imprisoned. The general obligation to fast ('alā sabīl al-'umān) begins on 1 Ramāḍān, after 30 Shābān, or after 29 if the ḥākim (kādī) has pronounced the evidence of one or more witnesses. If, during this period, the commodity is damaged, then the full price requested by the vendor becomes liable. It is interesting to compare bay and sawm with ḥāliba and nikāk [q.v.] since they represent parallel sequences. Ḥadīth often refers to the two types of contract together. This indicates the personal aspects of bay in Muslim society as well the formal dimension in marriage.

The law permits relaxations in the following circumstances:
(a) Such as have reached a certain age (men 40; not men 20 in Tbatīyī and al-‘Umm, Beirut 1403/1983, iii, 92; Ibn Kudama, al-Mughni, ed. Hüvul wa Turkī, Cairo 1409/1988, iii, 305-8).

I. Obligatory (waqdīb) fasting. Fasting in the month of Ramāḍān is the fourth pillar of Islam; whoever denies the obligation to fast is a kafir, except for the recent convert or one who has not been in contact with the 'ulumā'. Whoever omits to fast without good cause, without, however, denying the compulsion to fast, may be imprisoned. The general obligation to fast ('alā sabīl al-'umān) begins on 1 Ramāḍān, after 30 Shābān, or after 29 if the ḥākim (kādī) has pronounced the evidence of one or more witnesses. If, during this period, the commodity is damaged, then the full price requested by the vendor becomes liable. It is interesting to compare bay and sawm with ḥāliba and nikāk [q.v.] since they represent parallel sequences. Ḥadīth often refers to the two types of contract together. This indicates the personal aspects of bay in Muslim society as well the formal dimension in marriage.

The first regulations concerning the manner of the Muslim fasting are given in sūra II, 179-81, which probably belong together (Nöldeke-Schwally, 178, contra Th.W. Juynbo, Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, 114, who considers v. 181 at a later revelation; al-Bayḍāwī also assumes that it was revealed in separate parts). The fast is also mentioned elsewhere in Kur′ān II, 192; IV, 94; V, 91, 96; Fasting in the month of Ramāḍān is the fourth pillar of Islam; whoever denies the obligation to fast is a kafir, except for the recent convert or one who has not been in contact with the 'ulumā'. Whoever omits to fast without good cause, without, however, denying the compulsion to fast, may be imprisoned. The general obligation to fast ('alā sabīl al-'umān) begins on 1 Ramāḍān, after 30 Shābān, or after 29 if the ḥākim (kādī) has pronounced the evidence of one or more witnesses. If, during this period, the commodity is damaged, then the full price requested by the vendor becomes liable. It is interesting to compare bay and sawm with ḥāliba and nikāk [q.v.] since they represent parallel sequences. Ḥadīth often refers to the two types of contract together. This indicates the personal aspects of bay in Muslim society as well the formal dimension in marriage.

The first regulations concerning the manner of the Muslim fasting are given in sūra II, 179-81, which probably belong together (Nöldeke-Schwally, 178, contra Th.W. Juynbo, Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, 114, who considers v. 181 at a later revelation; al-Bayḍāwī also assumes that it was revealed in separate parts). The fast is also mentioned elsewhere in Kur′ān II, 192; IV, 94; V, 91, 96; Fasting in the month of Ramāḍān is the fourth pillar of Islam; whoever denies the obligation to fast is a kafir, except for the recent convert or one who has not been in contact with the 'ulumā'. Whoever omits to fast without good cause, without, however, denying the compulsion to fast, may be imprisoned. The general obligation to fast ('alā sabīl al-'umān) begins on 1 Ramāḍān, after 30 Shābān, or after 29 if the ḥākim (kādī) has pronounced the evidence of one or more witnesses. If, during this period, the commodity is damaged, then the full price requested by the vendor becomes liable. It is interesting to compare bay and sawm with ḥāliba and nikāk [q.v.] since they represent parallel sequences. Ḥadīth often refers to the two types of contract together. This indicates the personal aspects of bay in Muslim society as well the formal dimension in marriage.
exactly defined for women) and sick people for whom there is no hope of recovery, if they are unable to fast, may omit the fast without being bound to the kada\textsuperscript{3} which focuses on the investigation of how the Arabic is described on the basis of its phonetics, Him al-aswdt, which considers the investigation of how

When the justification for relaxing the rules appears, it is sunna to pass the rest of the day fasting. II. Voluntary or supererogatory fasting (saum al-tajawwus\textsuperscript{3}). This falls into the category of what is recommended (mandib li\text{ashri}). For a woman, it may only be done with the consent of her husband. It may be broken without any penalty. The niyyah, which can be formulated any time up till midday, need not be explicitly made, although certain of the fukad\textsuperscript{2} consider it desirable in certain cases.

It is recommended for anyone who has to fast (as a substitution) for three days during the hajdzi and seven days afterwards, to choose as the three days the 7, 8 and 9 Dhul-Hijjah. For the supererogatory fasting of six days in Shawwal, it is preferable to choose the six consecutive days immediately after the festival, i.e. 2-7 Shawwal (see Juynboll, Handbuch, 132).

The following days are further recommended for voluntary fasting: the day before 'azhar\textsuperscript{5} and the one after; the saum al-mi\text{v\textsuperscript{r}d\textsuperscript{2}} (27 Radjab); and the Monday and the Thursday (sunna mu\text{a}\text{a}\text{kada\textsuperscript{2}}, according to al-B\text{a}\text{d\textsuperscript{2}}ri\textsuperscript{2}), days when actions are offered to God, and others which are describable as "by way of routine".

Fasting is forbidden (kar\text{\textsuperscript{2}}m) on the days of the two great festivals, on the tahr\text{\textsuperscript{2}}m days and for a woman during menstruation; also in definite cases when danger threatens, as already mentioned above. IV. It is blameworthy (makruh) to fast on Friday because it distracts the attention from the Friday worship, and on Sunday or Saturday, at least if one has no particular reason for fasting, because the "holy days" and those are observed as holy days.

The other mudh\text{\textsuperscript{2}}h\text{\textsuperscript{2}} divergence from the Shafi\textsuperscript{2}i one on minor questions only which it would be tedious to enumerate (see "Abd al-Wahhab al-"Sha\text{\textsuperscript{2}}ri\textsuperscript{2}, K. al-Miz\text{\textsuperscript{2}}, Cairo 1279/1862-3, ii, 20-30).

The Shi\textsuperscript{2}i prescriptions diverge from the Sunni ones on some points of detail, of which the following are some examples (see A. Querry, Recueil de lois concernant les Musulmans Chyrtes, Paris 1871-2, 1, 182-209, ii, 75-7, 197-9, 203-5, following Nadjim al-Din al-Muhaddith, Shar\text{\textsuperscript{2}} al-isl\text{\textsuperscript{2}} fi mas\text{\textsuperscript{2}}h\text{\textsuperscript{2}} al-bad\text{\textsuperscript{2}} wa l-\text{haram}; the niyyah is not considered as a "pillar"; smoking is not considered as one of the muf\text{\textsuperscript{2}}rr\text{\textsuperscript{2}}; it is forbidden to blaspheme against the Shi\textsuperscript{2}i Imams; the man and woman guilty of sexual relations during the Ramad\text{\textsuperscript{2}}n fast are to be flogged for the first offence, with the death penalty for persistent offences. Regarding the relaxations, fasting is not required for a sick person unless authorised by the physician; dispensation is only given to pregnant women if they are in final phase of pregnancy; fasting is not generally required of travellers, but compensation must be made.

Voluntary and supererogatory fasting may begin before midday. Shi\textsuperscript{2}ism adds to the days recommended by the Sunnis the great dates of Shi\textsuperscript{2}i tradition (ghad\text{\textsuperscript{2}}t Khumm, m\text{\textsuperscript{u}\text{b\textsuperscript{2}}hala, anniversary of al-Husayn's death on 10 Mu\text{h\textsuperscript{2}}ra\text{at}; see Querry, op. cit., 37, notes).

Al-Ghazz\text{\textsuperscript{2}}i gives, at the beginning of his Kit\text{\textsuperscript{2}}b A\text{\textsuperscript{r}t}\text{\textsuperscript{2}} al-sa\text{\textsuperscript{2}}m in the Ihy\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{\textsuperscript{2}}, some considerations on the value of fasting. He points out, referring to some well-known traditions, the high esteem in which fasting stands with God. He gives as a reason for this that fasting is a passive act and no one sees men fast except God; secondly it is a means of defeating the enemy of God, because human passions, which are Satan's means of attaining his ends, are stimulated by eating and drinking. Fasting is therefore the "gateway to the service of God." After having enumerated, in the manner of a fikih, the regulations regarding fasting, he declares that these do not constitute what is essential. He distinguishes three steps in the fast. The first step is that of the fikih, the third that of the Prophets, the y\text{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}}d\text{\textsuperscript{2}}f\text{\textsuperscript{2}}k\text{\textsuperscript{2}} and those who have been brought into the proximity [of God] (al-mukarrab\text{\textsuperscript{2}}n), whose fast separates them from all worldly desires. But the second step suffices for the pious; it consists in keeping one's organs of sense and members free from sin and from all things that detract from God. Subjection of the passions is the real object of fasting, not mere abstinence.

The ethical conception of the fast which al-Ghazz\text{\textsuperscript{2}}i gives in this second fikih supplements, he says, the barren law of the fukad\text{\textsuperscript{2}}. In the Hadd\text{\textsuperscript{2}} they find already various traditions with ethical tendencies and al-Ghazz\text{\textsuperscript{2}}i does not fail to quote them in support of his view. A mass of traditions on fasting, grouped according to the various aspects of the topic, will be found in Wensinck's Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition, 71-6, s.v. Fast, Fasting. It is a very widespread opinion today that fasting, especially during Ramad\text{\textsuperscript{2}}n, forms the most appropriate expiration for offences committed during the year. This is why the law on fasting is still in general strongly observed, in varying degrees of strictness.

**Bibliography** (in addition to works cited in the article): A sketch of the legal prescriptions according to the Shi\textsuperscript{2}i law school was given by Th.W. Juynboll in his Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes, Leiden-Leipzig 1910; see the bibl. to the 1925 ed. The main sources are the chs. on fasting in the collections of hadith, fikih and sh\text{\textsuperscript{2}}ab\text{\textsuperscript{2}}l, to which should be added Ghazz\text{\textsuperscript{2}}i, Ihy\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{\textsuperscript{2}}, ch. on saum. For the traditions, see Wensinck, op. cit., and idem, Concordances et indices de la Tradition musulmane, Leiden 1936 ff. See also K. Wagtendonk, Fasting in the Koran, Leiden 1968; K. Lech, Geschichte des islamischen Kultus, i. Das ramadan-Fasten, Wiesbaden 1979; and, above all, the bibls. to HAD\text{\textsuperscript{2}}TH, HAD\text{\textsuperscript{2}}DJ, MUT\text{\textsuperscript{2}}A,PUASA in Suppl., RAM\text{\textsuperscript{2}}DJAN and 'UMRA.

(C.C. Berg-[Ed.])
sounds are produced by speakers and perceived by listeners and on its phonology, ʿilm al-sawtiyya. The word sawtiyya is a relative adjective derived from the verbal noun, sawt (pl. aswād), meaning sound or speech sound. The phonological analysis renders a description of the processes that set sounds into organised and systematic patterns. These are governed by the phonological rules operating in the system that make the distinction between the sounds. The phonemic inventory of Arabic is established, not only on the basis of detailed phonetic information, but also on the patterning of the sounds. As a result of the impact of the Kurʾān on Arabic, the literary language has maintained continuity in its sound system and grammatical structure. The Arabs and Muslims have rendered a meticulous investigation of this system. Their original contributions, in theory and practice, result in precise phonetic descriptions and terminology. Pioneers in this field are such scholars as al-Khādīj and his disciple Sibawayh [q. vv]. However, most linguistic changes have occurred within the dialects. The description of sawtiyya here focuses on the modern al-fushā (literary Arabic) sound system.

2. Description of the sound system. There are 29 consonants and six vowel phonemes or distinctive sound units in Arabic. Consonants are produced with either partial or complete obstruction of the airstream in the vocal tract and are described by their manner and points of articulation. The vocal cords and their function also play a definite role in the classification of the phonemes into voiced or voiceless. Sounds produced with the vocal cords vibrating are called voiced while those produced without vibration are voiceless. The major subgroups of consonants are: (1) Stops: These sounds involve a closure of the airstream at some point in the oral cavity. The stops are: /b/ voiced bilabial; /t/ voiceless dental; /s/ emphatic voiceless postdental; /d/ voiced dental; /d/ emphatic voiceless postdental; /k/ voiceless velar; /q/ voiceless unaspirated uvular. (2) Fricatives: These sounds are produced with a partial closure of the oral cavity, where the airstream passes through a narrow passage, creating friction or a hissing sound. The fricatives are: /f/ voiced labiodental; /v/ voiceless interdental; /v/ voiced interdental; /θ/ emphatic voiced interdental; /z/ voiceless dental /s/ emphatic voiceless postdental; /z/ voiced dental; /l/ voiceless palatal; /r/ voiceless velar; /r/ voiced postvelar. (3) Affricates: There is only one affricate /θ/. This sound, phonetically, is composed of two phones—a stop [θ] immediately followed by a fricative “[z] like” sound. (4) Nasals: In the production of the nasals, /m/ and /n/, two cavities, oral and nasal, are involved and it is this unique combination that distinguishes nasals from other sounds. The /m/ is voiced bilabial nasal and the /n/, voiced dental nasal. (5) Trill: The sound /r/ is a trill voiced alveolar or post-dental. (6) Lateral: The sound /l/ is a lateral voiced dental. The /r/ and /l/, when occurring in the vicinity of the vowels /a/ or /aa/, may be characterised as emphatics. (7) Semivowels: /w/ is a bilabial semifricative and /y/ a palatal semifricative. They form two diphthongs: /ay/ and /aw/ as in bayt (house) and thawb (dress). (8) Pharyngeals: The sound ʿayn /i/ is described as a voiced fricative pharyngeal, however, it is also described as a voiceless stop as pronounced in ʿIrāk and the Arabian Peninsula. The sound /h/ is a voiceless pharyngeal. (9) Glottals: The sound /h/ is a voiceless oral fricative and the hamza /ʔ/, a glottal stop. (10) Lateral: The sound /l/, a voiceless lateral fricative is also identified as the retraction of the tongue as well as the contraction of the pharynx. This phonetic phenomenon was recognised by the earliest Arab grammarians and has always been a point of attraction and fascination for Western linguists and Arabists. Emphasis is not limited only to this particular group as there are other consonants, on a marginal basis, which demonstrate emphasis or pharyngealisation. Emphatics are found in modern Arabic dialects, to varying degrees, depending on geographical areas and social levels of speaking. The emphatic consonants condition neighbouring sounds, and often dominate the whole syllable. This conditioning is referred to as “spreading”, which can be either progressive or regressive and may even cover a syllable or more. The acoustic effect of the emphatics is to lower the frequency of neighbouring sounds. The dotted line of the shape of the tongue on the diagram below shows the portion of the tongue for the emphatic /h/ as in the syllable /iʔ/ that contrasts with the broken line that represents the non-emphatic /h/ as in /iʔ/.

The sound /h/ exhibits some changes in its pronunciation. It is predominantly pronounced as /h/ , an interdental emphatic fricative, in ʿIrāk and Arabia. However, in the sedentary Levant regions, it is pronounced as /ʔ/. Likewise, the sound /h/ is pronounced either as /h/ in ʿIrāk and Arabia, or as /ʔ/ in sedentary regions (see further on this, ʿʔād).

3. Emphatics. The feature of emphasis is traditionally called tāfkhim (“thickness”). There are four emphatic consonants: /t/ d, s, /`. These sounds, in addition to their primary points of articulation, are characterised by a secondary articulatory feature identified as the retraction of the tongue as well as the contraction of the pharynx. This phonetic phenomenon was recognised by the earliest Arab grammarians and has always been a point of attraction and fascination for Western linguists and Arabists. Emphasis is not limited only to this particular group as there are other consonants, on a marginal basis, which demonstrate emphasis or pharyngealisation. Emphatics are found in modern Arabic dialects, to varying degrees, depending on geographical areas and social levels of speaking. The emphatic consonants condition neighbouring sounds, and often dominate the whole syllable. This conditioning is referred to as “spreading”, which can be either progressive or regressive and may even cover a syllable or more. The acoustic effect of the emphatics is to lower the frequency of neighbouring sounds. The dotted line of the shape of the tongue on the diagram below shows the portion of the tongue for the emphatic /h/ as in the syllable /iʔ/ that contrasts with the broken line that represents the non-emphatic /h/ as in /iʔ/.

The sound /h/ exhibits some changes in its pronunciation. It is predominantly pronounced as /h/ , an interdental emphatic fricative, in ʿIrāk and Arabia. However, in the sedentary Levant regions, it is pronounced as /ʔ/. Likewise, the sound /h/ is pronounced either as /h/ in ʿIrāk and Arabia, or as /ʔ/ in sedentary regions (see further on this, ʿʔād).

The sound /h/ exhibits some changes in its pronunciation. It is predominantly pronounced as /h/ , an interdental emphatic fricative, in ʿIrāk and Arabia. However, in the sedentary Levant regions, it is pronounced as /ʔ/. Likewise, the sound /h/ is pronounced either as /h/ in ʿIrāk and Arabia, or as /ʔ/ in sedentary regions (see further on this, ʿʔād).

This diagram is a tracing of a frame from an Xray sound film of the author’s vocal tract. It is superimposed over a diagram of the vocal tract made by the phonetician Peter Ladeopedog.

4. Vowels. Vowels are produced with the airstream passing fairly freely through the oral cavity. There are two types of vowels, long and short. The short are: /a/ ʿaṣra, short high front unrounded vowel; /i/ ʿaṣra, short high front unrounded vowel; /a/ ʿaṣra, short high front unrounded vowel; /u/ ʿaṣra, low short central unrounded vowel. The long vowels are: /aː/ ʿaṣra + ʿaː, long high front unrounded vowel; /iː/ ʿaṣrap
ma + waw, long high back rounded and /aa/ fatha + alif, low long central unrounded. Length is phonemic and is always a vowel, short or long. There are six possible syllable types. By postulating a “C” to represent consonants and a “V” to represent vowels the syllable types are: CV, CVV, CVVC, CVVCC, and CVVCC. These are divided into short CV; long CVV, CVVC and heavy CVVCC and CVVCC. With respect to the frequency of occurrence the first four syllable types, CV, CVVC and CVVCC, are considered the dynamic force behind the formation of all the grammatical phonological patterns of non-pause utterances. The last two types, CVCC and especially CVVCC, have very limited distribution. They occur only in words, phrases and sentences in final pause forms, as does CVVC.

Consonant clusters occur medially and finally. All syllables and words start with a single consonant. In the Arabic writing system whenever a word starts with an alif, the alif, which is used as a kurti (‘char’ for the hamsa), has no phonetic value. Consonants that are produced in the front section of the oral cavity, form bilabial to palato-alveolar, form clusters with the remaining back consonants. Restrictions exist on the formation of consonant clusters, primarily among consonants that have the same manner or adjacent points of articulation. Gemination involves the clustering of identical consonants. Lengthening of the vowels does not create vowel clusters, as it is only a quantity difference that results in phonemic length for the long vowels.

6. Stress. Stress placement rules are determined by the loudness or prominence of a specific syllable relative to other syllables within the utterance. Loudness is not the sole feature responsible for stress; length and pitch also contribute. Syllable structure, types and their distribution play a definite role in the placement of stress. The word-stress rule patterns that operate in Arabic are as: (1) when a word consists of a string of CV types the first syllable is stressed as in dâra-sa, CV-CV-CV, “he studied”, (2) when a word contains only one long syllable that syllable (but not the final one) is stressed as in mu-dâ-râ-su-hu, CV-CV-CV-CV-CV, “his teacher”; (3) when a word contains two or more long syllables the long syllable nearest the end of the word is stressed as in mu-dâ-râ-sa-tu-hum, CV-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV, “your teachers” (fem.); and (4) final heavy syllables are stressed as in ki-tâb, CV-CVVC, “book”.

These rules stress encounter some variation depending on the geographical region that an Arabic-speaking person comes from.


SA’I (‘ay), from the root s-q-y, used 30 times in the Kur’ân in such senses as “to work, apply oneself to, denounce, seek to earn one’s living, run after s. th.” etc., but in the sense concerning here denoting the pilgrim’s running between al-Sâfâ and al-Marwa. These are two hills to the south and north-west of the Ka’ba respectively, linked by a mas’â, course, which the pilgrim follows after having made the sevenfold circuit of the Ka’ba, at his or her arrival and his or her departure. This following of the course, the sa’î, is likewise sevenfold; it starts in al-Sâfâ, and goes to al-Marwa, ca. 300 m away. In the first part of the course is a smaller course of about 80 m, marked out by four green columns, which the men—but not the women—have to make whilst running, the remainder of the course being made at a normal walking pace. From al-Sâfâ four trips are made to al-Marwa, and from this last three trips back are made, the seventh trip ending at al-Marwa, the whole amounting to a little more than two km (see M. Hamidullah, Le pèlerinage à la Mekke, in Sources orientales, iii, Paris 1960, 109).

Sa’î is the term reserved for this travelling along the course, the other ones (the tawaf around the Ka’ba and those between ‘Arâfa-Muzdalîfah-Minâ) being termed fajîd or ifâlu (course made in an enthusiastic manner). It is obligatory at arrival and superogatory at departure for the pilgrims who perform both the Greater (hadîdî) and Lesser (‘umma) Pilgrimages (see HADJ DTJ). The first Muslims, and especially the Anânî, hesitated to make this sacred course, because of its pagan character. On the two hills were the idols Isâf and Nâ’s (p. e.), two sacred stones, on which the victims’ blood was poured. They must have had a vaguely human form which, under Syrian influences and because of their proximity to each other, were assimilated to a divine pair, as with a Ba’il and a Ba’îla. But an edifying legend developed around them, that they were a man and woman who had fornicated in the Ka’ba and had therefore been transformed into stone (see T. Fahd, Le pântêhon de l’Arabie Centrale à la veille de l’hégire, Paris 1968, 103-9).

The question of this obligation of the sa’î was put to the Prophet, and the reply was revealed that “al-Sâfâ and al-Marwa are part of the rituals (shârîy) of pilgrimage to the House of God. Whoever accomplishes it (hadîdî) or visits it (‘umma) will never commit a sin, if he makes the course between the two hills” (Kur’ân, II, 158). Some recent constructions have been made to facilitate the sa’î, involving two superimposed tracks, one for the outward journey and one for the return (see the monthly journal al-‘Arabi, Kuwait, no. 1971).

Bibliography: For further details on the rite, see M.M.I, Abdal, al-Thâdît fi ‘l-Islâm, Cairo 1954, 420-4; Hamidullah, op. cit., 111. For the rites of the Pilgrimage in general, see Fahd, Le pèlerinage à la Mekke, in Études d’Histoire des Religions, i, Paris 1974, 65-94; idem, Panthéon, esp. 241-7, but the most complete work is M. Gaudefroy-Demobyns, Le pèlerinage à la Mekke, Paris 1923. (T. FAHĐ)
Arabic authors often link them with the Zutt [q.v.] or Jhats [see DJAT] from northwestern India (see e.g. al-Tabari, i, 1661, 3125, 3134, 3181), although two distinct ethnic groups are in fact involved here.

De Goeye was the first to discuss the Sayabidja at length, in his Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l’Asie, Leiden 1903, 18-19, 86-91, in the latter place giving a résumé of an earlier article of his devoted to them. He noted that, already in pre-Islamic times, there are mentioned Sayabidja settled on the Gulf coasts and Zutt in lower lIrâk (al-Baladharga, Futâh, 373), and that in Abû Bakr’s time there were 20,000 of Sayabidja and 12,000 of Khat (q.v.) along the coasts of al-Kâfif and Hadjar (al-Tabari, i, 1661). Both these peoples must have been planted there, or induced to settle there, as guards and frontier auxiliaries, by the Sâsânîd emperors. At the opening of Islam, both groups followed the example of the Asâwîrî or cavalrymen of the Sâsânîd army (see C.E. Bosworth, El, art. Asâwîrî), and became Muslims on various favourable conditions; the Zutt and Sayabidja attached themselves as maufî (see MAWLA) to the Arab tribe of Hanâza of Tanîmîn, and Abû Mâsî al-Asâ’îrî (q.v.) then settled them at Bâdra (cf. al-Baladharga, Futâh, 373-5; al-Tabari, i, 2562 f.).

Other Sayabidja elements seem to have found their way to Kûfah and possibly elsewhere, since the Kûfan forces which joined Ali at Dhu Kâr (in 656-67) included a detachment of Zutt and Sayabidja (al-Tabari, i, 3180-1).

Sayabidja troops fought in Kûhârûsân under ʿAbd Allâh b. ʿAmîr (q.v.) against the remnants of Persian resistance there and, in the time of al-Ḥadîjîd b. Yûsuf (q.v.), some of them were to be found in the ranks of Ibn al-Asâ’îrî’s (q.v.) rebel forces (al-Baladharga, 374). The caliph Muâwiya had further transplanted Zutt and Sayabidja in the naghîr (q.v.) of northern Syria and at Antioch (loc. cit.). Within the misr of Bâdra, a corps of 40 or 400 Sayabidja under one Abû Sâhîma al-Zuttî is mentioned as guarding the state treasury there in 36/656-7 (al-Baladharga, Futâh, 375-6; al-Masîdît, Murudî, iv, 307 = § 1629, and cf. Pellat’s Index généraux, vi, 403), and a verse in a poem of the Basran poet Ibn al-Mufârîrî (d. 69/656) (q.v.) mentions “the uncouthly-speaking Sayabidj barbarians who loaded me with fetters in the morning” (Ibn Kutayba, Shârī, 212). It would accordingly appear that the Sayabidja were a rough and tough element who were employed on police and custodial duties. The Sayabidja of Bâdra are mentioned at the time of Ibn al-Zubârî’s anti-caliphate, in 64/683-4 (al-Baladharga, Aṣâb al-aṣâ’îrî, ivb, 106). In 159/775-6, al-Mahdi’s caliphate, 4,000 of the Asâwîrî and Sayabidja, together with volunteer troops (mu‘tawwîrîn [q.v.] from Bâdra, were brought together for a naval expedition against the coasts of northwestern India; in the following year, 700-706-7, this expedition reached Goggarat and the town of the [river] Nîrîbâda”, probably Broach near the mouth of this river [see BHAROS] (al-Tabari, iii, 461). After this time, however, the Sayabidja fade from mention and were no doubt assimilated into the general mixture of population in the high Sâsânîd period.

The etymology of the term Sayabidja, and the ultimate origin of this group, were discussed in detail in de Goeye, loc. cit., and G. Ferrand in his El art. s.v., and the validity of their conclusions has not subsequently been challenged. Arabic lexicographical scholars have described this term as a mercenary recruited from Sind, and give as the term’s singular the form Saybidjî. De Goeye and Ferrand therefore connected this with Zâbâdji/Zabâdi, going back to a Sanskritised form Dvâvaka and a South Indian/Dravidian one Shâvaka, a term used to designate the Indonesian islands of Java and Sumatra [see ZABAD]. The early Islamic Sayabidja would thus have been Indian/Dravidian origin who were brought to western India and who then, in the late Sâsânîd period, found their way to the Persian Gulf shores in company with the Zutt. The famed seafaring expertise of the Malay-Indonesian peoples would have ensured their usefulness to the Middle Eastern powers in such matters as the policing of the Gulf and the protection of its trade against piracy, etc.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article, see El art. S. Petrucci, Le milieu barbare, 40-1, 194, 296; M.J. Morony, Iraq after the Muslim conquest, Princeton 1984, 271-2; A. Wink, El-Hind, the making of the Indo-Islamic world, i, Early medieval India and the expansion of Islam 7th-13th centuries, Leiden 1990, 156-7. (C.E. Bosworth)

SAYD (A.), a masc. noun and noun of action from the root S-D-Y of which, as in Hebrew, evokes both the idea of the pursuit and capture of wild animals, by earth or sea which can be eaten as game, and also these animals themselves, i.e. all game, whether caught by hunting or fishing. In all its acceptations, the root k-n-s is its exact equivalent.

The ineluctable need for daily sustenance has led mankind, like all other living beings, from the time of appearance on earth, to practise both hunting and fishing together with the gathering of wild fruits and grain, and mankind has accordingly ceaselessly exercised its ingenuity in finding the best methods here for achieving the maximum return for effort. Thus there has been a constant striving towards perfection in methods of hunting and fishing.

For hunting game by land, the methods of capture (masâdî, mîsâdâ, mîsâdâ, pl. maṣâyîd) are numerous. A passive mode costing the least effort is the setting of nets (shabak) and snares with draw-nets (khibâla, uhbulâ, pl. babûsîlî); and there is also the covered-over pit-trap (kûfah, ughwûswî, mukhawswî, ughdîla, dafîna). Then comes the method of hunting with a bow (rây, rîmâyâ) or, otherwise, with a cross-bow or blow-pipe and, at present, with firearms. But out of the various procedures, in the Islamic world and during mediaeval times, one of the most favoured by princes and nobles was the chase (task, mûtârada, tirâd), on foot or on horse-back, with the aid of domesticated or tamed carnivorous animals (dârî, pl. dâbûsîr, sayâdî, pl. sayâdî), such as the gazelle-bound or sa’dîkî (q.v.), the cheetah [see FAHO] and the caracal lynx (‘anâk al-arîd). These precious hunting auxiliaries were launched against the gazelle [see GHÂZÂL], antelope [see MAHÂT], wild ass (hûmâr al-wa’ilûkh), ibex (uwa’îl) and ostrich [see NÂ’ÂM]. According to the region, they sometimes served for tracking down wild beasts with furs, such as the panther, leopard [see SAMIR] and even the fennec fox [see FANAR]. Parallel with hunting by the chase, hunting by the air, i.e. by raptors [see BAYZARA], was always a favoured pastime for all social classes in the Muslim lands, whether high-flying with falcons or low-flying with hawks for the capture of small, furry game, such as the hare [see ARNAK] and of that with feathers, such as the partridge (hadjâf), sand-grouse [see KÂT], bustard (kubâra), wild geese (tiawza), duck (buat) and teal (hadjaf). Certain falcons were also trained to tie down and blind antelopes and wild asses, thus facilitating their capture by the hunting hounds. The smallest-sized birds like blackbirds and thrushes were taken by means of snares and nooses (sharâk, pl. aqhrâk) placed in lines on a taut cord.

For fishing and fish, both in sweet waters and in the seas, see SAMAK.

According to Islamic law, the hunter and fisher
SYAD — SAYDA

(sayyad, kannas) were subject to rules regarding the ritual slaughter of captured game in order to preserve the lawfulness of their consumption; all these rules are set forth in the writings of al-Damiri in his Kitab al-dawāsir.

The population, which had reached a total of 5,000 inhabitants in the 18th century but was little more than 15,000 in 1946, the same number as in 1914, was to experience a veritable explosion in 1948, with the influx of Palestinian refugees. It quadrupled in 15 years, reaching a total of 117,000 in 1980, half of these being Palestinians. With this reinforcement the share of the Sunni Muslims in the population of the city exceeded 80%.

From 1970 onward, Saydā and its camps were to become a nucleus of Palestinian resistance to Israel. The civilian population paid a very high price, enduring aerial and naval bombardments, even before the Israeli invasion of June 1982, which had the object of destroying the camps and driving the Palestinians towards the north. In February 1983, Israel was obliged to withdraw, but its role was taken over by the Lebanese forces, the militia of the Christian Right, which pounded the camp of 'Ayn al-Halwa for a whole month. The Christians of Saydā were then forced to abandon the city.

Palestinian organisations administered the camps, and it was not until June 1991 that the Lebanese Army took over control of their access points. But while the Palestinians have lost their capacity for political and military intervention, the Sunni community of Saydā has found itself in a position of strength on the Lebanese chess-board, with the choice of one of its own, the multi-millionaire Rafik Hariri, as Prime Minister in 1993.

The current conurbation is composed of numerous very distinct areas:

The old town occupies the site of ancient Sidon, sheltered by a peninsula which encloses the port. Near the entry a small island, linked to land by a stone bridge, bears the castle of St. Louis. To the south of the town, on an artificial hill, stands the Citadel, Kal'at al-Mu'izz. Overcrowded and insalubrious, the old town has been in an advanced state of delapidation since the earthquake of 1956; it accommodates 25% of the population, the poorest, Lebanese or Palestinian, and immigrant workers from Syria and Egypt.

A new town, with modern concrete buildings, containing 46% of the population of Saydā, extends beyond the ramparts: the al-Dekamer quarter, where public services are concentrated and which is the centre of cultural life, and the al-Wastani residential quarter, to the north, interspersed with green spaces.

The Palestinian camp of 'Ayn al-Halwa, opened in 1949 by the Red Cross 3 km to the south of the city, accounts for 34% of the population of the conurbation; more than 40,000 people are crammed in there.

The city has expanded alongside arterial routes, particularly towards the east, and it has obliterated the orange groves which used to surround it. In fact, it has benefited from the fate which dogged Beirut between 1975 and 1990, establishing itself as regional centre of the south.

Saydā's influence extends over the entire region between the rivers of Damur and of Litānī. Its 362,000 inhabitants (in 1980), are divided, besides Saydā, between three small towns and 140 villages.

The coastal plain has been devoted since the 1950s to market gardening and citrus production, irrigated by the al-Kasmiyya canal, which serves 3,700 ha from its starting-point at the mouth of the Litānī, and by

Bibliography: See the bibls. to the articles cited in the text. (F. Viné)
Sayda — Al-Saydana
hundreds of individual wells and bore-holes. Since the 1980s plastic greenhouses have proliferated, as a result of the capital funds invested by citizens of Sayda, and by emigres.

The mountain suffers, however, from lack of water, especially to the south. Various irrigation projects have been examined, such as that of the Awali, in abeyance since 1987, or that of the Djoun tunnel, which uses a diversion of the Litani for hydro-electric production. A pilot project has already succeeded in irrigating 1,000 ha in the region of Leebah, above the small Palestinian camp of Miye wa-Miyé.

Cereals and olives are cultivated all over the plains and on the mountain. But this agricultural activity has not obviated the need for daily work journeys to Sayda or Beirut, nor has it prevented Sayda and Beirut and by emigres.

The construction sector is active, and light industry very diversified: plastics, nylon, cardboard boxes, lavatory paper, oils, soap and leather. The local economy. Its development has been aided since 1978 by the influx of Palestinian manpower expelled from Lebanon. One may assume—al-Biruni continues—that the Persians, when looking for sandalwood, came in contact with the Indians and called their merchant of sandalwood "merchant of sandalwood". Sandalwood is not a medicinal plant but one may assume—al-Biruni continues—that the Persians, when looking for sandalwood, came in contact with the Indians and called their merchant of sandalwood the Arabs would then have taken over this term, and Arabised it because they did not know a name for it. And since sandalwood was not counted among their perfumes, and since they were hardly able to distinguish between a perfume merchant and a sandalwood merchant, they identified the two terms, both terms indicate also the merchant of spices and aromas [see Adwiyah, in Suppl.].

The classical definition of pharmacology is found in al-Biruni's [q. v.] highly important Preface to his unfinished K. al-Saydana [fi t'hibb], written in his old age. He classifies al-Saydana as a sub-discipline in the field of medicine. According to him, it is the first of the stages of the medical art and for many it counts only as the latter's preliminary stage because it is a tool for practising medicine, not a part of it. As far as the word saydana is concerned, al-Biruni first refers to the well-known fact that the Arabic yd^ corresponds with Indo-Iranian ēm. He approvingly quotes Hamza al-Isfahâni [q. v.], who is said to have explained saydana as an Arabeisation of landanâni "merchant of sandalwood". Sandalwood is not a medicinal plant but one may assume—al-Biruni continues—that the Persians, when looking for sandalwood, came in contact with the Indians and called their merchant of sandalwood the Arabs would then have taken over this term, and Arabised it because they did not know a name for it. And since sandalwood was not counted among their perfumes, and since they were hardly able to distinguish between a perfume merchant and a sandalwood merchant, they identified the two terms, both terms indicate also the merchant of spices and aromas [see Adwiyah, in Suppl.].

This economic development depends on a young population, at a rapid rate of growth, and Sayda contained in 1980 some thirty educational establishments, public and private. As a result of the policy of partition which was powerfully advocated during the war, four centres of higher education have been opened in Sayda: a branch of the Lebanese University in 1977, of the University of Saint-Joseph in 1978, a Makassad Centre of Advanced Studies in 1979 and the University of Kfar Fâlû in 1980. There was a total of 3,400 students in 1981-2.

The city, although no more than 40 km/25 miles from Beirut, is thus well equipped to play the role of a regional centre. But the potential instability resulting from the presence of more than 100,000 Palestinian refugees continues to cast a dark shadow over the future.


Al-Saydana (al-Saydala) (A.) is pharmacology, in the meaning of pharmacognosy. The druggist is called al-saydanî or al-saydani. Al-Biruni defines him as follows: "He is someone who occupies himself with gathering medications according to their most commendable sorts and with selecting their best kinds; he is a knowledgeable researcher who has been prepared according to the most excellent compositions, which have definitely been determined for that purpose by medical authors". Elsewhere he says "al-saydana therefore is the knowledge of simple drugs according to their selected sorts, kinds and forms, as well as the knowledge of the mixture of medications composed in conformity with their written prescriptions or other things of what has been worthy and righteous researcher strives for. The highest rank, however, is held by the knowledge of the effects of the simple medications and their specific qualities" [see Adwiyah]. Besides, saydana indicates the druggist's actual store of drugs, and also (with or without a preceding kitáb) the handbook of drugs, the pharmacopeia. Al-saydana is practically synonymous with al-sâtâr [q. v.], almost everything said there is also valid for al-saydana. To the druggist, they identified the two terms, both terms indicate also the merchant of spices and aromas [see Adwiyah, in Suppl.].

As an oriental synonym of al-saydana, al-Biruni also mentions al-dârî, with which the Arabs in the old days indicated the perfume merchant, because the ships from India brought their goods to the port of Dârîn, lying in the area of al-Bahrâyn. Al-Biruni substantiates the meaning of the word with examples taken from ancient Arab poetry.

A general theory of pharmacology is given by al-Majûsî [see Aâlî b. al-Abbâs al-Majûsî] in his Kâmûl al-sinâ'a al-tibbiyya, Bûlây 1294/1877, ii, 84-100. The section is comprehensively analysed by Müller, Islamic medicine, Edinburgh 1978, 104-6.
Bibliography: The most important study on saydana is that by M. Meyerhof, Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Bûnâî, in Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medicin, iii, Berlin 1932, fasc. 3, esp. Arabic text 3-8, tr. 25-37. Meyerhof took the Arabic text from the unique manuscript Bursa, Kursunluoğlu (composed 678/1278). A Turkish translation of the Preface was made by Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, Birinci Ede Reyhan Kitaibusuydu fütütte mukaddimâesi, in Istanbul Üniversitesi Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü, x, Istanbul 1937. An edition of the complete Arabic text, with an English tr., has been given by Muhammad Saâîd, Birûnî, K. al-saydana fi 'l-tibb. Al-Înâmû's Book on Pharmacy and Ma'tûd Ma'tûüda, Karachi 1973. There exist a Russian tr. by U. I. Karimov, Abu Rayhân, Farmakognostiya i medicine (K. al-Saydana fi 'l-tibb), issledovaniye, perevod, primenânya i ukażeteli, and a Persian tr. by 'Abbâs Zârâ'î, Birûnî, Kitâb al-Saydana fi 'l-tibb, Tehran 1369/1949 (A. Dietrich).

AL-SAYDÂWI, Šams al-Dîn Muhammad al-Dimâşkî, outstanding musician and writer on music in Syria in the second half of the 9th/15th century. Born in Saydâ at an unknown date, he later lived in Damascus where he died on 16 Dhu 'l-Ka‘a‘ 911/10 April 1506.

Al-Saydawi composed an extensive didactic wûqûţa of nearly 250 verses on the musical modes (angâjam) of the Syrian tradition, entitled K. al-Inâmû (or A'tâmû) fi ma‘rîfî al-suyyâmî. In addition to the twelve main modes (four labelled Подробный и eight farû‘î) and the six so-called âdâzî modes he describes another seven secondary modes called buhâr (sing. bahr). To illustrate their melodic development, al-Saydawi uses stave systems of seven coloured lines representing the degrees of one octave. Within the stave he marks the principal notes, the direction of melodic motion and some other details of performance by using coloured symbols and abbreviations derived from musical terms such as ma‘rîfî and râżû‘ (initial and final note), qulî‘ and habûrî (ascending and descending motion), slow motion (bi ‘l-tartîb; “step by step”), quick motion (sur‘û‘îm), sustaining of notes (maddî), and places of “jumping” towards higher notes (matâfirâ, sing. mâfîrâ). The whole range of three octaves is represented by abglâd letters in the colours of the basic octave. As far as we know at present, al-Saydawi’s musical notation was not taken up by Persian (and later Turkish) music literature. It has, however, cognates in the stave systems of the Graeco-Latin Musicae mchirades (9th century) and in those given by Vincenzo Galilei (1581) and Athanasius Kircher (1630). The “little Arabic book on music” aroused considerable excitement when it reached Paris in 1634. It figures in Diderot’s Encyclopédie (Planches, vii, 3-4) and in d’Herbelot’s Dictionnaire historique et moderne, Paris 1780, i, 180-90; H.G. Farmer, Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence, London 1930, 323-6; A. Shiloah, The theory of music in Arabic writings, Munich 1979, 83-6 (corr. name and dating); A. Shiloah and A. Berthier, A propos d’un “petit livre arabe de musique”, in Revue de musicologie, lxvi (1985), 164-77. (E. Neubauer)

Known in numerous manuscript versions, of which the earliest dates from the 11th/12th century, the story was probably composed in Mamlûk Egypt between the 9th/10th and 10th/11th centuries; the identity of the hero’s traditional antagonist, Sayf (Sayf), a Turk and emporer of Ethiopia from 1344 to 1372, rules out an earlier date. As for the attribution of the story to Abu ‘l-Mâ‘älî (Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Bâkî, d. 991/1583-4), mentioned in numerous versions, this should be treated with caution, even though this author may have played a role in the composition of the work. The narrative material seems very composite; contrary to what might be expected, the old Yemenite historico-legendary tradition is in fact not much in evidence. On the other hand, a number of themes are perceptible which belong to the Midrashic tradition centered especially on the figure of Moses (A. Chraibi, Dialectique de la surdetermination dans le Sirat Sayf ibn Dîlî Yâzân, in Arabica, forthcoming), also themes and motifs relating to international folklore, as well as foundation legends which seem typically Egyptian; also to be observed are convergences with shorter stories belonging to the genre of the Thousand and One Nights, in particular the Tale of Aqîb and Qarîb. It should be stressed that, until the present time, a meticulous narratological study of the novel in its entirety has yet to be undertaken; the same applies to a systematic comparison of the different manuscript versions, which might give a clearer impression of the process of composition of the story. The present article will be based essentially on the analysis of the printed version, which is characterised by the abundance of fantastic and remarkable themes, often with a parodic intention.

Unlike other major Arabic popular romances, such as the Sirât ‘Antara, the Sirât Dîlî al-Hîmna, the Sirât Baybats, even up to a point the chronicle of the Bûnî Hilîl, which are all located in a definite and recognisable historical framework in spite of numerous anachronisms, the Sirât Sayf is situated in a mythical universal universe, where men and jîmms associate together on familiar terms, where sorcerers, wizards and enchanters engage in dogged combat, competing for power or for the mastery of natural forces. This universe is steeped in impiety and the worship of false gods; only a few sages and a few anchorites observe and cherish the “Law of Abraham”, which will be the hero’s task to propagate among the jîmms of Mount Kaf. From the point of view of the novel, it is the romantic, the major parts, a “Yemenite cycle” and an “Egyptian cycle”, between which are interspersed various adventures following the classical pattern of the “quest”. The Yemenite cycle, after a prologue evoking the conquests of Dîlî Yâzân, the father of the protagonist, and the foundation by his vizier Yâqbîr of what is to become Medina, destined to be the refuge of the future Prophet, follows a familiar theme. Sayf, abandoned in the desert on the orders of his mother, the sorceress Qarîb, who intends to steal into her own hands, is rescued by the king Afaž. Falling in love with the latter’s daughter, the beautiful princess Shâmâ, he is obliged to undergo various tests, in the course of which he establishes himself as the greatest warrior of his time, discovers the secret of
his birth, converts to monotheism and regains the throne of his fathers, having obtained the hand of his beloved (this marriage being only the first of a long series, the "Law of Abraham" being considered to allow unlimited polygamy). As well as to the courage of the hero, his success is owed to the help which he received from a group of loyal companions, among whom there appear numerous female characters, in particular the djinniya 'Akisa, daughter of the White King and foster-sister of the protagonist, as well as the sage and magician 'Akila. Among the enemies of Sayf, besides Kamariyya, who is executed after committing innumerable treacheries, figure the powerful Abyssinian emperor Sayf Ar'ad and the two wizards Sakardls and Sakardiyun. The latter recognise in Sayf the hero whose destiny it is to implement the curse laid by Noah upon Ham and his descendents, dooming them to fall under the domination of the sons of Shem; however, the conflict seems to be primarily religious, with the Yemenite "Muslims according to the religion of Abraham" opposing the Abyssinian "worshippers of stars" and, more generally, pagans of all allegiances. The first of the two "quests", which link the second cycle takes up the familiar folkloric theme of the search for a supernatural spouse who has disappeared (J. E. Bencheikh, Cl. Bremond and A. Miquel, Mille et un contes de la nuit, Paris 1991, 193-233). The second is constituted by an amalgam of various adventures, linked by a somewhat tenuous theme: to fulfill a promise made to the djinn 'Ayyrid, who has fallen in love with 'Akisa, Sayf sets out in search of the wedding jewellery of the Queen of Sheba, preserved among Solomon’s treasure. A secondary "mini-cycle", possibly of Syrian origin and evoking the adventures of Dummar, elder son of Sayf, leads into the second section of the novel: returning from his quest, Sayf finds that his capital has been destroyed by Sayf Ar'ad during his absence. On the advice of 'Akila, he decides to lead his people into Egypt, which is still a desert and inhospitable land: the Nile, halted by a powerful spell, is blocked at the level of the Cataracts. Thanks to numerous supernatural helpers, Sayf succeeds in "liberating" the waters of the river. The remainder of the story recounts the foundation and the organisation of the new kingdom (numerous foundation legends), then the hero’s final revenge on Sayf Ar'ad as well as on Sakardls and Sakardiyun; in the printed version, this is pursued through various episodes which are clearly later additions.

Despite some tedious passages and occasional clumsiness of style, the romance, which is of great interest for the study of Arabic narrative traditions, is not without appeal on account of its unrestrained exploitation, not devoid of irony, of marvellous and fantastic themes, which form the basis of a genuine literary work.


J. P. Guillaume

SAYF b. ‘UMAR, a compiler of historical nar-

rations on early Islamic history. Virtually nothing is known about Sayf or his life, except that he lived in Kula and probably belonged to the Usayyid clan, part of the ‘Amr branch of the tribe of Tamim. Various sources, however, attach him—probably erroneously—to other tribal groups: accounts stating that he was a member of the bedouin tribe of Madinat Dimashk and belonged to the tribe of ‘Asadi, or that he was a member of the tribe of Dabba and Dubay’a, or to the Baradid, a group of five Tamim clans (not, however, including Usayyid). According to the 8th/14th-century scholar al-Dhahabi, Sayf died in the time of al-Rashid (r. 170-193/786-809), but this may be merely al-Dhahabi’s guess, deduced from Sayf’s position in various insâds. Sayf’s importance rests on the fact that his Kitâb al-futûh al-kabîr wa ‘l-ridda was chosen by the famous historian al-Tabari (d. 310/923) as his main source for the ridda and the early Islamic conquests. Sayf is also one of the few sources of information about the structure of the early Muslim armies, early Muslim government, and settlement in the garrison towns. The reliability of Sayf’s narrations has long been contested: the first modern scholar, ‘Askari, put fabricated accounts (maudulâ’ât) in the mouths of trustworthy narrators. Many modern scholars, after examination of both the content and the insâds of Sayf’s accounts, have expressed similar doubts. Already de Goeje and Wellhausen pointed out the implausible chronology of Sayf’s accounts when compared to those of Ibn Ishâq, al-Wâkiti, etc. The fanciful quality of many of Sayf’s narrations, which are frequently fitted out with gratifying but suspect detail, and the tribal chauvinism of many accounts, in which leaders of his tribe of Tamim engage with suspicious frequency in battlefield heroics, have also provoked critical comment. Sayf’s insâds have also been seen as problematic; his informants frequently cannot be traced in the available literature on traditionists. This has led at least one modern scholar, Murtaḍâ al-‘Askari, to condemn Sayf as a subversive who invented his accounts and the names of his informants with the intent of spreading confusion and doubt in the bosom of the Muslim community.

On the other hand, Landau-Tasseron has pointed out that Sayf’s accounts frequently do not contradict other accounts, but merely provide different information, and has argued that we cannot expect many of Sayf’s informants to appear in the traditionist literature since most were not specialists in hadîth. Furthermore, Sayf retains not only pro-Tamim traditions, but also accounts that highlight other tribes, suggesting that he may have collected various tribal traditions from Kûfa. Many of his accounts display syntactic and lexical peculiarities that may be reflections of archaic tribal dialects. Close inspection of Sayf’s accounts conveyed from Abû Uthmân Yazid b. ‘Asid al-Ghassâni, an informant identifiable in no other source, suggests that they are not fabricated wholesale by Sayf, but represent selections from two different written sources, one compiled by Abû Uthmân himself, the other by an intermediary informant who drew on Abû Uthmân, each work having a different topical focus.

Comparison of the accounts from Sayf found in al-Tabarî with those found in Ibn ‘Asakir’s Ta’ârâkh madnat Dimashk suggests that Sayf’s original compila-

tion on the ridda and conquests may have consisted of a long, sustained narrative with occasional insâds.
Sayf b. 'Umar — Sayf al-Dawla

(rather than the short pieces, each prefaced by an isndd, that are found in ... also M. Ca-

work of Sayf featured frequent poems, most of which selections). Comparison also reveals that the original ... persists about the reliability of his narrations of the ... morally divided the Companions of the Prophet. A definitive study of the historiographical complexities of all Sayf's traditions remains an important desideratum.

Sources for the history of al-Dawla, part 2, Riyad 1979, 3-16; A.A. Duri, (1950), 179-82, ii (1951), 163-6, viii (1961), 427-9; Murtadá al-'Askari, Khamsun wa-mPa sahdbi mukh-


(F.M. Donner)

Sayf al-Dawla, Abu l-Hasan. Abu l-Haydja. Abu Allâb âhamd b. Hamdân b. al-Hârîth Sayf al-Dawla al-Tâlgîbi (17 Dhû l-Hijjah 303-24 Safar 356/22 June 914-9 February 967), amir of Aleppo and of northern Syria, also of Mayyâfârîkin and of western Djazira (Diyar Bakr and Diyâr Mu'dar), from 333/945 until his death. From his time until the present day, he has personified the Arab chivalrous ideal in its most tragic aspect. A peerless warrior, magnanimous vanquisher of rebellious Syrian tribes, he led with audacity, and for a long time with success, the dhâdât against the Byzantine enemy. A prince of great wealth, he spent large sums of money on the ransom of Muslim prisoners. An enlightened poet and philologist, he maintained a literary tradition of authorship which preserved the literary and moralising qualities of Sayf's interpretation of Islamic history, which smoothed over the conflicts that historically divided the Companions of the Prophet.


(F.M. Donner)

Sayf al-Dawla, Abu l-Hasan. Abu l-Haydja. Abu Allâb âhamd b. Hamdân b. al-Hârîth Sayf al-Dawla al-Tâlgîbi (17 Dhû l-Hijjah 303-24 Safar 356/22 June 914-9 February 967), amir of Aleppo and of northern Syria, also of Mayyâfârîkin and of western Djazira (Diyar Bakr and Diyâr Mu'dar), from 333/945 until his death. From his time until the present day, he has personified the Arab chivalrous ideal in its most tragic aspect. A peerless warrior, magnanimous vanquisher of rebellious Syrian tribes, he led with audacity, and for a long time with success, the dhâdât against the Byzantine enemy. A prince of great wealth, he spent large sums of money on the ransom of Muslim prisoners. An enlightened poet and philologist, he maintained a literary tradition of authorship which preserved the literary and moralising qualities of Sayf's interpretation of Islamic history, which smoothed over the conflicts that historically divided the Companions of the Prophet. A definitive study of the historiographical complexities of all Sayf's traditions remains an important desideratum.


The poetic career of Sayf featured frequent poems, most of which selections). Comparison also reveals that the original source of all Sayf's traditions remains an important desideratum.

Bibliography: Dhahabi, Mizân al-rijâlî, Cairo 1925, ii, 255-6, no. 367; Ibn Haṣqâr, Tahâhib al-rijâl, Haydârâbâd, 1925-7, iv, 279-6, no. 506; Ibn Abî Hâmid, Al-Dhâhâb wa't-lâ-dil, Haydârâbâd 1952-3, ii, 278; Feisal, v; F. Sezgin, CâS, 1, 311; M. de Goeje, Description de la Syrie du nord, AlI.


(F.M. Donner)

Sayf al-Dawla, Abu l-Hasan. Abu l-Haydja. Abu Allâb âhamd b. Hamdân b. al-Hârîth Sayf al-Dawla al-Tâlgîbi (17 Dhû l-Hijjah 303-24 Safar 356/22 June 914-9 February 967), amir of Aleppo and of northern Syria, also of Mayyâfârîkin and of western Djazira (Diyar Bakr and Diyâr Mu'dar), from 333/945 until his death. From his time until the present day, he has personified the Arab chivalrous ideal in its most tragic aspect. A peerless warrior, magnanimous vanquisher of rebellious Syrian tribes, he led with audacity, and for a long time with success, the dhâdât against the Byzantine enemy. A prince of great wealth, he spent large sums of money on the ransom of Muslim prisoners. An enlightened poet and philologist, he maintained a literary tradition of authorship which preserved the literary and moralising qualities of Sayf's interpretation of Islamic history, which smoothed over the conflicts that historically divided the Companions of the Prophet. A definitive study of the historiographical complexities of all Sayf's traditions remains an important desideratum.

Bibliography: Dhahabi, Mizân al-rijâlî, Cairo 1925, ii, 255-6, no. 367; Ibn Haṣqâr, Tahâhib al-rijâl, Haydârâbâd, 1925-7, iv, 279-6, no. 506; Ibn Abî Hâmid, Al-Dhâhâb wa't-lâ-dil, Haydârâbâd 1952-3, ii, 278; Feisal, v; F. Sezgin, CâS, 1, 311; M. de Goeje, Description de la Syrie du nord, AlI.


(F.M. Donner)
gin; and Ef, under the writers mentioned). The accounts concerning al-Sari, Bughya, 4202-10, 4403, describe in a number of instances the assemblage of poets waiting in the vestibule, al-dilh, to be received at the court of Sayf al-Dawla, in the hope of being awarded a few hundred dirhams. The influence of this court extended far afield. The poet Sari, having been obliged to leave Sayf al-Dawla on account of the jealousy of the al-Khadid brothers, lived miserably in Baghdad, hounded by their hatred; hence his jubilation, recounted by Ibn al-Adim, when he received much later from a wa'zir a gift of 3,000 dirhams. He felt able to show himself in the street, wearing fine clothing and a turban five cubits in length, followed by magnificent slaves, then he died of happiness. In all the Islamic capitals of the time, the parasitism of the courtier-intellectuals was justified by the propaganda which their works disseminated to the advantage of the local prince. The poets, in particular, competed fiercely for the attainment of glory and wealth, bearing witness to the glory and the wealth of the prince. At Aleppo, the major official poets such as al-Mutanabbi maintained in their turn a court of secondary poets around them (Bughya, 4514-15), which did not prevent the latter from abandoning Sayf al-Dawla for Kâfir in 346/957, the year of the great conspiracy.

On the other members of the family, see Hamdâni. The nisba al-Taghlibi links this family to an Arab tribe, living in Diyar Rabija and at Mawsil of Nasir al-Dawla. In Muharram 333/September 944, the Ikhshid presented himself in his turn at Rakka before the caliph al-Muttaki, to whom he offered his services; obtaining no definite response, he returned to Egypt.

Early military career of the young Hamdânid

While in Baghdad, the political authority of the 'Abbâsid caliph was subordinated to that of the amir al-umarat? Ibn Râ'ik, in Dîyâr Rabi'a and at Mawsil the governor was al-Hasan b. Abd Allah b. Hamdan, later renowned under the nisba of Nâṣir al-Dawla. In 324/939, the latter promised his brother, 'Alî b. Abd Allah, the future Sayf al-Dawla, aged 21 lunar years, the gift of Dîyâr Bakr in exchange for his aid in confronting the Daylamî b. Djâfar, governor of Mayyâfarîkân, who was in revolt. 'Alî b. Abd Allah succeeded in preventing 'Alî b. Djâfar from receiving the assistance of the feudal chiefs of Armenia and obtained from them that the persons who did not pay the tax of the local prince would be soldiers, one of whom exercised no supreme authority (Hâmad., 426, Hilâl al-Sâbi', Rûsusm dâr al-khâliifa, ed. Mkhadâlî 'Awadât, 127-8).

Sayf al-Dawla was then apparently appointed to the post of wa'iz al-barb wa 'l-salat at Wâsît, which led to his confrontation with Muhammad b. 'Alî al-Kufî, formerly the wa'iz in practice of Ibn Râ'ik and fiscal administrator of the same province, in regard to the duty to be levied on a barge. The attitude of the two protagonists reveals the depth of the corruption which was then rife in Īрак, involving financiers, private sector traders and the holders of civil or military power. In 331/943, Sayf al-Dawla encountered opposition on the part of Turkish officers and soldiers under his command over the issue of pay; this opposition was led by Tûznûn. Nâṣir al-Dawla was powerless to rescue him, being himself in difficulties in Baghdad, the Sâmânîd amîr of Transoxiana and the Ikhshîd of Egypt, who coveted Mawsîl (Hâmad., 445), having refused to help him. Sayf al-Dawla reached Baghdad and then joined his brother, who had taken refuge at Mawsîl after the nomination of Tûznûn as amîr al-umarat?.

The seizure of Syria

In 328/942-40, Ibn Râ'îk had detached northern Syria from the control which the Ikhshid of Egypt had exercised there since 324/955-6, but in 329/941 he left Damascus with the aim of regaining supreme power in Baghdad and in Radjab 330/April 942, he was assassinated at Mawsîl. Nâṣir al-Dawla wanted to return to northern Syria, which the Ikhshid was intent on re-occupying, to the direct control of the Īrâkî caliphate. His troops easily took possession of the valley of the Balkhân, from Harrân to Rakka, but certain of his officers sided with the Ikhshid, and the Hamânids who had remained loyal were confronted, in the region of Khâbûr, by the governor of Rahba, 'Adl al-Bakdjami, and by the Banû Numayr. With the sureruptious support of the Ikhshîd, and supplied with Turkish and Daylamî contingents, 'Adl marched on Nasîbin, where he took possession of the treasure of Sayf al-Dawla. 'Abû 'Abd Allah al-Husayn b. Sa'id b. Hamdân, the brother of the poet Abû Fîrâs, captured 'Adl, who was executed in Baghdad in Shabân 331/May 943. Nâṣir al-Dawla then entrusted this cousin, Abû 'Abd Allah b. Sa'id, with the task of taking control of northern Syria, of Dîyâr Mudar and of the frontier posts. Having been obliged to take Rakka by assault, Abû 'Abd Allah occupied Aleppo without difficulty in Radjab 332/943-4.

Sayf al-Dawla was then apparently appointed at this time to take control of Syria himself; it was an idea born of resentment when, having returned to Nasîbin, he found himself under-employed and badly paid. He campaigned against the Banû Numayr in the region of al-Dâliva but, betrayed by his Arab troops, he was defeated in the winter of 332/943-4 on a number of occasions by Tûznûn, and he joined the caliph al-Mutâqî at Rakka, hoping to have himself recognised in his turn as amir al-umarat?; but he encountered the caliph's hostility in this matter and had his royal, Muhammad b. Ênlâ al-Turja'dumân, assassinated (various accounts concerning this topic, Hâmad., 497). Having agreed to recognise Tûznûn's sovereignty over Īrâk, from Sinn to Basra, his brother Nâṣir al-Dawla had officially renounced his claim to the title amîr al-umarat? in exchange for recognition of his authority over Dîjazîra and northern Syria, from Mawsîl to the limits of Syrian territory.

During the summer of 332/944, the Ikhshid arrived at Aleppo, which was hastily abandoned by 'Abû Fîrâs. Mu'âharrâm 333/September 944, the Ikhshîd presented himself in his turn at Rakka before the caliph al-Mutâqî, to whom he offered his services; obtaining no definite response, he returned to Egypt.
Nāṣir al-Dawla was alleged then to have said to Sayf al-Dawla, with whom he was reconciled: “Syria lies before you, there is no one in this land who can prevent you taking it.” His cousin Husayn b. al-Sa'd having renounced his Syrian ambitions in his favour, Sayf al-Dawla decided to take control of Aleppo and Damascus.

Sayf al-Dawla made his entrance into Aleppo in Rabī‘ I 333/October 944, in the company of Abu l-Fath ʿUgāmān b. Sa`d b. ʿAbbāb al-Walīd al-Kilābī, a tribal chieftain whose brother Abu l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad was then governor of Damas and who had held the post on behalf of the Ikhshīd. Having regained the capital of northern Syria, the Hamdānī and the Kilābī toured the region from the crossing of the Euphrates riding in the same ammāriyya, with the aim of observing at first-hand the condition of the villages.

The Ikhshīd was not readily prepared to accept the loss of northern Syria and of the frontier towns facing the Byzantines. He opposed the cession of Damascus to the Ikhshīd, and the next year, in Dhu ‘l-Hijjah 335/July 947, he ravaged the region from the crossing of the Anti-Lebanon, he sent to the inhabitants of Damascus a letter which was read on the minbar of the Great Mosque (Th. Bianquis, Les derniers gouverneurs ikhshīdides à Damas, in BEO, xii (1970), 186). The Ikhshīd left Egypt at the head of an army in Ramadan 333/April 945. He proposed to accept Sayf al-Dawla’s authority over northern Syria, the djunds of Hims and of Kinnasrin, and over the frontier sites. Sayf refused, but was obliged to leave Damascus as a result of the hostility of the populace, and joined battle with the Ikhshīd in Shāwāl 333/May-June 945. Defeated by means of a strategic ruse, Sayf al-Dawla withdrew to Rakka. The Ikhshīd army ravaged the neighbourhood of Aleppo and maltreated the population. In Rabī‘ I 334/October 946, a treaty on the basis of the Ikhshīd’s former proposals was negotiated by the intermediary of the Husaynid ʿAbd al-Ḥasan al-Ḥasan b. Tābir b. Yahyā al-Nassābī (Hāmad, p. 584, details of the negotiations in Baghthā, 2408-12, and Ibn Sa‘d’s Andalusī, al-Mughribī fi ḫulā al-Mughrib, Cairo 1955, 194). A partition of Syria was agreed: to the south of the new frontier, the Hamdānīs were to function in an al-Azīmī (ibn al-Azīmī, Taʾrīḫ Ḥalab, ed. Za`rūr, 291, henceforward abbr. to al-Azīmī).

In Dhu ‘l-Hijjah 335/July 947, the Ikhshīd died in Damascus. Sayf al-Dawla immediately marched on this city where he tried in vain to confiscate the minor estates of the Ǧuštā (Ibn al-Azīmī, Zubda, ed. Sāmī Dāūd, Trans, 1951, b. al-Azīmī, 116-17, henceforward abbr. to Zubda). He left for Palestine, but defeated by Kāfur, the black eunuch leading the armies of Ḥunayr b. al-Ikhshīd, in Diyar Mādār I 335/ December 946, the Hamdānī withdrew to the region of Damascus, where he was unobtrusively reunited with his mother, then retreated towards Hims, following the eastern route by way of Ǧurā, a difficult route in winter. In the spring of 335/947, having rallied troops among the inhabitants of Uṣāfīn, Nurayn, Kalb and Kilāb, Sayf al-Dawla advanced on Damascus and was once more defeated by the Ikhshīd army which entered Aleppo in Dhu ‘l-Hijjah 335/July 947. In the autumn of 336/947, Sayf al-Dawla re-occupied Aleppo, this time definitively.

Pursuing the Ikhshīd’s policy of appeasement, Kāfur negotiated with Sayf al-Dawla. The previous treaty was ratified, but the Egyptians withdrew Damascus definitively and no longer paid tribute to the Hamdānīs (topographical details of the Hamdānī possessions in northern Syria, Zubda, i, 164-5, on the occasion of the signing of the armistice between Karghūya and the Byzantines in 359/968). This frontier between northern Syria, inclined towards ʿIrāq, the Dājrīya and Anatolia, and southern Syria, closely linked to Egypt and Arabia, was to function in an almost conditioned manner when the Mamlūk seizure of the province in 658/1260.

During the remainder of his life, Sayf al-Dawla had no further confrontations with the Ikhshīds. The Egyptian power, threatened at this time by the Fātimids installed in Ǧīrṣiyā, gave up its claims to northern Syria, according to the judicious principle whereby abandoning a peripheral province was less costly than maintaining an army on a war-footing and less dangerous for the authority of the amir. Master of a large territory, the traditional glacies of Egypt, comprising the Mediterranean coast from Ḥarb to Ǧarūbūl al-Šām, and the Red Sea as far as Yemen, the son of the Ikhshīd retained the greater part of his father’s former power and wealth, leaving to the Hamdānī the costly defence of the frontier facing resurgent Byzantium.

Sayf al-Dawla was henceforward the master of northern Syria, of the western and eastern frontier posts of the Diyār Muḍjar and Diyār Bakr. Mayṭāfīrīkīn, at the junction between these two western provinces of the Dājrīya, was his second capital. The embellishment of the city and the reinforcement of its defences were to be continued under the Kurdish Marwānīd dynasty [q.e.], which made it its capital, in the 5th/11th century. Sayf al-Dawla built at Mayṭāfīkīn municipal and defensive constructions, on a considerably larger scale than his earlier buildings in Aleppo (on the Palace of Ǧalba constructed by Sayf al-Dawla outside Aleppo and traversed by the Kuwayk, Baghthā, 349-50, 4489, Canard, Sayf al-Dawla, recueil de textes, henceforward abbr. to Recueil, 204-5, Hāmad, 642-4).

For Diyār Muḍjar and Diyār Bakr, Sayf al-Dawla remained theoretically the delegate of his brother, the prince of Dājrīya, resident at Ǧawṣū. For northern Syria and the frontier regions, a less clearly defined chain of vassality existed since the Ḥabbūsī caliphate, despite the sending of an envoy to Sayf al-Dawla in 335/946, seems from 332/943-4 onward to have recognised only one provincial authority, Nāṣir al-Dawla, receiving “in appannage” all the territories to the north and north-west of ʿIrāq as far as the Mediterranean and the Byzantine frontier. On the other hand, functioning in a Kurdish and Daylamī environment, the Hamdānī family had embraced the rule of the new masters, and Sayf al-Dawla always showed great respect towards his elder brother, although the latter’s real power was much inferior to his own (well known “unbooting” episode, Zubda, i, 128-9, Baghthā, 2433-7, Hāmad, 621-2). Furthermore, he appointed numerous Hamdānīs, including sons of
Nasir al-Dawla, to posts of authority in his states (H*amd., 395-7, supplies the list).

After 336/947 he visited Diqâira on several occasions. The first, in 338/950, travelled by way of Rakka to Mayyâfarîkîn, where in turn his mother, Nu'mûn and his son, Abu 'l-Haydâr', Abu'l-Allâh had recently died, and returned to Aleppo via Âmîd. This expedition, at the head of 7,000 troops, was an opportunity to display his wealth and the power of his army.

Since 332/943, the Kurd Dayûm had resided in Aleppo as a guest of Sayf al-Dawla. In 344/955 he left for Adharbaydjan, where he established the ghulûm in both of the Hamdanîd but, defeated by Mardûkâh and handed over to the latter by the Armenian prince of Vaspurakan, Derenîk/Îbn al-Dîrânî, he was put to death. Sayf al-Dawla lost his influence in Armenia until 354/965 when, following the revolt of his ghulûm Naḍâ, he inherited the Armenian places which the latter had appropriated from Abu 'l-Ward/Apeltart II b. Abu Sâlim, in the region of Lake Van. The fate of these places when Âbû Taghlib, the nephew of Sayf al-Dawla, took possession of Diyar Bakr, is unknown.

Suppression of the tribes

Sayf al-Dawla was obliged to assert his authority in northern Syria by confronting the Arab tribes, whose aggressiveness had been increased by a very positive demographic situation. At the time of his arrival, the region of Hîmûs had been controlled since the Umayyad period by the Yemeni tribes of Tâyi'î and Kalb, semi-urbanised. To the north, the Kaysî tribes, U'lâyûn, Nûmânî, Kîlîbî, Kâbî and Kühçârî, still nomadic, held the plain between the Orontes and the Euphrates and beyond the river, in Diyar Mudar, threatening longer-established Arab communities. Taghlib had been repulsed to the north and east of the Diqâira (attempt at devising a map of the tribes in Banûqis, Râbbah et le Diyar Mudar, ... in BEO, xi-xii [1989-90, publ. 1993], 23-53). The region of Ma'ârrat al-Nu'mân was the fief of the Yemeni Tanûkh, formerly converted to Christianity and entirely sedentarised. The coastal positions between Tarabuls and al-Ladhîkîyâ were inhabited by the Yemeni Bahra and by Kurdish groups.

In 336-7/947-8, after a difficult siege, Sayf al-Dawla took possession of the fortress of Barzûyâ, held by a Kurdish brigand who controlled the lower valley of the Orontes and the route joining Aleppo to al-Ladhîkîyâ. He campaigned throughout the littoral range and on the coast, as well as on the slopes of the valley of the Orontes where his primary objectives were to defend the interests of the Hârâb and to protect the Kalb, who were his allies against the Kîlîb. At the end of the winter of 337/948-9, a Karmaṭî agitator by the name of Ibn Hirrat al-Ramûd al-Khârdîfî, who had claimed the titles of al-Hâdî and of Sâhîb al-khâl al-Mu'ârâkât, incited the Kalb and the Tâyi'î of central Syria to revolt, and imprisoned Abu Wâ'il, the governoir of Hîmûs (H*amd., 603). Sayf al-Dawla crushed the rebels, killed the Karmâtî and freed Abu Wâ'il. The following year, another revolt associated with the Karmâtî took place in the region of Damascus; this time, the rebels were ʿUkâyîlîs, i.e. Kayûsîs.

The Kayûsî tribes regularly caused instability in northern Syria between 338/950 and 343/954, provoking limited campaigns of repression on the part of the Hamdanîd (H*amd., 602-18). The Bedouin refused to return to the arrangement whereby they were kept away from the cultivated zones, where they wanted to pasture their cattle and extort ransoms from the villagers. The revolt of winter and of spring 344/955 erupted to the south-east of Aleppo, in the region of the lake of Ḍâbbûl and of Kinnâsrîn. This was not a tribal movement but a protest against social conditions since it united Bedouin, Yemenis, Kalb and Tâyi'î, and Kayûsî, ʿAmîr b. Ṣâṣâ'î, Kâbî b. Râhî, ʿAḍînî b. ʿAbd Allâh, Kîlîbî, Nu'mânî and Kühçârî, by grouping them against the Fâtimids of the following century. The repression imposed by Sayf al-Dawla in the course of June of the same year is known to the smallest detail, as a result of the analysis by Canard of the poems of al-Mutanâbî and of Âbû Fîrâs, as well as of commentaries on their work. This was a desert policing operation perfectly planned and rigorously executed. It could have ended with the total extermination, through war and thirst, of all the tribes, women and children included, between Ṣalâmîyâ, Tadmûr and the Euphrates, if Sayf al-Dawla had not been influenced by his feelings of solidarity and his sense of Arab honour. Later, the heavy armies of the Fâtimids, composed of Berber horsemen and Turkish ghulûms, had neither the same ability to win battles with minimal loss of life nor the same sensitivity in avoiding unnecessary civilian casualties. Sayf al-Dawla never again had to face Bedouin revolts. The Numârî had been expelled to the north of the Euphrates, to the Diyar Mudar around Harrân, where they were to form a principality in the following century, the Kalb migrated towards Tadmûr and into the plain between Hîmûs and Dimâšq, the Tâyi'î took refuge in the Diqâlî and on the plateaux of Transjordania. The small Kayûsî tribes having been either eliminated or banished to the north of the Euphrates, the Banû Kîlîb were left as the only powerful formation of northern Syria. Wisely, they became reconciled to the Hamdanîd and sent armed contingents to serve under him. They pursued a policy of assistance to the official power and of peaceful penetration of the urban milieu which was to assure the success in the following century of the principality of the Banû Mîrdâs [p. 180-1]. Once security had been restored, Sayf al-Dawla entrusted to relatives or to close associates the delegation of local powers based on fortified sites (al-ʿAţmî, 192). The central administration at Aleppo and at Mayyâfarîkîn was limited, being confined to fiscal issues and the conduct of war.

The war against Byzantium

Sayf al-Dawla was motivated throughout his life by the desire to be a ghâzî, a knight of the djîhâd, who confronted the Byzantines in more than forty battles. Numerous texts, prose or poetry (Bûghya, 4682; Recueil, passim) reveal the extent to which the period was marked by a well-founded fear of a Byzantine offensive against the Muslim lands of Cilicia and of Diqâira and by a militar-religious brand of piety which induced professional soldiers and young civilians, from all over the Muslim East, to risk their lives on the frontier facing Byzantine troops. The significant role of Tarsus in the ideology of religious asceticism and of the military efficacy of the frontier djîhâd against the Byzantines, is developed in Bûghya, 180-1, which mentions Sayf al-Dawla (see also C.E. Bosworth, The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle Abhâsid times, in Ōrens, xxxiii [1992], 268-86).

A detailed description of the frontier military operations of Sayf al-Dawla having no place here, mention of the most important dates will suffice. In fact, Canard has compiled a complete account of combats between Byzantines and Muslims from the time of the patient analysis of a very large corpus of Arabic, Greek, Syriac and Armenian texts, as well as on his vast erudition regarding historical geography (H*amd.,
715-862, including for the period of Sayf al-Dawla, 741-828). Few new texts have been published since then, although recent works dealing with the strategy, tactics, arms and military training of the Byzantines deserve mention (G. Dagron, Guerilla, places-fortes et villages ouverts à la frontière orientale de Byzance vers 950, in Castrum, iii [Madrid-Rome 1984]. In the Arab domain, no comparable recent study exists to this writer's knowledge.

Unlike the Byzantine basileis who, supported by the substantial resources of an extensive empire were equipped to pursue, after 314/926, a project of reconquest of the Near East, by their failure to organise a powerful army to pursue, after 314/926, a project of reconquest of the Near East, by their failure to organise a powerful army, the success of Turkish forces in the Near East was the result of the constant threat of Turkish attacks. The victories of the Turks were due to their military training, tactics, arms and military training of the Byzantines then, although recent works dealing with the strategy, tactics, arms and military training of the Byzantines deserves mention (G. Dagron, Guerilla, places-fortes et villages ouverts à la frontière orientale de Byzance vers 950, in Castrum, iii [Madrid-Rome 1984]. In the Arab domain, no comparable recent study exists to this writer's knowledge.

The triumphant years

In the thirty years which followed, Sayf al-Dawla was able to avenge the capture and destruction of Tarsus and to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 ghulams and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (Zubda, i, 127-8).
was challenged even at Aleppo. From the autumn of 350/961 to the spring of 963, Nicephorus Phocas, returning victorious from Crete, led the offensive into Muslim territory. Sayf al-Dawla, who had the latter's absolute trust, then attempted to incite his administrative charge to rebel in favour of Nāṣir al-Dawla (Miskawayh and Ibn al-Aḍṭir, cited in Recueil, 247-52). At the approach of Najdā, whom Sayf al-Dawla had sent to oppose him, Hibat Allāh sought refuge with his father. On his own account, Najdā extorted compensation of a million dirhams from the inhabitants of Harrān and set out, in his turn, to attack Mayyāfārīkīn, with the intention of placing Diyar Ḑakr under the control of Muʾizz al-Dawla, the Büyūd amīr of Baghdād. The wife of Sayf al-Dawla defended the city successfully, Najdā took possession of towns in Armenia, around Lake Van, and in the autumn of 353/964 he was obliged to abandon a second siege of Mayyāfārīkīn, a revolt having broken out in his Armenian dominions. Having returned to Mayyāfārīkīn, Sayf al-Dawla set out for Armenia, where personally and without fighting he obtained the spectacular submission of his favourite lieutenant (moving scene in Zubda, i, 145); Najdā was killed at the end of winter 354/965 in Mayyāfārīkīn, no doubt at the orders of Sayf al-Dawla's wife whom he had publicly insulted. He was buried in the Handānid mausoleum.

Sayf al-Dawla had suffered a personal blow in 352/953 with the death of his sister, Khawla Sitt al-Nās, a woman of considerable political skill. She bequeathed to him 500,000 dinārs which he is said to have devoted to the ransom of prisoners (Sīra, 16, 188). In 354/965 his sons Abu l-Makārīm and Abu l-Barakāt died. He was affected then by depression but continued to protect his father. During the last phase of his life, he resided mainly in Mayyāfārīkīn, entrusting the defence of the western frontier to his senior ghulāms. Kinnāsrīn was abandoned by its inhabitants, and commerce, the principal source of revenue of this cross-roads region, was hampered. The civilian populations of the region of Aleppo accepted their fiscal burdens with increasing reluctance, while the armies of the amīr proved themselves incapable of protecting them from the Byzantine enemy. In 354/964, to prevent the acquisition of iron by the Karmātīs of al-Absā, who intended to re-arm themselves in preparation for eventual action in Syria and Egypt, he destroyed the ironworks at Manbij, and then on Aleppo and on Antioch before returning to Byzantine territory at the end of 355/966. Two months later, Sayf al-Dawla died in Aleppo.

Military reverses, domestic revolts and physical weakness

Since 346/957, Sayf al-Dawla had not had to contend with internal revolt. In 350/961, the rebellion of Muhammad b. al-Husayn Ibn al-Zayyāt, amīr of Tar- sus, in favour of the Khalīfahūd al-Abār, was quickly suppressed (Bagha, 1490, 3419-21). In 352/962, the brief occupation of Aleppo by the Byzantines cost him his military prestige, at a time when he had recently been stricken by hemiplegia. From this time onwards, handicapped by the after-effects of this attack, aggravated by increasingly serious intestinal and urinary disorders, Sayf al-Dawla remained bed-ridden. He was transported on a litter, but he retained his reason and continued to direct the policies of the principality and, when necessary, to conduct warfare. However, his political position was fragile. The leading ghulāms were impregnated with the notion dominant in the Muslim East, according to which political power was legitimised solely by success in battle. In 352/963, Hibat Allāh b. Nāṣir al-Dawla, governor of Harrān, whence he had been expelled by a populace resentful of his fiscal greed, killed at Aleppo Abu l-Husayn Ibn Danāh, a Christian secretary of Sayf al-Dawla who had the latter's absolute trust, in 354/965, died in Aleppo. From this time onwards, his political position was fragile. The leading ghulāms were impregnated with the notion dominant in the Muslim East, according to which political power was legitimised solely by success in battle.
SAYF AL-DAWLA

revolt, see Bughya, 3656-8, 4592-3; Descr., 240-1.) After partially occupying the lower town, Rashlk was killed in battle. He was replaced as leader of the rebellion by a Daylamí, Dizbar, who defeated Khuyl, and entered Aleppo but then abandoned the town with the intention of taking control of all northern Syria. Sayf al-Dawla was then carrying out an exchange of prisoners with the Byzantines at Sumaysat, and he joined the ranks of the Daylamí rebel. At the beginning of the summer of 355/966, Sayf al-Dawla had himself carried in a litter to Aleppo, where he spent the night and then set out to crush the troops of Dizbar, in which he was helped by the defection to his side of the Banú Kulláb. Reprisals were severe, although the new governor appointed to Antioch by Sayf al-Dawla, Tašl al-Din Muḥammad b. Mūsā, joined the ranks of the Byzantines with the public funds of the city. The attack by Nicephorus Phocas on northern Syria forced Sayf al-Dawla to take refuge at Ṣuyuz, until Safar 356/February 967, the date of his death (Dizbar, 112, 113, 131, 152). The shāfī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAḵsāṣī prayed over his body, pronouncing tahlīb in the Shīʿī fashion (Bughya, 4517).

The Shīʿī sympathies of Sayf al-Dawla are demonstrated by the al-Dakkā maḏḥab which he had built on the Djabal Djuṣhan alongside the Christian monastery of Mara Marūthā (Bughya, 412, 2726). After the murderous invasion of Aleppo by the Byzantines in 349/960, and his son Abu ʿAl-Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh (or b. Abd al-Malik) al-Dakka, had spent the night and then set out to crush the troops of Dizbar, in which he was helped by the defection to his side of the Banū Kullāb. Reprisals were severe, although the new governor appointed to Antioch by Sayf al-Dawla, Tašl al-Din Muḥammad b. Mūsā, joined the ranks of the Byzantines with the public funds of the city. The attack by Nicephorus Phocas on northern Syria forced Sayf al-Dawla to take refuge at Ṣuyuz, until Safar 356/February 967, the date of his death (Dizbar, 112, 113, 131, 152). The shāfī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAḵsāṣī prayed over his body, pronouncing tahlīb in the Shīʿī fashion (Bughya, 4517).

Al-ʿAḵsāṣī, who had been used in manuscript form by M. Canard; these principal texts which have appeared since 1951 had been supplemented by the bibliography at the end of 171 Le siècle, in REMMM [1992], no. 62, 49-59. Furthermore, this prince as well as his brother, Nāṣr al-Dawla and later, his nephew al-Qaḍaṭan, princes of Mawsil, had a policy of monopolising fertile agricultural lands and appropriating extensive domains, with the aim of devoting them to monoculture, in particular the growing of cereals, a decidedly profitable enterprise in view of the demographic growth of the 5th/11th century, in which the new governor appointed to Antioch by Sayf al-Dawla, Tašl al-Din Muḥammad b. Mūsā, joined the ranks of the Byzantines with the public funds of the city. The attack by Nicephorus Phocas on northern Syria forced Sayf al-Dawla to take refuge at Ṣuyuz, until Safar 356/February 967, the date of his death (Dizbar, 112, 113, 131, 152). The shāfī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAḵsāṣī prayed over his body, pronouncing tahlīb in the Shīʿī fashion (Bughya, 4517).

The Shīʿī sympathies of Sayf al-Dawla are demonstrated by the al-Dakkā maḏḥab which he had built on the Djabal Djuṣhan alongside the Christian monastery of Mara Marūthā (Bughya, 412, 2726). After the murderous invasion of Aleppo by the Byzantines in 349/960, and his son Abu ʿAl-Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh (or b. Abd al-Malik) al-Dakka, had spent the night and then set out to crush the troops of Dizbar, in which he was helped by the defection to his side of the Banū Kullāb. Reprisals were severe, although the new governor appointed to Antioch by Sayf al-Dawla, Tašl al-Din Muḥammad b. Mūsā, joined the ranks of the Byzantines with the public funds of the city. The attack by Nicephorus Phocas on northern Syria forced Sayf al-Dawla to take refuge at Ṣuyuz, until Safar 356/February 967, the date of his death (Dizbar, 112, 113, 131, 152). The shāfī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAḵsāṣī prayed over his body, pronouncing tahlīb in the Shīʿī fashion (Bughya, 4517).

The Shīʿī sympathies of Sayf al-Dawla are demonstrated by the al-Dakkā maḏḥab which he had built on the Djabal Djuṣhan alongside the Christian monastery of Mara Marūthā (Bughya, 412, 2726). After the murderous invasion of Aleppo by the Byzantines in 349/960, and his son Abu ʿAl-Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh (or b. Abd al-Malik) al-Dakka, had spent the night and then set out to crush the troops of Dizbar, in which he was helped by the defection to his side of the Banū Kullāb. Reprisals were severe, although the new governor appointed to Antioch by Sayf al-Dawla, Tašl al-Din Muḥammad b. Mūsā, joined the ranks of the Byzantines with the public funds of the city. The attack by Nicephorus Phocas on northern Syria forced Sayf al-Dawla to take refuge at Ṣuyuz, until Safar 356/February 967, the date of his death (Dizbar, 112, 113, 131, 152). The shāfī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAḵsāṣī prayed over his body, pronouncing tahlīb in the Shīʿī fashion (Bughya, 4517).

Al-ʿAḵsāṣī, who had been used in manuscript form by M. Canard; these principal texts which have appeared since 1951 had been supplemented by the bibliography at the end of 171 Le siècle, in REMMM [1992], no. 62, 49-59. Furthermore, this prince as well as his brother, Nāṣr al-Dawla and later, his nephew al-Qaḍaṭan, princes of Mawsil, had a policy of monopolising fertile agricultural lands and appropriating extensive domains, with the aim of devoting them to monoculture, in particular the growing of cereals, a decidedly profitable enterprise in view of the demographic growth of the 5th/11th century, in which the new governor appointed to Antioch by Sayf al-Dawla, Tašl al-Din Muḥammad b. Mūsā, joined the ranks of the Byzantines with the public funds of the city. The attack by Nicephorus Phocas on northern Syria forced Sayf al-Dawla to take refuge at Ṣuyuz, until Safar 356/February 967, the date of his death (Dizbar, 112, 113, 131, 152). The shāfī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAḵsāṣī prayed over his body, pronouncing tahlīb in the Shīʿī fashion (Bughya, 4517).
Hasan 'Ali b. al-Husayn al-Daylamî, see Bughyâ,
2531. The sources used by Ibn al-'Adim for the 4th/10th century have not been listed to this writer's knowledge, see Eldad, Sources arabes des XIR et XIIIR siècles pour l'étude de la jurisprudence de Ibn al-'Adim, in Itinéraires d'Orient, Hommages à Claude Cohen, Bures-sur-Yvette 1994, 293-307. A few volumes of Ibn 'Asâkir, Ta'rikh madinat Dimashq, have also appeared, but the rate of publication by the Arabic Academy of Damascus remains regrettably slow. See also Ibn Abî Usâybi'a, 'Uyun al-anbâ fi ta'baqat al-âlîmâ, ed. Tahbân, Cairo. The editions of Sibt Ibn al-Dawâtî, Mirât al-zamânî, for the years 350/963 and of Dihâshî, Ta'rikh al-Islâm, for the 4th/10th century, have not been available for consultation.


Sayf al-Dîn, the honorific title of two members of the Shansabanî or Ghûris [q.v.] dynasty which ruled in Afghanistan and adjoining lands during the 6th-early 7th/12th-early 13th centuries: 1. Sayf al-Dîn Surî b. 'Izz al-Dîn Husaynî, succeed- ed his father as ruler in Ghûris 540/1145-8, killed in battle with the Ghaznavid Bahramşah (see Gûrîsî, 1. at II, 1100). 2. Sayf al-Dîn Muhammad b. 'Alâî al-Dîn Husaynî, ruler in the Ghûrisî capital of Fırozkuh [q.v.] 556-8/1161-3 [see ibid., 1. at II, 1101].

Sayf al-Dîn BAKHARZÎ, Abu 'l-Ma'âlî Sa'dîn b. MuTabarr b. Sa'dî b. 'Alî (586/1189-1201/1261), known honorifically as Shaykh-i 'Alam and, more familiarly, as Khâdîya-i Fathabad; the statement of his eminence was acknowledged by Sûfis of other lineages, such as Khâdîya Qarib and Hasan Bulghârî of the Khâdîya (Fakhr al-Dîn 'Ali Sa'îf, Rasqâbât 'ayn al-âhûd, ed. 'Ali Asghâr Mu'âniyî, Tehran 2535/1978, i, 34-5). When Sorkâtâni, mother of Mongke, the Mongol Great Khan, donated 100 silver bâlâq for the construction of a madrasa in Bukhara, despite her own allegiance to Christianity, it was to Bakharcî that she entrusted her supervision, as well as the administration of the endowments that settled on it ('Atâ Malik Djuwaynî, Sârhdî - Djuwan-gush, ed. Kazwini, iii, 8-9). Sorkâtâni further provided for the establishment of Bakharcî's khânâkah at Fathabad; the statement of Ma'sûm 'Ali Shah (d. 1344/1926) that the khânâkah of Bulgharî of the Khâdîya that was built by Timur in 780/1386 must be taken to refer to a restoration or expansion (Târîkhi - Khânânah, ed. Muhammad DînfarMahbub, Tehran n.d., ii, 242-3). Bakharcî evidently regarded himself as obliged, by virtue of his prominence, to influence the Mongol rulers in favour of Islam; this is suggested by the verified letter he addressed to Kûb În Hâbash 'Amîd, vizier to Çaghatay Khan, one line of which reads, "You are entrusted, in this government, with promoting the truth (nusrat-i hakk); should you fail to do so, what will be your excuse on the Day of Gathering?" (cited in V.V. Bartold, Turkestan ve epoku mongol'skogo nashestviya, in Sücînîneîa, i, Moscow 1963, 541). Bakharcî was visited by Bulgharî by Berke, the future ruler of the Golden Horde, and either converted him to Islam or strengthened him in the affirmation of the faith (J. Richard, La conversion de Berke et les débats de l'islamisation de la Horde d'Or, in REL, xxxxy [1967], 173-84). For all his prestige, Bakharcî's zeal for Islam sometimes led him into conflict with the Mongols; thus he was once abducted while praying to the Mongol camp outside Bakhurî and detained for a while (Abû 'l-Ma'alîghir Yahyâ Bakharcî, Astarâd - abâbâ wa-فزûs al-âdâb, ed. Iradj Afshâr, Tehran 1538 Sh./1979, 270). Similarly, one of his disciples, Burma'dân al-Dîn Bakharcî, sent to Kabulây's capital of Khân-Bâlîk to propagate Islam, found himself exiled to Mâ'inî, i.e. the realm of the southern Sung, where he soon perished (Khâzîn, Hâshîyâ, ed. 'Abd allâh al-Dîn Hâmûsî, Tehran 1338 Sh./1960, 275-80).

Bakharcî's influence extended beyond Bakhurî to Kirmân. Kutlugh Türkân Khatûn, the Kutlugh-
Khanid ruler of Kirmān (r. 658-81/1258-82) requested him to send her one of his sons, and he accordingly dispatched Burāhn al-Dīn Ahmad (d. 696/1297), his middle son, bearing with him the gift of a sword from the Persians. The ḥāndakā she established for him in Kirmān became a centre for the temporary expansion of Bāgharzī’s branch of the Kubrawi order in southern and south-eastern Persia. The prestige Bāgharzī thus acquired in Kirmān is reflected in the panegyric kāṣīda addressed to him by Khaḍījū Kirmānī (Dīwān, ed. Ahmad Suhaylī, Tehran 1336 Sh./559, 590-600). Bāgharzī, his youngest son, also visited Bāgharzī in Konya, not, however, to spread the Kubrawi path, but to pay homage to Djīlāl al-Dīn Rūmī, samples of whose verse had reached Bāgharzī from a follower in Shīrāz (Ahmad Aflākī, Manākīh al-‘arīfīn, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1959, i, 143-5).

Bāgharzī’s khānākāh at Fathābād flourished for at least a century after his death and burial there in 659/1261. His eldest son, Dījāl al-Dīn Muḥammād b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who, like his father, is mentioned in Mīhrābīn’s Ma‘ājilīs al-nafdīs, Babur’s autobiography, Dawlatshāh and later authorities.

696/1297), his middle son, bearing with him the gift from the Persians. Bāgharzī cannot have played a significant role in this regard, for he was killed a mere two years after the death of his father, in the course of factional strife among the Mongols. It was rather Abu ‘l-Ma‘āfikīrī Yahyā (d. 736/1335-6), the son of Burāhn al-Dīn Ahmad, who, coming to Būkhārā from Kirmān in 712/1312-3, succeeded in consolidating the affairs of the khānākāh (Ahmad b. Muḥammad Mu‘īn al-Fuṣūkī, Tārīkh-i Millūč-zāda dar ḥākīm-i maskūrāt-i Būkhārā, ed. Ahmad Gulīnī-Ma‘ṣūrī, Tehran 1339 Sh./66, 40). Still-extant documents from 726/1326 and 734/1333 record an augmentation of the endowments settled on the khānākāh; of particular interest is the earmarking of funds for the purchase and manumission of slaves who, converted to Islam, were to work on the lands belonging to the wa‘lif (O. D. Čekhovskij, Buhurktīe dokumentī XIV veka, Tashkent 1965). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the khānākāh during Abu ‘l-Ma‘āfikīrī’s tenure; he remarks on the lavish hospitality which he received and on the singing of poems in Persia and Turkish by the assembled dervishes (Rihāb, iii, 27-8, tr. Gibb, iii, 554). The esteem in which rulers continued to hold Bāgharzī is illustrated by the burial in his proximity of the Čaghatayī Buyan (or Bayan) Kūl Kāhān in 760/1359 (E. Knobloch, Turkestān, Munich 1973, 212). Indeed, gifts by rulers continued to enrich the wa‘lif as late as the 12th/18th century, but by the time of the Persian dervish Ma‘ṣūrī Allī Shāh visited Fathābād in 1316/1898-9, the shrine was in an advanced state of dilapidation, many of its tiles having been stolen for sale in the markets of Būkhārā (Tārīkh al-ḥākīm ‘īk, ii, 242).

Long before this architectural decay set in, the Bāgharzī line of the Kubrawīya had vanished from Būkhārā, supplanted—like all other Central Asian branches of the order—by the Nakshbandīyya. The tomb of Bāgharzī came to function simply as a site for popular pilgrimage (as happened also with the shrine of the Caghatayī Buyan or Bayan) and on the singing of poems in Persia and Turkish by the assembled dervishes during Abu ‘1-Mafakhir’s tenure; and the menstrual cycles of his wives and concubines. The journal is lost but portions of it were included by Abu ‘l-Ma‘āfikīrī Yahyā in his Avsrāl al-ḥābīb wa-fūṣīs al-‘āẓād, an account of the litanies and practices of the Bāgharzī branch of the Kubrawī order.

**Bibliography:**  

**Sayfī Ṭūrūdī Būkhārī:**  
Sayfī Ṭūrūdī Būkhārī, a Persian prosodist and minor poet at the Timūrid court in Harāt during the second half of the 16th/16th century. He is remembered for his text-book of Persian prosody *Ṭūrūdī Sāfī*, which he completed in 896/1491; this has been published several times in India, notably with an English translation and extensive commentary in H. Blochmann’s *The prosody of the Persians according to Sayfī, Jams, and other writers*, Calcutta 1872, a work which played an important role in making Persian poetical theory accessible to European students. But now that older and more detailed works on the same subject are available (especially the early 7th/13th-century *Ma‘ṣūmīn Shamsīyān*) Sayfī’s largely derivative work is only of limited interest.

“Sayfī” was the pen-name of several other Persian poets, the earliest being ‘Ali b. Ṭūrūdī Sayfī al-Naysābūrī, whose poems are quoted by ‘Awfī, Shamsīyān, and Jādirīmī, and of whom Dāwlatshāh says: “I urge my readers not to be deterrned by the name of Sayfī Zāhr al-Dīn Tekīhī (568-96/1472-1560). *Bibliography:* Sayfī Ṭūrūdī is mentioned in Mir ‘Ali Shīr Nāwīī’s *Ma‘ṣūmīn al-nafa‘īs*, Bābur’s autobiography, Dāwlatshāh and later authorities.
See also Rieu, Persian cat., 525-6; Khayyāmīrū, Farhang-i ńāgānezawān, 284; Storey, iii/1, 185-7 and (for Sayfī Nāygamebūrī) Storey-de Blois, v/2, 516-17.

SAYFI HARAWI (Sayf b. Muhammad b. Yaḵūb), poet and historian of Harāt in the Mongol period. Born in ca. 681/1282, he gained access to the court of Fakh ṝūr- al-Dīn Muhammad (d. 706/1307), the third malīk of the Kart (q.v.) dynasty of Harāt, in whose honour he claims to have written 80 ḵāṣīdas and 150 ḵīrās. In 706/1306, when Harāt was besieged by the Mongol army of the Il-Khan ʿOlqīyūr, led by Dānjīgīdīn Bahādūr, Sayfī composed a ṭasrīḥ, the Sām-nāma, in praise of Dīmāḏ al-Dīn Muhammad Sām, who conducted a vigorous defence on behalf of the absent malīk. On the city’s fall, Sayfī narrowly escaped execution by Dānjīgīdīn’s son Būdījī, whose father had been treacherously killed by Sām; and for a time his fortunes underwent an eclipse. It was some years before he gained the favour of the new malīk, Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muhammad (d. 729/1329-30), to whom he had previously dedicated a mathnawī, entitled ʿAbd al-Dīn al-Muḥammad, and who commissioned him to write a chronicle of Harāt. Sayfī’s Taḵk-i Harāt (or Taḵk-i malīk-i Kart), his only surviving work, covers the period from Harāt, made extensive use of Sayfī’s (or Taḵk-i Harāt, Taḵk-i muluk-i Kart) Taḵk-i Harāt (q.v.), as the earliest extant history of Harāt, is extremely valuable: his only surviving work, covers the period from Kārt, ca. 702/1302-3), and utilises Sayfī cites lost sources, notably the Kāt-nāma of Raḥīm-ī Būshandji (ca. 702/1302-3), and utilises documents in the Kārtīd chancery. Both Ḥāfiz-ī Abrū, in his historical works and in his geography, and Isfīzārī (d. 903/1498), the later chronicler of Harāt, made extensive use of Sayfī’s Taḵk-i Harāt. Bibliography: Storey, i, 354-5; Storey-Bregel’, ii, 1042-4; Abdul Mukhtar, Notes on a unique history of Herat, in JASB, N.S., xii (1916), 165-84; I.P. Petrushevsky, Trūd ṣīf, kak istońich po istorii vostochnogo Khurasana, in Trūd Yezīno-Turkmenistanskoy arkhitegitekstov komplikon ekskpeditsii, v, Aškharbād 1955, 130-62; edn. of Sayfī, The Taḵk-nāma-i Harāt, by M. Az-Siddīqī, Calcutta 1944, repr. Tāqī, ʿAlī, Tāqī, K. Aṣfīzārī, Hīyīār II is a rare geographical and historical information on this region (Byzantine occupation, from the end of the 9th century until around 1172, with the intrusion of the Lesser Armenian Kingdom of Sis 1080-1375 and the Crusaders). The crossing of the Arpa River (a.k.a. the modern Zamanti, see Honigmann, Oszmenez, 65-6), then in Armenian territory (biltēd al-ʿArman) until Adana (i, 379-80).

From Salduq times onwards Turkish tribes occasionally pushed into the Taurus region, occupying the yayla or summer pastures and valleys; the Ramaḏān-ḡullārī (q.v.) were later prominent here. Remnants of nomadic life have survived down to the recent past, and the ‘idās and popular poets (eṣnān) of the 19th century in this region were famous, including Dadaloghlu and Karadjaoghlan, singing of social tensions and of the natural beauties of the mountains and riverside.

The region and the geography of the river were forgotten in Mamlūk and Ottoman times, in spite of the continuing use of routes via the Cilician pass (Gülek Boğazı) and along parts of the Zāmāntī and its tributaries. Sayfī, who was born in Adana (Adana on the Sayhān, but not consistently, i, 333, 336-40, already like the Byzantine sources, see al-Māṣṣīṣ). Foreign travellers like Marco Polo in 1270, Bertrand de la Broquière 1432, Kāḥīb ʿCelbi, Paul arm of which is the Taurus Çayı, and into the sea at Deli Burnu. Avoiding the bad climate of the flood plain, the main harbour of the region, Mersīn (q.v.), lies 25 km/15 miles to the north. Health and agriculture have been greatly improved by the construction of the dam, though cotton production was known in the Cilician plain from the Middle Ages and, together with orchards, had already been organised on industrial lines under Mīšrīl ʿĪbrāhīm Pāša (mutasarrīf in Adana on behalf of Meḥmēned ʿAli 1833-40) and during the 1860s. The first railway connection of Adana with Mersīn was built in 1886. The only antique monument preserved along the river is the old bridge in Adana with 14 of its originally 21 arches still in use (length: 319 m/1,046 ft), erected under Hadrijān, with restorations, according to inscriptions and literary sources, in the 4th century, under Juṣṭiniān (Procopius, De aedific., 5 § 5); under al-Māḏī in 165/781-2; in 225/840; by Meḥmēned IV in 1072/1661-2 (Ewliyā ʿCelbi, i, 338); by ʿAḥmed III; twice in the 19th century; and in 1949. It is described in Dījār al-Walīd II (II), constructed between al-Māṣṣīṣ (on the Dijāhān) and Adana in 125/743 (al-Baladhūrī, 161-6), though the latter was situated on the western bank. But the region to the west of the Dijāhān remained a no-man’s-land between Arabs and Byzantines until the early ‘Aḥbasīd period, when under al-Māṣṣīṣ in 141 or 142/758-9 Adana was ‘founded’ (rebuilt) and populated by Khūrāsānīs, and in 165/781-2 a fort was begun next to the bridge by ʿḤārūn al-Rashīd as governor of the thughuq; according to another tradition the city was [re]established only in 194/809-10 (al-Baladhūrī, 166-7). The early history is retailed by Ibn al-ʿĀdīm (d. 660/1262, Bugāya, i, 169-71, also quoting several hadiths for identifying the Sayhān with that river of Paradise having water (against three others with honey, wine and milk), 389-92; cf. al-Maṣṣūdī, Marāḏī, i, 145 § 289, ii, 66 § 773; Hamd Allāḥ Mustawī, Nuzha, ed. Le Strange, 209, tr. 201-2, explicitly states that these rivers were intended, and not the parallel Sayhān and Dijāhūn of Transoxania). He adds valuable geographical and historical information on this region (Byzantine occupation, from the end of the 9th century until around 1172, with the intrusion of the Lesser Armenian Kingdom of Sis 1080-1375 and the Crusaders). The crossing of the Arpa River (a.k.a. the Zamanti, see Honigmann, Oszmenez, 65-6), then in Armenian territory (biltēd al-ʿArman) until Adana (i, 379-80).

From Salduq times onwards Turkish tribes occasionally pushed into the Taurus region, occupying the yayla or summer pastures and valleys; the Ramaḏān-ḡullārī (q.v.) were later prominent here. Remnants of nomadic life have survived down to the recent past, and the ‘idās and popular poets (eṣnān) of the 19th century in this region were famous, including Dadaloghlu and Karadjaoghlan, singing of social tensions and of the natural beauties of the mountains and riverside.

The region and the geography of the river were forgotten in Mamlūk and Ottoman times, in spite of the continuing use of routes via the Cilician pass (Gülek Boğazı) and along parts of the Zāmāntī and its tributaries. Sayfī, who was born in Adana (Adana on the Sayhān, but not consistently, i, 333, 336-40, already like the Byzantine sources, see al-Māṣṣīṣ). Foreign travellers like Marco Polo in 1270, Bertrand de la Broquière 1432, Kāḥīb ʿCelbi, Paul
Lucas 1706, Kinneir 1813 and Texier 1835, rarely mention more than the route stages and towns.


(C.P. Haase)

**Sâyîgh, Fath Allâh (1700-?),** still alive in 1847, son of Anthony, a Christian of the Latin rite who was a native of Aleppo and was the clerk, dragoman and biographer of Lascaris de Ventimille, Napoleon Bonaparte’s agent. In Lascaris’s company, he made a “commercial” tour through different French and English territories, and itineraries, resources and watering places, of unifying their tribes, of placing them under a single chief, of block the route to India for British commerce.

Sâyîgh and Lascaris left Aleppo on 18 February 1810. They succeeded in reaching Palmyra and in placing themselves under the protection of Muhannân Fâdîîl, the sha’îkh of the Hîsaana. But the policy of Muhannân’s elder brother, Nâsir, was contrary to Lascaris’s aims. The latter therefore set his sights on the ummî Duraîyî b. Shârîfân, the sha’îkh of the Kûwâlî [q.v.]. It was at that point that he revealed to his companion the journey’s real aim, and Sâyîgh henceforth threw all his energy into realising Lascaris’s projects.

The exploration of the deserts of the Arab East occupied the two of them for several years. Sâyîgh made by himself a journey to Dîribîyya [q.v.] in 1813, and the Odyssey only came to an end after Napoleon’s fall.

After Lascaris’s death at Cairo in 1817, the result of the British bombardment, the survivor Sâyîgh went back to his mother’s home in Lattakia, where he found a merchant and a woman to marry. He spoke with his friends about his numerous adventures and told them of a collection of notes which he had put together, at Lascaris’s request, during his life as a Bedouin. At the time of his travels in Syria, Alphonse de Lamartine became interested in Sâyîgh’s memoirs (written in a semi-dialectal Arabic, negotiated their rebellion against both the Turkish occupying power and also the Wahhâbîs, and of preparing the way for a French military expedition which would block the route to India for British commerce.

Sâyîgh’s poetry, which is devoid of rhyme and metre, comprises the following volumes: Thalâgîn kasîda (1954), al-Kasîda kif (1960) and Mu’llâlakat Tawfîq Sâyîgh (1963) (all of them reprinted in al-Madîmû’al-âsh’îyya, London 1990). His other writings include essays on Arabic and English literature and translations of English verse (e.g. 50 kasîda min al-shârî al-amîrîkî al-mu’âsîr, and T.S. Eliot, Rubâ’âyyât arba’sî (= Four Quartets), both London 1990).


(W. Stoetzer)

Sâyîmah, a town of mediaeval Persia, in what later became known as Luristan [q.v.], and the chief-lieu of the district of Mihrâjân-kâhdâsh. A tributary of the Kârkhân, which flows into the Kârin river [q.v.], is still today known as the Saymara.

The district passed peacefully into the hands of Abbâ Mustàsî al-Adârî’s Arab troops (al-Baladurî, Futûh, 507), and in mediaeval times prospered as a meeting-place of Arab and Persian tribes and was from the devastations of a severe earthquake in 258/872 (al-Tabarî, iii, 1872-3). The valley which comprised the district was fertile and could even produce dates, but by Hârd Allah Mustawî’s time (8th/14th century), Saymara was falling into ruins (which can still be seen today). A notable scholar and
humorist from the town was Abu 'l-Anbas al-Saymari, d. 275/888 [q.v. in ... The History of the Rulers of Kashgaria, a work of Mulla Musa ben Mulla Aysa, the Sayramite, edited by N.N. Pantusov"), Masadir Nahd al-balagha, judge in Ikhshidid Egypt. Abu Bakr Muhammad b.
deduce its nature, and it was probably a collection of "Words and speeches of khutbah"
Kaldm *~Alt wa-
existence of one of his works, the baldgha [q.v.]
and biographers like
Nahdj_ al-
ticular, al-Shanf al-Radi, compiler of the
unfortunately know very little.
All's discourses and letters. Following other writers
work is completely unknown to the older Arab
Ibn al-Nadlm (d. 438/1046), al-Nadjashl (d.
that he lived after al-Sharlf al-Radi and al-Tusi but
our knowledge, no more can be said.
Bibliography: In Suppl.]
AL-SAYRAFI, ABU 'L-ANBAS [see ABU 'L-
AL-SAYRAFI, MUHAMMAD B. BADR, a prominent judge in Ikhshidid Egypt. Abû Bakr Muhammad b.
Badr b. Abd Allâh (or 'Abd al-'Azîz) al-Sayrafi was born in Egypt in 264/877-8. His father was a client of
Umar al-Kindi, who had changed his name to Abu Badr al-Sayrafî. He was a money changer (jarrif) for whom Abu 'Umar al-Kindi composed his Kitâb al-Mawdlik. A Hanafi by madhhab and a reporter of traditions, al-Sayrafi studied under Abu Dja'far al-Taâbî as a Hanafi jurist and heard traditions from 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Baghwâi in Mecca and from other Meccan and Egyptian teachers. Ibn 'Asîkî briefly refers to al-Sayrafi in his Ta'rikh madinat Dimashq, stating that he stayed in Damascus for a while and transmitted hadith there, as well as in Egypt, on the authority of 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Baghwâi.
Al-Sayrafi held different judicial posts before succeeding to the judgeship of Egypt (kadîa 'Misir) under the Ikhshidids. For a while he was a deputy to Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. 'Abî 'Shawarîb, who had been designated as the chief judge of Egypt by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Radi. According to Ibn Hâdjâr al-Ashkâlânî, al-Sayrafi himself held the judgeship of Egypt on three occasions, from Sharâbîb 322/September 934 to Sharâbîb 324/July 936, and secondly from Dhū 'l-Hijjah 327/October 939 to Safar 329/December 940. Muhammad b. Tughdî al-Ikhshid appointed al-
Shawwâl 329/July 941, a post he held until his death in 'Abd al-Haqq (Turk. "Old Sayram") as an "old and great city", one day's journey in length, with 40 gates, inhabited by Muslim Turks. It is frequently noted in Timurid (Timur gave it to his grandson, Ulyug Beg, see Yezd, in the empire of the Uzbek Turks. For a while it was the principal town of the region, which was gradually increased in size by the rulers of the Yuan and Ming eras describe it as a well-populated Muslim town with extensive agriculture (see Bretschneider, Researches, for references). The agricultural productivity, based on irrigation canals, is remarked on by later Muslim authors as well (see Piskulina, Pishculina, for references). The area was described as a well-irrigated and Shayanbânid sources, with often-shifting overlordship according to the fortunes of war (Barthold, Hist. of the Semirechye).
Bibliography: 1. Sources. E. Bretschneider, Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources, i-ii, St. Petersburg, 1888; N. Elias (ed.) and E.D. Ross (tr.), A history of the Mughals of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat, London 1895; Mahmud Kashghan, Tarikh-i-i-ii, St. Petersburg, 1871; 2. Studies. W. Barthold, "The Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat, London 1895; Mahmud Kashghan, Tarikh-i-i-ii, St. Petersburg, 1871; 3. Sources. E. Bretschneider, Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources, i-ii, St. Petersburg, 1888; N. Elias (ed.) and E.D. Ross (tr.), A history of the Mughals of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat, London 1895; Mahmud Kashghan, Tarikh-i-i-ii, St. Petersburg, 1871; 2. Studies. W. Barthold, (V.V. Bartol'd), Akademîa V. V. Bartol'd do sovremennaya (Moscow 1967-77), 9 vols., in which see listing of Eurasian toponyms between "Talas" and "Ibir and Slblr" and cites it (i/1, 101) as one of the regions conquered by the legendary Oghuz Khan. He also mentions (i/1, 91) it as "Kârî Sayram" (Turk. "Old Sayram") as an "old and great city", one day's journey in length, with 40 gates, inhabited by Muslim Turks. It is frequently noted in Timurid (Timur gave it to his grandson, Ulyug Beg, see Yezd, in the empire of the Uzbek Turks. For a while it was the principal town of the region, which was gradually increased in size by the rulers of the Yuan and Ming eras describe it as a well-populated Muslim town with extensive agriculture (see Bretschneider, Researches, for references). The agricultural productivity, based on irrigation canals, is remarked on by later Muslim authors as well (see Piskulina, Pishculina, for references). The area was described as a well-irrigated and Shayanbânid sources, with often-shifting overlordship according to the fortunes of war (Barthold, Hist. of the Semirechye).
Bibliography: 1. Sources. E. Bretschneider, Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources, i-ii, St. Petersburg, 1888; N. Elias (ed.) and E.D. Ross (tr.), A history of the Mughals of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat, London 1895; Mahmud Kashghan, Tarikh-i-i-ii, St. Petersburg, 1871; 2. Studies. W. Barthold, (V.V. Bartol'd), Akademîa V. V. Bartol'd do sovremennaya (Moscow 1967-77), 9 vols., in which see listing of Eurasian toponyms between "Talas" and "Ibir and Slblr" and cites it (i/1, 101) as one of the regions conquered by the legendary Oghuz Khan. He also mentions (i/1, 91) it as "Kârî Sayram" (Turk. "Old Sayram") as an "old and great city", one day's journey in length, with 40 gates, inhabited by Muslim Turks. It is frequently noted in Timurid (Timur gave it to his grandson, Ulyug Beg, see Yezd, in the empire of the Uzbek Turks. For a while it was the principal town of the region, which was gradually increased in size by the rulers of the Yuan and Ming eras describe it as a well-populated Muslim town with extensive agriculture (see Bretschneider, Researches, for references). The agricultural productivity, based on irrigation canals, is remarked on by later Muslim authors as well (see Piskulina, Pishculina, for references). The area was described as a well-irrigated and Shayanbânid sources, with often-shifting overlordship according to the fortunes of war (Barthold, Hist. of the Semirechye).
SAYRAM — SAYYID

viii, 213-19; idem, Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale, Paris 1945; idem, History of the North-Western Semitic, written on the Syriac text of the towns of Kazakhstan of the XIV-XVII centuries); in B.A. Tulupaev (ed.), Srednevekovaya gorodskaya kul'tura Kazakhstana i Sredney Azii ("The medieval urban culture of Kazakhstan and Central Asia"); Alma-Ata 1983, 165-77; Ç. Valikhanov, Sobrannoe soevemennyi o jazyk tomakh (=coll. works in 5 volumes), Alma-Ata 1984-5.

SAY'UN (Arabic: SAY'yân, a town in Wadi Hadramawt [q. v.], situated about 16 km/10 miles east of Shibam [q. v.], and 24 km/15 miles west of Tarim [q. v.]). In approximate 480 km/300 miles north of the port of Hadramawt, al-Mukallâ (q. v.) (see H. von Wissmann (ed.), 1988, 335). Landberg, at the turn of the century (1913, 1820) discusses the spelling of the name, Sayʿûn and Saywûn, etc., concluding that the former is the more ancient spelling and that the ūn ending is Mahri (cf. names like Khu'dûn, Dammûn, Kaydûn etc.).

The area is famed for its fertility and, in particular, for its date growing. Although it has nothing like the renown of Tarim in this regard, some accounts of Sayʿûn mention the town as a centre of Islamic scholarship (hidrat 'ilm) (Ibrâhîm Ahmad al-Makbâfî, Muṣâqal al-bâlîd wa 'l-kabîr al-Yamaniyya, San'â 1988, 335). Landberg, at the turn of the century (1913, 160) writes of the temporary decline of Tarim as a centre of scholarship and religion with the closure of its school (ribaṭ) and the resultant rise of the discipline in Sayʿûn. Here a rich benefactor of the school, al-Ḥâbîb (the usual Hadrami title of a sayyîd) 'Alî al-Ḥâbîb al-ʿAlâwî, was its rector, providing for all the needs of poor students entirely free.

Sayʿûn, it should be said, is not of great antiquity. The name of the town appears along with the Kaṭhîrî sultans from about the 9th/10th century. They conquered Hadramawt from the east, from Zafār [q. v.] from where they originally hailed. The town continued in their hands and was the capital of the Katbîrî sultanate in 1967 when the British left the Aden Protectorates and independence was granted.


(G.R. SMITH)

SAYYID, SAI'd (a., pls. asy'd, sâda, sâdat, abstract nouns asy'da, sa'lda, etc.), originally, chief, e.g. of an Arab tribe, and then, in Islamic times, a title of honour for descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, being in this respect in many ways coterminous with the term ḥâfî." Sayyid was used in ancient South Arabian, where it appears as sā'ld "chieflain" (A.F.L. Beeston, etc., Sabac dictionary, Louvain-Beirut 1982, 129), but the root seems to be largely absent from North-Western Semitic, being only dubiously attested in Elephantine Aramaic (J. Holtzicker and K. Jongeling, Dictionary of the North-Western Semitic written in the Syriac texts of the towns of Kazakhstan of the XIV-XVII centuries), in B.A. Tulupaev (ed.), Srednevavekovaya gorodskaya kul'tura Kazakhstana i Sredney Azii ("The medieval urban culture of Kazakhstan and Central Asia"); Alma-Ata 1983, 165-77; Ç. Valikhanov, Sobranne soevemennyi o jazyk tomakh (=coll. works in 5 volumes), Alma-Ata 1984-5. (P.B. Golden)
his peers within the tribe, underpinned by his unflagging ability to preserve his people's fighting reputation and to secure pasture for its herds. Hence chiefship could often be a burden than a source of exploitation, reflected in the popular saying sayyid al-a'wam khadimuhum "the chief is the tribe's servant". 

Whether, as Chehloed surmised, the chief originally had a sacral role, one effaced by the advent of Islam, is uncertain, but in his function as tribal orator and spokesman one might conjecture an attribution of magical powers similar to those attributed to the ancient poets [see 4(5). 1. A.].


2. In Islamic socio-religious usage. See for this, Sharif, especially section 3.

Sayyid Hasan Ghaznavi, Abu '1-Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Husayn al-Ashraf, Persian poet who died presumably in 556/1161. He spent the greater part of his life in Ghazna as a panegyrist of the Ghaznavid Sultan Bahram Shāh (512-47/1118-52), to whose campaigns into India he dedicated several kasidas. During the latter's reign he made the Hadifad, in all probability a problem poems by this mamduh and intended as a search for a new one. Our oldest source on Hasan, the Persian polmalizm Zahir al-Dīn Abu '1 Hasan al-Bayhaqi [q.v.], mentions in his (Arabic) Lubāb an-nasīb (written in 555/1160) that he met the poet, who was on his way to Mecca, in Nihāyāt in 544/1149 (Mudarrisi-rādāwi, introd. to the Diwa'n, 357). During his journey he associated with members of the Saldjuk dynasty: he mourned their death in a tardi4-band (in 546/1151) and dedicated a kasida to the accession to the throne of Malik Shāh III (in 547/1152). After this journey he seems to have resided in Khurāsān at the court of Sandjar. Following Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz in 555/1160 (in addition to references in the article), he composed rubā'iyāt. The kasidas are mostly wasf, and more than half of them lack a tashi and begin directly with the muddāb. A large part of the remaining kasidas, whose campaigns into India he dedicated, is a description of spring and taghazzul. Some kasidas, however, stand out both by subject matter and quality. Memorable are no. 57, a complaint kasida with the title safr al-adamīr, no. 59, which echoes a kasida by Mas'ud-i Sa'd-i Salmān [q.v.] combining complaint with fakhūr, and no. 60, an ascetic kasida. In no. 72, a sawgund-nāma ("oath-poem"), the poet tries to repudiate an accusation. Some kasidas have long passages devoted to wasaf. A case in point is the original no. 46, which has a description of fourteen lines of the eyes, which leads to a gurīzgāh where the gaze is oriented towards the mamduh. Other examples are the description of the night in nos. 62 (as well as of the horse) and 67 (with separate attention to each of the planets). Already in 1958 Braginski paid attention to the ghażalīyyāt of Hasan. More than a third of them end with a panegyrical dedication; in this he follows Mas'ud-i Sa'd-i Salmān and Mu'izzī [q.v. and prefigures his later contemporary Sanā'ī and ultimately Ḥāfiz.


Sayyid al-Ḥimyārī, Abu Ḥāṣim Ḥusayn, b. Muhammad b. Yaẓīd b. Rābīh b. Ṣafar, a Shīʿī poet and a grandson of the poet Ibn Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyārī [q.v.]. He was born to Ibadī parents about 105/723, grew up in Baṣra, and died in Baghdad or Wāsiṭ between 173/789 and 179/795. At a young age, he adopted with great fervour the doctrine of the Kaysāniyya [q.v.], believing in the imāmate and occultation of Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [q.v. and his return as the Mahdi [q.v.]. Twelve Shīʿī authorities, both mediaval and modern, claim that the book of Islam is divided into ten parts (sajir al-nāma), but the proof-stories they cite are anachronistic, contradictory, or legendary, and his tajjalas poems have been judged of old as forgeries. Despite his well-known Kaysāni Shīʿī beliefs, though, he maintained good relations with the ʿAbbasid caliphs al-Saffāh, al-
Al-Sayyid Al-Himyari

Mansür, al-Mahdi and al-Rashid, whose praises he sang and whose gifts he accepted. Al-Sayyid is considered a leading and prolific muhâdîq poet of the class of Baghîšar b. Burd and Abu Ṭāṭîhya Ḥaqq. Although several known people (including four daughters) transmitted his poems, no one could collect them all, due to their large number—allegedly over 2,300. Of these, only 221 poems and fragments have survived; and, of the many books written about his akhbâr, only one is extant also. Clearly, his poetry was shunned very early, since it contained vehement invectives against the Companions, the Prophet's wives, and the enemies of the Shi'îs, notably the Umayyads. Most of his poetry praises the Banû Ḥâshim and recounts Ḥâli's virtues and extraordinary exploits. Though this poetry is generally lyrical, melodious, easy-flowing, and idiosyncratically narrative in style, Al-Sayyid's most tender are perhaps his Kaysanî poems, depicting Ibn al-Hanâfiyya's state and his long-awaited return to earth. These latter poems have been a major source for the modern Muslim Sunnîs on the Kaysaniyya and have often been attributed to the earlier Kaysani poet, Kuthayyir Ḥazza. [q.v.]


Sayyid Kūṭb, Ibrahim Husayn Shaḥdîlî, Egyptian writer, prominent member of the Muslim Brotherhood and main ideologue of modern Muslim Sunnî fundamentalism, born 9 October 1906 in Maṣāh near Asyût, executed 29 August 1966 in Cairo.

Life. In 1920 Sayyid Kūṭb moved from his native village to Cairo for his secondary education. From 1929 till 1933 he studied at Dâr al-Ui'm. He worked as a teacher for approximately six years, became a functionary in the Ministry of Education (Wizârat al-Ma'ârîf), and was sent on an educational mission to the United States where he spent two years. He returned to Egypt in August 1941.

Sayyid Kūṭb joined the Muslim Brotherhood [see al-Irshāwâl al-Muslimîn] probably only after his return from the United States. The exact date on which he joined is still disputed. It is usually assumed that he became a Brotherhood member in 1951.

In October 1952 he left the Ministry of Education after nineteen years of service. When the July 1952 revolution took place, he was in close contact with the Free Officers. He served, so we are told by several sources, as the cultural adviser to the leaders of the revolution. Nevertheless Sayyid Kūṭb parted with the new leaders because of ideological differences, for he believed that Islam should serve as the basis for the new Egyptian régime.

He became the editor of the newspaper of the Muslim Brotherhood just before he was arrested for the first time, together with the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood, in early 1954, and remained behind bars for three months.

His second arrest took place on 26 October 1954 in the wake of the Manṣûhyya incident, supposedly an attempt to assassinate the then President, Djamâl Ţâbî al-Nâṣîr [q.v. in Suppl.], in Alexandria's Manṣûhyya Square. In 1955 he was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

Thanks to mediation by the Irâkî president Ţâbî al-Sâlâm Ārif, Sayyid Kūṭb was released from prison in 1964. Sayyid Kūṭb's first and last volume of poetry appeared in 1964 he published his Maşâ'im fi 'l-tarîkh, "Landmarks". In this book he accuses present Muslim societies of being not Islamic but gâhîî. This word originally simply means "pre-Islamic", but in this new context it has no limitations to a period but means first of all "pagan", "barbaric", "anti-Islamic", "vicious" and "wicked". The accusation of being gâhîî implies apostasy from Islam, which is punishable by death.

On 9 August 1965, Sayyid Kūṭb was arrested again. He was accused of attempting to assassinate Djamâl Ţâbî al-Nâṣîr, of treason, and of planning a coup d'état. His trial was presided over by the notorious military judge Fu'ad al-Dîdîwî who, in the words of Gilles Kepel, "offered the accused all the guarantees of fairness characteristic of a military court in a dictatorial state trying defendants broken by torture." Sayyid Kūṭb was sentenced to death on 21 August 1966 and executed one week later.

Autobiographical writings. Two of Sayyid Kūṭb's novels are generally believed to be largely autobiographical: Thorns, 1947, and Ashwârî, 1946. In the same year his novel Shâri'a, published under the title al-Mâkhtûl al-mashura, appeared. Moreover, several letters, autobiographical articles, and court or police proceedings have been preserved.


Writings on Islam. Ideas. Sayyid Kūṭb's most important work is without doubt his commentary on the Kûr'ûn, Al-Muṣâra', literally "the shadows of the Kûr'ûn", in 30 volumes. When Sayyid Kūṭb was arrested in 1954, 16 volumes had appeared. The remaining volumes were written from prison, with Shaykh Muhammad al-Ġâzialî acting as government-appointed censor.

In 1960, a revised edition of this commentary
started to appear. Volume xiii of the revised edition (up to sura XIV) appeared in 1964. Arrest and execution preempted the revised edition, from being completed. It is this revised edition which is often characterised as tafsir haraki "activist exegesis".

In the general introduction to this commentary, the layman Sayyid Kutb carefully explains that he "had heard God speaking to [him] in this Qur'an", even though his training had been literary, non-theological, and even though he had never been a recognised Aq حارث "activist exegesis".

There is, however, more to fundamentalism than a mere rejection of modernity. The non-fundamentalist Şüftis, as well as other groups, equally reject modernity, but they do not accept the grave political consequences which the fundamentalists attach to this rejection.

Amongst the collections of articles that appeared as separate books under the name of Sayyid Kutb, Maar'ākatun maṣa'ī 'l-Yahud, "Our struggle with the Jews", deserves individual mention. The essay which gave this volume its title was probably written in 1950-1. In its present form, it contains footnotes referring to the spurious document known as The Protocols of the elders of Zion that were added in 1970 by a Saudi editor, one Zayn al-Dīn al-Rakkabl. There is an English translation of the essay by Ronald L. Neiter, including an elaborate introduction and commentary, see Bibl. below.

A complete list of Sayyid Kutb's writings can be found in Salah 'Abd al-Fatrāt al-Khālidī, 1991, 517-80. This valuable list supplies ample information on the origins, first date of appearance, reprints etc. of Sayyid Kutb's articles and books.


campaigns against the Khokars and face the revolt of the sons of Sayyid Sallm (Shawwal 833/June-July 1430). In Djuumâd II 834/February-March 1431, he had to deal with the incursion of Shaykh Allâ of Kabul.

On 9 Rajjab 837/19 February 1434, Sultan Mubârak Shâh was assassinated when he was preparing to go for his Friday prayers. During the 17 years of his reign, he had to undertake ceaseless military operations in Katehr, Mêwât and the north-eastern region, and had to deal with rebellious maliks in and around the capital. Corrupt and treacherous officers added to his problems. When Jâhâr died, he left his son to his entire charge. His administrative shortcomings apart, he was (as Firâghta says) a "cultured prince".

Immediately on his father's death, Muhammad Shâh (son of Farid b. Khîdr) ascended the throne "with the assent of the amirs, maliks, imams, Sayyids, grandees, people, 'ulamâ and the kâtids" ('T.-i Mubârâk-Shâh, 256). The next day he called the high amirs and slaves of Muhammad, who enjoyed the privilege of the mahi marâdî (fish banner), on the pretext of giving bayât (allegiance), and had some of them killed and put others in confinement; he thus brought many of the regicides to book. At a time when anarchical tendencies were getting out of control, some 'ulamâ and amirs invited Mahmûd I Khâldî [q.v.] from Malâvâ. In utter distress, Muhammad Shâh sent for Bahlûl Lodî and his troops from Shâmâna. The stern battle of the first day convinced Mahmûd that the conquest of Dîhilî would not be an easy task. He therefore readily accepted Muhammad Shâh's proposal for peace and turned back. When he was on his return journey, Bahlûl Lodî plundered some of his equipage. Pleased at this, Muhammad Shâh addressed Bahlûl officially as his son.

In 845/1441 Muhammad Shâh handed over Dipalpûr and Lahore to Bahlûl and commissioned him to chastise Qajarâkh Khôlăr. But Bahlûl turned hostile and marched against Dîhilî. This undermined the position of Muhammad Shâh, whose nobles "even within twenty karâhs of Dîhilî" turned against him. On Muhammad Shâh's death in 847/1443, his son 'Alâî al-Dîn 'Alâm Shâh was raised to the throne. According to Abu 'l Fadl, he "possessed no share of rectitude and abandoned himself to licentious gratifications" (ii, 313). On his accession, attacks on the central authority and the disloyal attitude of the nobles created a difficult situation for him. In 1448 he abandoned Dîhilî and settled in Bâdâ'ûn, where earlier he had lived as governor. Bahlûl Lodî took possession of Dîhilî but allowed him to rule over Bâdâ'ûn till his death (883/1478). Subsequently, Sultan Husayn Shârîf integrated Bâdâ'ûn into his kingdom of Djuwpârûn. Families which traced their origin to him were known in Bâdâ'ûn as Khârdh-Khânî Sayyids (Fadl Akrâm Sidîkî, 'Alâî al-Dîn Bâdâ'ûnî, 1915, 70).

Emerging as the principality of Mûltân, the Sayyid dynasty ended as the principality of Bâdâ'ûn. Looked at in the context of the Dîhilî Sultanate, the Sayyid dynasty forms a watershed in the history of mediaeval India, indicating a stage in the dismemberment of centralised monarchy. Its rulers were devoid of any ideal of establishing an empire; their political vision was confined to a radius of some 200 miles round Dîhilî. Their writ worked only from "Dîhilî to Pâlam" (az Dîhilî tâ Pâlam), as the saying went. They undertook innumerable punitive campaigns but these were mainly directed against their own maliks. There was neither administrative coordination nor uniformity in the areas under their control. Even in the agrarian sphere there was "diversity of practice in assessment and collection" (Moreland, 67). Group assessment seems to have gained ground at the expense of Sharîf or Medieval. In reality the Sayyid kingdom of Dîhilî—with their nebulous title of rûşâjat or râshid were nothing more than glorified iṣkâdî-dârs and, as Tripathi has remarked, "were never seriously considered as sovereign rulers". Their political outlook, their theory of kingship, and even their ethnic origin, was born of the exigencies of the situation. The numismatic evidence on which E. Thomas and Nelson Wright based their conclusions about inscriptions on the Sayyid currency is not borne out by information recorded by Bihâmid Khânî and other Persian chroniclers. According to Bihâmid Khânî, the orders of Shâh Rûkh were enforced here for about 40 years. Robes of honour and standards were received from Harât, while the sikka (currency) was issued and the khotâb was recited in the name of Timûr and his son. It appears from the Ta'rîkh-i Muhammadi and the Maţa' al-sa'dîyân that the Sayyid rulers regularly paid allegiance to them. Muhammad Shâh's claim to be 'Ali b. Amîr al-Mu'mînîn should be interpreted in the context of Shâh Rûkh's "ambition of being recognised as Khaïla and overlord of other Muslim princes" (Arnold, The Caliphate, 12).

Despite all the political turmoil and unstable conditions that prevailed in their shrunken kingdom, the Sayyid rulers displayed a keen interest in the founding of new cities. Khîdr Khân founded Khîdrâbâd and Mubârak Shâh Mubârâkshâb on the banks of the Djuumâd (Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khân, Aghâr al-sa'âdât, ed. Khâlid Andjâm, Delhi 1990, i, 102). No archaeological remains of these cities have survived. 'Alâî al-Dîn is said to have populated A'âptûr in the Bâdâ'ûn district (Râjî al-Dîn Bismîl, Kamâ al-tâ'rikh, Bâdâ'ûnî 1907, 232). He laid out a pleasure garden also (Mansûrî, Aghâr wa'dayyî-i girdîr-i Bâdâ'ûnî, Agra 1338/1920, 25). The architecture of the Sayyid period is, however, expressive of dissolution. Only the tombs of the period have survived; it has been rightly designated as the Makbara architecture. According to Percy Brown, 26, "in the course of time the country around the capital was converted into a vast necropolis". More than fifty tombs of considerable size and importance belonged to noble. No large congregational mosques were built during this period. The architecture of Bâdâ'ûn is best typified by the Sayyid currency, 'Aghâr al-sa'âdât, Ta'rîkh-i Mubârâk-Shâhî, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1931; Mir Khâ'and, Rawdat al-sa'âfî, Lucknow 1270/4-1853-7; Hindû Shâh, called Firishta, Ta'rîkh-i Firishta, Nawal Kishore 1281/1864-5; Sharaf al-Dîn Yâzdi, Zafr-nâma, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1885-8, ii; Haydar b. Abu 'l Ali Ewoghlu, Mânîsâ al-îmâhî B.L. Or., 3482, fols. 38a-39a; Nizâm al-Dîn, Tabâkât-i Akhârî, i, Calcutta 1927; Bihâmid Khânî, Ta'rîkh-i Muhammadi, B.L. Or., fol. Kâhî 312a; Abu 'l Fadl, 'Aqîn-i Akhârî, tr. H. Blochmann, delhi 1989, ii, 312; 'Abd al-Kâdir Bâdâ'ûnî, Munṭakâbb al-tawârîkh, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1864-9; 'Abd al-Razzâk Samarakandi, Maţa' al-sa'dîyân, ed. M. Shâfî, Lahore 1940-9; Khûurâshâ b. Kubâd al-Husayni, Ta'rîkh-i Khojî, ed. S.M.H. Zâidi, Delhi 1963, 186-7.

SAYYIDS — SAZ


(K.A. NIZAMI)

SAZ, Ottoman form säz, the Turkish lute. Säz, with various meanings in Persian, including "musical instrument" in general, may be applied to stringed instruments (the qı̄dr in Ağaţbarbı̄yın, the vı̄sıl, sגרd, in Balı̄çı̄stān), to wind instruments (the ṭı̄n̄ar in Persia) or to the musical band itself; in effect, in Balı̄çı̄stān (where the local language often reflects the ancient stages of Persian), this word also means the tuning of instruments.

If in Turkey säz still denotes, in a rural environment, any musical instrument, the term is generally applied to the lute with a long neck and a semi-pyramidal body, with three groups of strings comprising two or three strings, and this has become over the course of the 20th century a real symbol of national unity.

1. History and structure of the instrument.

There are representations of lutes with long necks on Akkadian cylinder seals of the third millennium B.C. The same type of instrument was spread, in the second millennium B.C., all over western Asia and Egypt. Later, there are Byzantine pictures of long-necked lutes (pandoura), attesting the presence of such instruments in Anatolia before the Turkish conquest. The question of the origin of these lutes can be discussed at length, but it is clear that, although such stringed instruments may have existed in Western Asia before the Turks' arrival, it nevertheless seems that the Oğuz brought into Asia Minor their own lute, the ancestor of the present säz, with the name of kopuz. In descriptions of the 14th-15th centuries A.D. (in Yûnus Emre and the Ded Korkut epics), it seems to have been a lute with three strings, with a long neck and a sound-board of hide. The present form of the säz could thus be the result of a synthesis between the autochthonous, Anatolian instrument and the Turkish kopuz.

In our time, the säz has several names, corresponding to different sizes respectively; thus, in increasing order, curo (between 50 and 70 cm), curo-bağlama or tambara (ca. 95 cm), bağlama (ca. 110 cm), bozuk (115-20 cm), divan säz (130 cm) and meydan säz (140 cm or more). The length of the neck compared with the sound is such that one can play an octave and a fourth. One should mention a sound-board variant, originally from eastern Turkey and Ağarbarbı̄yın, characterised by a shorter neck (an octave + a tone) and with a total length of about 100 cm; this is called curo-bağlama or divan säz. It is also possible that the most archaic säz may be the little curo with three strings, called in the western parts üçeti baglama or kopuz, and by the nomads of the Taurus, bulgarı.

Each fret is a nylon thread (in former times a piece of gut or a copper thread), wrapped three times round the neck and tied at the back; this may be the origin of another name currently used for the säz, sc. baglama (from baglamak "to attach").

The strings, of metal since the 18th century, are in origin two (şītelı̄, corresponding to the Persian doṭır) or three (şītelı̄, şı̄telı̄, şı̄telı̄). On the biggest säz, the cords are doubled or triples in unison, in order to increase the dynamic or to create sympathetic resonances (dürtelı̄, altetelı̄, etc.). At the present time there is a deep-toned threaded string, tuned to an octave. The strings at the top and at the base are of a similar trim (.18 or .20 mm), and that or those of the middle is/are lower (.30 mm). In our context, we shall speak about the lower, middle or top string in the singular, even though a group of strings may be involved.

2. Evolution and playing techniques.

It is important to distinguish instruments of rural origin from those of musical instrument workshops of the towns. The latter, meant for playing in all styles, have 24 frets and can sometimes claim the same perfection as the classical lutes. A säz made by a peasant or nomad, with 10 to 18 frets, will be adapted to a more rapid, popular style.

In the countryside, the säz is still played with the fingers, with trimmed finger nails; with one finger, or with rasgueados; but a plectrum may also be used, now made of a piece of plastic with an equivalent flexibility.

The different sizes of instruments, the placing of the frets and the numerous strings of the three groups display the main traits of the Anatolian musical system. At the outset, the longer the instrument, the more the left hand is forced to make long movements, played on the first string, with the other strings acting as a drone. The säz is in this case essentially a monodic instrument, subordinated to the voice which it accompanies. If it is of small or medium size, it will be played on the three strings; the slenderness of the neck allows in effect the thumb to block the upper string, whilst the other fingers press indifferently the lower or middle string. If the hand grips round the neck, the third finger may even press the upper string at the same time as the thumb. From this there results the possibility of varying the drones and of producing chords of three sounds, so that the art of the rural säz is often characterised by a tendency to polyphony, which sustains an invariably monodic melody.

As many as 14 different tunings (diōnten) of the säz are enumerated. The ones most used today are:

(from top to bottom)
G-D-A (kara dioun or bozuk dioun)
E-D-A (asyk dioun or bağlama dioun)

The first allows all the modes of rural Anatolian music to be played, and leaves the choice between several base notes (A, G, B or D). For this reason, it is considered as the most suitable to represent the logical and systematic coherence put forward by the teachers in the conservatories of traditional music in contemporary Turkey. The second, the tuning of the minstrels (ışık [see ışık], is more limited since it only allows one base note (E), but is nevertheless very esteemed, and considered as more "hot" (yanık). Since the base note is situated on the middle string, the polyphonic tendency mentioned above is displayed there necessarily, in the shape of chords of parallel fifths very characteristic of minstrels' art.

Other tunings are used in the countryside, and are called domino modes, and are practiced either in a special region (e.g. misket dioun, G-F-D-A, in the region of Ankara) or by a group (e.g. abdal dioun, G-A-A, characteristic of the Abdal Turkmen).

3. Ideology and society.

In present-day Turkey, after the coming of modern ways of transmitting music—radio, tape recorder—
and taking into account the more frequent movements of population and migration to the big towns, several practices of the saz exist together.

Despite the change brought about by modern life, for marriage celebrations, saz musicians of the village, knowing the traditional and local repertoire, are still resorted to. They often play in small groups e.g. saz, viol and a wind instrument. They are gradually being replaced by youths playing the urban repertoire on an electric saz.

The saz, then, continues to accompany the singing of the aşık or açaç [q.v.]. These poet-musicians come either from the mainly Sunni regions of Kars and Erzurum, or from the Alevi-Bektashi communities of the Sivas and Erzincan regions. In this latter case, internal emigration, to Istanbul or Ankara, or external, to Germany, has perpetuated the tradition of the aşık, which owes its popularity in the urban milieu to the political echoes of the texts of the songs, as expressions of a minority often persecuted in Ottoman history, and to a social ideal and art of living. Furthermore, the saz is the essential instrument for the ceremony of the Alevi sama‘ [q.v.]. For all these reasons, it has become the main symbol of Alevi culture, in contemporary Turkey and in the diaspora, in the form of the şörgü tuned according to the baglama or ask düzi.

In addition to these practices, of a local or religious nature, since the first years of the Republic there has come into being a national music, whose diffusion has been assured by the Turkish radio and the state conservatories. The repertoire is collected from all the provinces of Turkey and interpreted by orchestral groups using traditional instruments. In this framework, the saz embodies the national identity in more than one way: at the outset by its suitability for representing all the regional styles; then by the fixness of its system fretting and the proportions which determine its making; and finally, by the inherent system and logic in learning the practice of the saz and often underlined by its teachers, these last give pride of place to the kara düzi, in fifths, assimilated to the ‘rational’ order. From this point of view, one can say that the two tunings mentioned above are seen today as entailing two distinct ideological contents: the baglama düzi is associated with the voice of the aşık, to despite the change brought about by the heterodoxy of Bektashism [see Bektashiyya], or even with social confrontation, in the eyes of official circles, who set up against it the ‘secret’ baglama tuned according to the aşık düzi.

After his death, Sebük'tigin acquired a reputation amongst the Ghaznavids as the just ruler, amir-ı Çatiil, but little of his real personality in fact emerges from the sources.

Bibliography: For the sources, see Bosworth, Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1041), in IQ, viii (1965), and for the Pand-nama, M. Nazim, The Pand-Nämah of Subuk'tigin, in JRASt (1953), 605-28. Of studies, see Barthold, Turkestân düzen to the Mongol invasion, 261-5; M. Nazim, The life and times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, Cambridge: 1931, 28-33; Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, 36-44.

SAGEHATNAME [see SAFDR].
SEGBAN [see Suppl.].
SEGSTAN [see SİSTAN].
SEGOVIA [see SAYABÜYÜSYA].
SEGU or Segou, a town of the present Mali, situated on the banks of the Niger and the historic capital of the Bambara kingdom of Segu from the 18th century onwards, and then of the empire of al-Hâdjji 'Umar.

There exist four villages with the name Segu, all on the river’s right bank, at more than 200 km/124 miles to the north-east of Bamako. These are, from upstream to downstream, over a distance of a dozen or more kilometres, Segu (the village of agricultural cultivation), Segu-Kura (“new Segu”) and Segu-Sikoro, transformed into a royal residence by Ngolo Jarra (ca. 1750-87).

It was around 1710 that Biton Mamari Kulibali asserted his power, as war leader and founder of a new system of authority, over the Bambara peoples, who were sedentaries, animists and users of the Mandingo language, of this part of the Niger valley. Having become the leader of a group of young men, all of the same age band (ton), he built up his power through the extensive acquisition of slaves from all origins, who became “slaves of the ton” (ton jon). In this way, a centralised, military state, based on Segu, developed, which spread out in all directions. Over two centuries, two dynasties succeeded each other at the head of this empire, the Kulibali and the Jarra.

The basic social institution of the Bambara empire of Segu was the ton jon or group of subject persons, who made up the army and a good part of the bureaucracy. Through loyal service and acts of bravery, certain jon could attain to positions of command. It was these ton jons who, in the middle of the 18th century, exterminated the Kulibali family and raised to power one of their own number, Ngolo Jarra, founder of the new dynasty.

The bases of Segu’s prosperity rested on the lasting
alliance between an industrious (cotton, indigo, food production) Bambara peasantry, the military régime of the "ton jon", who accumulated captives and booty, and the Marka, a specialist Muslim merchant group, who lived in the coastal towns and engaged in international trade and other commercial operations. The Bambara themselves were strongly attached to animist cults (the dynasty protected a whole network of temples and priests), but tolerated the practice of Islam in the quarters of the town enclaves of the Marka.

At the approach of al-Hadžić ʿUmar, in the midst of the 19th century, the ruler of the time, Bina ʿAli Qarra, tried in vain to ally with the Dina of Măsina, the neighboring Islamized Fulani town. Al-Hadžić ʿUmar entered Segu on 26-7 Şebābīn 1277/9-10 March 1861, and proceeded immediately to the gathering-together of all the idols and their destruction. Designated as ḥalīfa by his father, Ahmad (Abūd al-Kabīr), ʿUmar's son, took over the succession on his father's death in 1864. It was at this time (1864-6) that the French traveller Mage lived in Segu, of which he has left a lively and well-informed description, estimating the population of Segu-Sikoro at that time at 10,000 persons. Ahmad al-Kabir reigned in this town for almost thirty years, at grips with the opposition of some of his brothers and with the conquered population. In this same period, the French advanced progressively from Senegal. On 6 April 1890 Colonel Archinard entered Segu, whilst Ahmadu fled eastwards. In the course of the ensuing months, Archinard sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris—which has preserved them ever since—the rich library of al-Hadžić ʿUmar and of Ahmad.


(J.-L. Traïaud)

SEHĪ BEY, Ottoman poet and biographer of poets of the 10th/16th century, b. 874/1470-1 and died 955/1548-9.

1. Life.

His original name is unknown, and the historian ʿAli dubbed him "Abd Allāh" and considered him as stemming from the Dewshirmé (q.v.). He was certainly from Edirne and a close associate of the poet Negdārī Bey (d. 914/1508-9 [q.v.]), also from that town. Already when Bāyezīd's son Mahmidd (d. 913/1507) was appointed governor of Manisa, Sehī was the companion of Negdārī and several other poets in the Prince's entourage (see Latifi, Tedhkire, Istanbul 1314, 196, 329; ʿAghīl Čelebi, ed. Meredith Owey Lorenzo, Londres 1978, fol. 130b-131a; ʿ Ālāʾ b. Abū ʿAllāh Muḥīyy al-Dīn Abī Ḥajar al-Dīnī, Istanbul 1325, 76, 41; Fāʾīl Resḥād, Tedhkire-yi Sehī, ed. Mehmed Şūrki, Istanbul 1325, 76, 41; Günay Kut, Hest bihišt, the Tedhkire by Sehī Beg. An analysis of the first biographical work on Ottoman poets, with a critical edition based on Ms. Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 0. 3544, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 5, Cambridge Mass. 1978, pp. 423, at p. 1).

Through a misunderstanding of ʿAlī's Kānī al-ālāʾ (Ewdšt Čelebi) wrongly states that Sehī was Negdārī Bey's son-in-law, and that he married Negdārī's daughter in order to lay claims to his poems after Negdārī's death (Seyhān-nâmē, Istanbul 1314, i, 343, 347), a mistake later repeated by F. Babinger in his E̱1. Art.; it was corrected by Resḥād, in op. cit., 316, see also Akūn, op. cit., and Kut, op. cit., 2. Also, Babinger, following Leunclavius and Şevket-i ʿOthmānī, iii, 115, also wrongly states, according to Akūn and Kut, that Sehī was the Secretary (kā̄bi) of Bāyezīd's youngest sons Mehmed, and accompanied this last to Kaffa [q.v.], where he became for a time sandjak beg; most sources, however, connect Sehī with Prince Mahmidd and Manisa (see above). Sehī's close connection with Negdārī continued till the latter's death, and on Sehī's own tomb is a chronogram couplet of his mourning Negdārī's death (see Akūn and Kut).

Later, Sehī served as a secretary to the prince Süleymān in Manisa and also with the latter at Edirne when Süleymān was commander there for Rumelia. After Süleymān's accession as sultan, Sehī recalled in his poems former favours no longer vouchsafed, but he seems in fact, from other poems, to have remained in favour with the royal family, and held office in the Morea [see mora]. Finally, he served as administrator (müātevvel) of various "mâres" in Edirne and Ergene, dying at the former place; while it was acting as an administrator of a waqf there he wrote his Tedhkire (see below).

2. Works.

Encouraged by the Kādī ʿAshker Muḥiyī al-Dīn Čelebi Feniārī [see FENARI-ZADE], Sehī put together his poems into a disvān, the unique ms. of which is in Paris, B.N. suppl. turc 360. This contains kāsai̇s, ghazals and other lesser genres of poetry, but Sehī does not seem to have been considered in his own time as a noteworthy poet. This may explain why he is hardly quoted in the anthologies of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries and why only one ms. of his disvān survives. On the basis of chronograms in some poems, Akūn concluded that Sehī completed the collection between 942/1535 and 944/1537. The dedicates of his poems include the sultans from Bāyezīd II to Süleymān and a large number of Grand Viziers, and it seems that there are two sections to his Tedhkire (q.v.) and two to Şafi dedes, indicating a possible connection of Sehī with a dervish order.

Sehī's real fame sprang from his Tedhkire, finished in 945/1538 and called Ḥeṣb bihišt “Eight paradises”, the first literary biographical work in Ottoman literature (for detailed discussion, see Kut, op. cit., 17-18). Sehī states in his preface that he followed the examples of the collections of biographies by Djāmī, Dāwūdat Şāhā and ʿAllā Shīr Nēwā, and following their example, divided his own work into eight tabākas. These include (1) the life of Sultan Süleymān; (2) the other sultans and the princes who wrote poetry; (3) high officials like viziers, nīshāngīs, etc.; (4) poems from the ʿulmā'; (5) the poets who had died by the time Sehī was writing (for which he seems to have gathered his own research; he has valuable details about early poets such as Ahmedī [see AHMDĪ], Ahmed-i Dāvī and Şevket-i [q.v.]); (6) poets whom Sehī knew personally in his youth, some still alive; (7) his contemporaries and the newcomers (including two poetesses); (8) young and talented poets who had just started on their careers. An epilogue eulogises Sultan Süleymān.

Following his Persian and Çaghatay Turkish
SEHI BEY — SELANİK

predecessors, Sehi gives concise information about his poets, with full details of names and education, but rarely giving dates of birth or death; he then ends with selections from his subject's poetry. This procedure was adopted as a model by future biographers. His work is the best preserved of the genre; for shortly afterwards came the similar works of Latifi, ‘Ashik Celebi and several others.

There exist 18 mss. of the Tekhirké scattered through the library collections of Turkey and Europe (see Kut, 12-14). Ms. Ayasofya 3544 is the basis for Kut's edition; it was probably presented to Sultan Süleyman and was subsequently owned by Prince Mehmed. An earlier printed copy was published by Mehmed Şükrü, İstanbul 1325-1907, with the title Akhri-i eslaban tekhir-yi Sehi (but his printed version contains only 218 poets, see Kut, 12-14), to which is appended a study on Sehi by Fâik Reghâd; this print was based on ms. Millet, Ali Emiri, Tarih 768, copied by ‘Ali Emiri himself. Finally, the Tekhir was translated into German by Necati Lugul and O. Reşer as Sehi Bey’s Tézkere, Türkische Dichtenbiographien aus dem 16. Jahrh., Tübingen 1942. Kut's critical edition is based on six mss.; see her Heth bihişet and also her Heth Bihişet in yeni bir nüshâ ve bir dâzîme, in Jnl. of Turkish Studies, vii (1984), 243-301. In recent years, Dr. Muğan Cumbur and a group of scholars have been working on a serial edition of all Ottoman biographical works, starting with Sehi’s.

Bibliography: Given in the article. For the older bibl., see F. Basinger's EF art. (G. A. Tekin)

SELÂNLİK (v.), the Ottoman Turkish term for the outer, more public rooms of a traditionally-arranged house, used e.g. for the reception of guests and non-family members; it thus contrasted with the inner rooms which constituted the harem or harem for the womenfolk. The term selânlîk dârâsî is also found. A further use of the word selânlîk is in the expression selânlîk âdâyî to denote the sultan’s ceremonial procession from the palace to the mosque for Friday worship, a practice kept up by the Ottomans up to and including Mehmed V Reghâd [q.v.] in the second decade of the 20th century.

Bibliography: Pakalin, iii, 153-5. (Ed.)

SELÂNLIK, the Ottoman Turkish name for classical and early Byzantine Thessalonike, modern Greek Thessaloniki, conventional form Salonica; the largest city of Macedonia, on the gulf of the same name, to the east of the Vardar river mouth. The city has always possessed a large and secure port, which was then linked to Constantinople only by sea. Ottoman activity in the area began under Murad I, with nomads from the western Anatolian principality of Saruhan [q.v.] settling in the area. Ottoman forces once conquered the city, but returned it to the Emperor John V Palaeologus; Yildırım Bayezid conquered it in 1369, but after his defeat and capture in the battle of Ankara (804/1402), his son Süleyman returned it to the Byzantines (805-6/1403). Many details of this sequence remain unclear. However, after the siege of Constantinople by Murad II in 826/1423, the governor of Thessaloniki, Andronikos Palaeologos, sold the city, which then supposedly held about 40,000 inhabitants, to the Venetians. While the sultan recognised this transfer in the capitulations granted to the Venetians in 830-1/1428, in 833/1430 he conquered the city nonetheless. In the meantime, many inhabitants had abandoned the city because of the prevailing insecurity. Johannes Anagnostos, a Byzantine chronicler, has left a detailed account of these events. He claims that 7,000 persons, including himself, were taken prisoner. Yet in some cases, the sultan himself paid the ransoms of the captives and promised that those who had fled the city would have their properties restored in case they returned. Two or three years later, Turkish settlers were brought into Selanlk from Yeşil-i Vardar, and the church of the Acheiropoietos and the monastery of the Prodomos were taken into mosques.

A tax register (tablir) was also prepared at this time, but has not survived. We do, however, possess a tax register dating from 885/1478 and a fragment from the reign of Bayezid II (r. 886-1402-1512) (Başbakanlık Arşivi Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul Tapu Tahrir 403 and 723). The earliest tabîr enumerates 862 Muslim and 1,275 Christian householders. From their regular distribution among the pre-existing town quarters, it can be assumed that the Muslim inhabitants had been settled in the city by order of the sultan (sûrgûn). By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Selanlk had about doubled in size, as apart from 1,715 Muslim households, there were now 1,688 Christians and 754 Jews. A high point was reached in 925/1519, when a more or less complete register (sûrgâh) recorded 1,374 Muslim, 1,387 Christian and 3,143 Jewish households. By about 967-8/1560, a significant drop in population had occurred (773 Muslim, 1,047 Christian and 2,645 Jewish households). This decline was even more pronounced by 1022/1613, when the relevant figures were 1,090, 561, and 2,033, showing a relative increase of the Muslim and a decline of the Christian element. Thus Selanlk seems to have held about 10,000 inhabitants in 885/1485 and to have oscillated between 18,000 and 30,000 thereafter. Ewliya Çelebi claims 33,000 houses for 11th/17th-century Selanlk, which would give a population of over 150,000. But European travellers indicate that during its years of prosperity in the second half of the 12th/18th century, Selanlk possessed a population of about 60,000 to 70,000, 28,000 to 30,000 of whom were Turks.

Among the revenue sources of Selanlk and other towns of the area which the 9th/15th-century Ottoman state attempted to exploit, were the salt pans, supplemented by a fishing weir in the vicinity of Selanlk itself. Accounts begin in 873/1468-9, but show that the enterprise was in constant difficulties. Several
tax farmers were executed for their failure to pay, while the most prominent of them, a member of the Palaeologi family, managed to escape. The early tax farmers were Christians; but a Muslim mültezm, recorded around 1076/1668, is the earliest cited mültezm. This situation indicates considerable disorganisation among sheepbreeders and fishermen, and possibly a crisis in the Macedonian village economy as a whole.

Among the Ottoman monuments of the city, the most prominent is the White Tower, built probably in 942/1535-6 upon the order of Sultan Süleymán. Mî'mâr Sinân may have been responsible for its construction. Ewliya Çelebi, who visited Selânik about 1078/1668, has left a detailed description of the fortifications, including the castle of Kalamarya; he was greatly impressed by their size, but felt that they had recently been neglected. Among the mosques that were built by Hâfîz Khatûn, the daughter of Hamza Beg, was a new building (872/1467-8, enlarged in 1000-1/1592 and repaired in 1029/1620). This structure had come to be known by the late 10th/16th century as the mosque of Hamza Beg. It is one of the few mosques not founded by a sultan to possess a colonnaded courtyard, albeit of irregular shape. The reconstruction around 1029/1620 is documented by a waqfâ-name penned by the stylist Mehmed Nergisî, while the donor was a kâpûülü by the name of Mehmed Beg son of Seyyid Ghâzi. The second mosque constructed at this time is known as the Ağa'îmârât; it was built by the former Grand Vizier Ineğollı Ishâk Paşa in 892/1486-7. It is of the T-shaped type, and its side chambers originally may have been meant to house dervishes. The mosque was associated with a public kitchen. Next to the building there once stood a minaret ornamented in multi-coloured stone, which gave the whole complex its name. Other major mosques were converted Christian churches; since Selânik had been taken by assault, the transformation of churches into mosques was legally possible at any time. Many churches were taken over either around 905-6/1500, when refugees from Spain caused a wave of anti-Christian feeling, or in the ten years surrounding the millennium of 1000/1591-2. The church of St Demetrius was converted into a mosque in 898/1492-3 and thenceforth known as the Kâşiîmîye, while in 927/1521 local conflicts resulted in the confiscation of the Hagia Sophia, at that time the metropolitan church of Selânik. The funerary monument of Galerius, converted into a church in Byzantine times, was turned into a mosque on the initiative of the dervish Shaykh Khortadji, with the support of the Grand Vizier Sinân Paşa (998 or 999/1589-90 or 1590-1).

In 883/1478, the Selânik tax register had not shown any Jewish inhabitants, probably because the city's Romanioi community had been transferred to Istanbul by Sultan Mehmed II (r. 848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81). This move probably formed a part of the latter's not unfounded fears of tax evasion to repopulate his new capital. But after the Jews had been driven out of Spain in 1492, and out of Spanish possessions in Italy shortly afterwards, Bâyesîzî II invited them to settle in the Ottoman Empire. Many of these refugees were established in Selânik. A summary (igîma) register of 925/1519 records the presence of about 16,000 individuals; this figure included refugees from Germany and Italy as well.

The Jewish immigrants continued to use Spanish in visual commerce and, although a language was committed to writing, the Hebrew alphabet was employed. A small number of Judeo-Spanish speakers exists to the present day; but centuries' long isolation from Spain has resulted in many expressions archaic in standard Spanish. A number of Hebrew, Ottoman and Greek loanwords have also been incorporated, and at one time there existed a second more "literary" version of Judeao-Spanish, often called Ladino, which contained many expressions closely modelled on Spanish.

The new settlers engaged in the manufacture of woollen cloth, using water-powered fulling mills located outside the city. This manufacture of medium-quality cloth (îuka) supplied the market as well as the Janissaries. According to samples sent from Istanbul, the cloth was woven, dyed and fullled. Originally this service was paid for; but after the middle of the 10th/16th century, the Salonica Jews were required to pay part of their taxes in the shape of raw woolen cloth. Their supply of raw wool was ensured by the privilege of purchasing whatever they needed from Balkan producers before any other customers could be supplied. A rabbinical regulation, pronounced around 946-7/1540, threatened all Jews who exported raw wool and the indigo needed for dyeing with excommunication. However, the cloth manufacturers, prosperous in the 10th/16th century, ran into trouble thereafter. Raw wool prices increased, first because of Venetian demand, and when the Venetian woolen industry steeply declined after 1008/1600, French purchasers prevented a fall in prices. Civilian demand for the finished product also fell away as English cloth appeared on the Ottoman market in large quantities after the 990s/1580s. Due to the need to supply the Janissaries, the manufacturers were not able to change their trades. In consequence, a large number of Salonica Jews emigrated in the 11th/17th century; some went to other Rumelian towns, but the burgeoning Anatolian port of Izmir was a favourite destination.

Nevertheless, at the same time, immigrants continued to arrive, particularly from Livorno and other Italian commercial centres. Due to the contacts which these immigrants (Francois) brought with them, many of the most prosperous Jewish merchants of Selanik down to the 13th/19th century came from this group. But even though certain traders continued to be successful, on the whole Jewish merchants and financiers were eclipsed by other groups. An increasing orienta-
ing to regard Shabbatay Sebi as the Messiah led to the involvement of the Ottoman authorities, and Shabi was assigned to forced residence in Galibolu (1076-7/1666). But after continuing effervescence among Ottoman Jewish communities, Shabbatay Sebi was brought to the sultan's court in Edirne and offered the choice between death and conversion to Islam. He chose the latter (1077/1666). While some of his adherents returned to the established communities, others followed his example and were converted; this process continued over a number of years and led to the formation of a group known as the donum [q. v.] (today Donmeci) Dönemecis. Donmeci names and followers followed Muslim ritual including the pilgrimage to Mecca; but down into the present century, they married only among themselves and had the basic features of rabbinic law taught to their children. Certain well-known rabbis of Selanik who did not convert also retained sympathies for the movement of Shabbatay.

In the 12th/18th century, Selanik's trade expanded after a period of relative stagnation, as the port became the centre of a lively import and export trade, particularly with France and various Italian states. Foreign consuls and vice-consuls became more numerous (at the beginning of the century, the French consul had been the only foreign representative), and an increasing number of non-Muslim merchants purchased the "protection" of foreign consuls, often acquiring more or less fictitious positions as translators. In Istanbul administration, one of the key personalities was the principal customs farmer. Both the wealthy agbas of the area and European merchants maintained good relations with him, often lending money to a person of their confidence so that he could acquire the position. Another powerful figure was the commander of the local Janissaries, who controlled a force of about 7,000 men.

Among the goods exported, wheat occupied an important place, even though this was mostly contraband, agbas with çiftlik in the Macedonian countryside supplying the exporters. Grain speculation was widespread, landholders holding back supplies until prices had increased or else making deals with exporting merchants. Grain riots were not unknown. Raw wool often went to France, while cotton and cotton thread gained in importance with the growing mechanisation of communities in England, and also supplied looms in Germany. Tobacco and raisins were also exported. Imports consisted of manufactured goods, particularly French woolen fabrics, but also of Venetian silks, which all but monopolised the local market until, during the last quarter of the 12th/18th century, silks from Lyons became important. With the increasing production of coffee on the Caribbean islands, le café des iles began to compete with Arabian coffee, and sugar brought in by European merchants with Egyptian sugar.

For distribution, the pre-existing network of Balkan fairs was available, at which even rural consumers were able to purchase the cheaper imported goods. An active internal trade existed, linking Selanik with Izmir, Egypt, Crete and the Aegean islands. Soap, linens and citrus fruits were brought to the city from these areas, while luxury goods often came from Istanbul. Greek merchants were particularly active on the overland route linking Selanik to Vienna and the fair of Leipzig. Greek merchants, often based in Selanik, were so active in the Hapsburg Empire that Maria Theresa and Joseph II took measures to limit their business, forcing rich Greeks established in the Hapsburg domains to concentrate on banking. But due to the foreign "protection" which many wealthy merchants had acquired and to the resulting tax evasion, the payment of taxes and duties was often a heavy load on the "ordinary" Greeks of Salonica, and the community owed large sums of money to wealthy Ottomans.

The decline of Selanik as an international port toward the end of the 12th/18th century was due partly to political conflict within the city, but also to international conjunctures, as the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars interrupted established trade routes. The general downturn in the Ottoman economy during the last decades of the 12th/18th century probably constituted a contributing factor. The abandonment of the Janissary corps in 1241/June 1826 had political and economic repercussions on the local level; the Jewish accountant of the Janissary oğak was even one of the victims of anti-Janissary repression. The disappearance of the Janissaries led to the final eclipse of woolen cloth manufacture by Jewish artisans, and aggravated pauperisation.

In the course of the 13th/19th century, certain notables from the community developed an interest in the creation of new enterprises, particularly the processing of tobacco and later the manufacture of cigarettes. Due to the overall expansion of trade, the need for commercial employees with training in accounting and foreign languages also made itself felt. In the eyes of the notables it was necessary to train both a literate blue-collar workforce and specialist white-collar employees. This meant a thorough restructuring of the established Talmud-Torah schools, which down to this period had imparted basic literacy to boys only. Reform of the school system became a major bone of contention in the struggle for control of the community between the established rabbinical elite and the lay notables, a struggle not without its parallels in other Ottoman minority communities of the 13th/19th century. After 1276-7/1860, the notables were able to muster the support of the Alliance Israilite Universelle, an association based in France by which mainly francophone Jews supported French-language schooling among Jewish communities of the Mediterranean basin. The Alliance sponsored not only schools for both boys and girls, but also (no more than partially successful) efforts to apprentice children, in addition to a network of social organisations. In the early stages, the Alliance schools were also organised by the notables, but the schools were opened to students, and in the early 20th century, when the annexion of Selanik by Greece was increasingly viewed as a possibility, began to reach Modern Greek as well. The reports of the Alliance schoolteachers to their employers in Paris constitute a valuable source for the social history of late Ottoman Selanik.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Selanik was one of the centres of the Committee for Union and Progress (Ittihad ve Terakki Diyeti [q. v.]). The backbone of this group were officers frustrated by the manner in which the war against Macedonian rebels was conducted—in 1903 there had been a series of attacks against public buildings in Salonica itself. Mustafâ Kemâl (the later Atatürk), a native of Salonica but at the time stationed in Syria, visited his home town and helped found a branch of the Oğulmali Hurriyiet Dïyeti [q. v.]. This organisation, based on small cells, under the leadership of the Salonica telegraph official Ta'ifat Bey, expanded rapidly among officers and bureaucrats in Macedonia. Contacts were established with the İttihat ve Terakki exile group in Paris, but the Salonica group retained its political and organisational independence and played a key role in the events which led to the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908.

Around 1900, Selanik possessed one of the largest
concentrations of factory labour in the Ottoman Empire. Much of this labour force, particularly in the tobacco industry, was female, and consisted of teenage girls put to work by their families in order to earn their dowries. But among the male labourers, organisations midway between guilds and trade unions began to appear at this time. Particularly among the minority group of Bulgarian labourers, socialist tendencies showed themselves. A local group was recognised by the Second International. In 1909 Abraham Benaroya brought out a socialist paper in Ottoman (Ottoman Turkish title: 5amet e Gazetesi), Greek, Bulgarian and Judeo-Spanish. While the Ottoman and Greek versions soon had to be given up due to lack of reader interest, the Bulgarian and Judeo-Spanish versions did attract readers. Official repression followed, including Benaroya's banishment to Bulgaria (1911).

The Ottoman history of Selanik ended with the First Balkan War, which began with an occupation of northern Albania by Montenegro, followed by an ultimatum on the part of several Balkan states against the Ottoman Empire (October 1912). While the Bulgarian army advanced as far as Catalca on the outskirts of Istanbul, the Serbian and Greek armies entered Macedonia, with the Greeks occupying Selanik on 8 November 1912. The Ottoman government ceded Selanik in a peace treaty with Greece in March 1914, to the great distress of the city's Jewish population, whose spokesmen had strongly favoured the continuance of Ottoman rule. Salonica was rapidly transformed into a Greek city, particularly through emigration of the Turkish-speaking population, the reconstruction following the great fire of 1917 and the settlement of large numbers of Anatolian Greeks entering the country as a result of the Turco-Greek population exchanges of 1923.

cessors and his own views on affairs. Amongst the many official posts which he held were muhtesebegi of the Haramayn (till 988/1579); he was a davuddar; he was secretary of the silahddrs and then of the Sipahi [q.v.] (till 989/1589); in 999/1591 the Grand Vizier Ferhâd Paşa appointed him nizâmedji [q.v.]; he became muhâdelbegi of Anatolia (1007/1599); and shortly thereafter he disappears from recorded history.

The Ta'rihi Selanîki begins with events of 971/1563 and closes with the escape of the Vovode Kâsim from custody in Shaghâl 1008/May 1600, thus touching on four reigns up to that of Mehmed III. It is more a diary of events which came to the writer's notice than a formal chronicle, the composition of which he might have intended to do later. It becomes progressively more detailed from the end of Murâd III's reign (1003/1595). Rather than consulting other histories, Selanîki seems to have relied on his contacts with the leading men of state and on official documents from the Dîvân-i Humâyûn and elsewhere for his information; a feature of Selanîki's work is that he not only relates events but also includes criticisms of these events and of what he perceived as the general decline of the Ottoman state; the ups-and-downs of his own official career, with its frequent appointments and dismissals, may have affected his attitude here.

The History was partially printed at Istanbul in 1281/1664-5, but no complete, critical edition existed till that of Mehmet Ispîrilî, pp. LXXXV + 1,008, Istanbul 1869. Bibliography: Von Hammer,GOR, iii, 750, iv, 168, 181, 185d, 243, 435; Babinger, GOW, 136-7; Ispîrilî, Mustafa Selanîki and his History, in Ta'rihi Esittitü Dergisi, ix (1978), 417-72; IA, art. Selanîki (Bekir Kütûköçü).

(Mehmet Ispîrilî, shortened by the Editors)

SELUÇ [see AVA SOLUK]

Selinîki — Selim I

In official documents Selimâh, nicknamed Yavuz or the Grim, ninth Ottoman sultan (reigned from 7 Safar 918/24 April 1512 to 8 Shawwâl 926/21 September 1520), conqueror of eastern Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, and the first Ottoman sultan entitled Khâdîm al-Haramayn al-Shârîfîn or Servitor of Mecca and Medina. The struggle for the throne, 1509-13.

To comprehend the circumstances and nature of the fierce struggle for the throne between Bâyazid's three sons Korkud, Ahmed and Selim, we have to keep in mind that Turco-Mongol peoples firmly believed that sovereignty was granted exclusively by God and no human arrangement could determine who is going to be next on the throne. In fact, when the throne became vacant, the prince who was able first to reach the capital city and take control of the treasury had the best chance to be recognised as ruler. So each of the sons of the reigning sultan tried to get the governorship nearest to Istanbul. Although respected as an intellectual versed in Islamic law and the fine arts, Korkud was thought to be less apt for an Ottoman ruler. Described as just and generous in Ottoman sources, Ahmed was at the beginning the most popular of the princes, and the many of the great men of state, including the Grand Vizier 'Ali and the 'ulmâ, wanted him to succeed. The youngest of the three princes, Selim was born in 875/1470-1 in Amasya from prince Bâyazid (Bâyazid II) and 'Aycî Khânî [q.v.], the son of Persia, who was the Kadîrâd ruler 'Ali al-Dawlâ. When the rivalry for the throne began in 1509, Ahmed was governor of Amasya, nearest to Istanbul while Korkud was the governor of the distant sanjak of Antalya and Selim that of Trebizond, the farthest of all.

In 1509 Bâyazid II [q.v.], an ailing old man, was believed incapable of leading the empire's armies against Shah Isma'îl of Persia, who had become a serious threat to the Ottomans, not only on the eastern frontiers of the empire but also within Anatolia through the activities there of his Turkoman sympathisers.

In 1507, the Shâh's invasion of the Dhu 'l-Kadr [q.v.] principality, during which he passed over the Ottoman lands and enrolled in his army Turkomans who were Ottoman subjects, was considered a daring act against the empire, and Shah Isma'îl's interventions motivated the Ottomans to avoid any open conflict, Selim from Trebizond took the initiative and in retaliation raided the Shâh's territory as far as Bayburd and Erzincan. In Istanbul, this was interpreted as insubordination and caused the first rift between the sultan and his son. While, by his submissive attitude, Prince Ahmed was favoured by the sultan and the Grand Vizier, Selim became the symbol of an aggressive policy. Selim, however, declared that his concern was not to secure the throne but to save the empire from the havoc in which it had fallen. Openly criticising his father's inactivity, he showed himself as a champion of the warfare against heretics as well as Christians. Already from Trebizond he had organised raids into the neighbouring Georgia. His ghazz activities, used as political propaganda, won him the favour of the Janissaries, the timarît Sipâhis and Akgâfs [q.v.] in Rumeli. It was the military campaigns that gave opportunity to these military classes to get promotion, more valuable timars or booty. In reality, for Selim this was a struggle for survival since his and his son Süleyman's lives would be at stake should one of his brothers become sultan. Since there was little chance for him to reach Istanbul when the throne became vacant, he insisted that his governorship be exchanged for one in Rumeli.

In this strategy, his first success was to secure the governorship of Kefe [q.v.] or Caffa for Süleyman (August 1509). When the news reached him that Bâyazid was ill and was prepared to abdicate in favour of prince Ahmed, Korkud and Selim suddenly left their seats, the former moving from Tekke to Manisa and the latter from Trebizond to Caffa. In fact, Bâyazid favoured Ahmed as his successor, and openly expressed this at a meeting. From Caffa, Selim insisted that he be appointed to a sanjak on the Danube, optimistically to fight against the 'unbelievers'. When this was denied, he crossed the Danube at the head of about 3,000 men and marched toward Adrianople (March 1511). 'Ali Paşa had the sultan declare Selim a rebel, and Bâyazid led an army of 15,000 to Adrianople, ordering at the same time all the Rumelian troops to join him there. At this juncture, one of the khedîfs of Shâh Isma'îl in Tekke [q.v.], taking advantage of the anarchical conditions in the empire, rose up with his forces from the Dhu 'l-Kadr and other followers and others, defeated the imperial troops sent against him (early March 1511). Korkud and Ahmed were held responsible for this critical situation, which strengthened further Selim's position. Under these conditions, Bâyazid eventually yielded and agreed to
give Selim the governorship of Semendere [q. v.] or Smederovo. The sultan also vowed that "while he was alive he would not allow any of his sons to replace him in the sultanate and said that, at his death, it will be God's decision who would succeed him." Believing that he had pacified Selim, Bayezid returned to Istanbul (24 August 1511). When Ahmed learned of the agreement between his father and Selim, he feared that Selim would become powerful enough to seize the throne, so he himself threatened to rebel in Anatolia. In Rumeli, Selim, trying to muster under his banner the troops of Rumeli at Eski-Zaora, heard that Bayezid and "Ali had actually decided to invite Ahmed to Istanbul and place him on the throne. But the Grand Vizier then had to cross in haste over to Anatolia, with 4,000 Janissaries (May 1511), in order to suppress Şah-Kulu, who was threatening to capture Bursa. Confident in eliminating Şah-Kulu, the Grand Vizier and Ahmed deliberated how, after victory, they would go to Istanbul and proclaim Ahmed sultan. Informed of this plan, Selim suddenly turned and occupied Adrianople (Rabbâ II 917/June 1511) at the head of the Rumelian army of 30,000, acting there as sultan. This was open rebellion, which could not be tolerated, and at the head of an army of 40,000 men and artillery, Bayezid hastened to confront his rebellious son on the battlefield near Çorlu (8 Dümâdâ II/3 August 1511). Selim, defeated, joined, his son Süleyman at Caffa. Almost at the same time, both "Ali Pasha and Şah-Kulu fell in a bloody combat in central Anatolia. With the death of the Grand Vizier, Ahmed lost his principal supporter for the sultanate. Ahmed now threatened to occupy Bursa with the Anatolian troops and to confront Selim. The empire was on the brink of a civil war. Ahmed's supporters pressed the sultan to invite him as soon as possible to Istanbul. However, the new Grand Vizier Hereke-oghlu Ahmed [q. v.] did not agree. Angry with Selim, the old sultan invited Ahmed to Istanbul, to march at the head of the army against Selim (26 Dümâdâ II 917/21 September 1511). But the Janissaries rebelled in favour of Selim, and the sultan had to yield, ordering Ahmed to return to his sandâk. Now in open rebellion, Ahmed occupied the governorship of Karaman, where the anti-Ottoman Turcoman tribes were promising their support. Pro-Safavîd Turcomans, now under the commander Nür-"Ali sent by the Şah (March 1512), rebelled in the Tokat-Sivas area and in the Taurus mountains. Passing over to Anatolia at the head of his army, Selim expelled Ahmed's son "Ali-al-Din from Bursa (15 Dümâdâ 918/29 July 1512) and moved to Ankara, from where his forces expelled Ahmed and his sons, who then fled to Şah Isma'îl for aid.

Now, in order to be able to confront the Şah in a major campaign in the east, Selim had to eliminate in his rear all possible rivals for the sultanate. Hence he ordered the execution of all of the five sons of his deceased brothers between the ages of 7 and 21 who had taken refuge in Bursa. Next, at the head of 10,000 men, Selim surprised his brother Korkud in his palace in Manisa, finally capturing and killing him. In the meantime, Ahmed had returned to Amasya, and in the winter of 1512-13, confronted Selim's army on the plain of Yenisehir (27 Muḥarram 919/15 April 1513). Ahmed was defeated, decimating the Shah's cavalry with salvos of fire, and routed the Rumelian divisions in mid-August 1514. The two armies met at the plain there (2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514); in a furious assault with his forty thousand heavy cavalry, the Şah overpowered the "âzeqs, Ottoman light infantry in the first line, and routed the Rumelian divisions on the left wing of the Ottoman army, then turning, attacked the centre where Selim was standing with his Janissaries. The stiff resistance of the Janissaries, decimating the Şah's cavalry with salvos of fire, and the war chariots tied with chains forming an impregnable stronghold, determined the outcome of the battle. Wounded by a bullet, the Şah barely escaped capture. His defeat has been attributed to a lack of fire-proofs in his army (the earliest reference to his possession of muskets dates back to the year 1515: TKSA 6320; Tansel 88). After the victory, Selim's plan was to pass the winter at Karabagl and to resume the campaign against the Şah next spring (for faṭḥ-nâmes, see Ferîdûn, i, 386-9; Ibn Tulûn, ii,
But the insurgent Janissaries forced the sultan to return to Istanbul (for the Shah's embassies to Selim after Câldîrân and his attempts to find allies against the Ottomans, declared the Shah's sultan and Mâri, the son of the former ruler of the Dhu 'l-Kadrids). On 15 Radjab 920/5 September 1515, Selim entered Tabriz. After nine days, he left the city, taking with him about one thousand citizens, artists, artisans and rich merchants for Istanbul. On his way back to Amasya, where he spent the winter, Selim annexed the cities of Bayburd, Erzincan, Karahisar and Canik.

One important consequence of the Ottoman victory was the Turkish conquest of all of the Shah's possessions in eastern Asia Minor, from Erzincan southwards to Diyarbakr and northern 'Irak. The Kizîlbâşh fortress of Kemâh (see KEMAKH), a key stronghold on the crossroads of Erzincan and the Euphrates valley was taken by Selim on 5 Rabî' al-Awal 921/19 May 1515. The Shah's Kizîlbâsh Turcoman governors and garrison commanders put up a stiff resistance to the Ottomans, while most of the Sunnî Kurdish beys, who under the Kizîlbâsh domination had lost their hereditary patrimonies, submitted. Through the activities of Idrîs Bîldî (q.v.), a former Ak Koyunlu state secretary with close acquaintance of the Kurdish beys, Selim followed a conciliatory policy to avoid these Kurdish lords to his side, recognising with official diplomas their hereditary rights. Idrîs's list of the submitted Kurdish lords included those of Soran, 'Îmâmîyye and Bukhtî, who now began to attack the Persians and their allies. In the same regions, the Ak Koyunlu princes expelled by Ismâ'îl also cooperated with the Ottomans. The population of Diyarbakr rose against the Shah, offering submission to Selim and appealing to him for aid, which he was only able to provide after the campaign against the Dhu 'l-Kadrids (summer 1515) under the able command of Bîlîklî Mehmed Paşa (q.v.), who entered Diyarbakr in Şâh'hân 921/mid-September 1515. Following Bîlîklî's unsuccessful siege of Mârdîn (q.v.), the Persian forces came back and besieged Diyarbakr; Ottoman control over the Diyarbakr region was only achieved after Bîlîklî, reinforced with the army of Anatolia, had won a decisive victory over the Turcomans at Kargan-Dede. Thereupon, the fortresses of Ergani, Sinjâr, Cermik and Birecik surrendered, although it had become commercially dependent on the Bursa market, while it had become evident that the Mamlûks were powerless to protect Arab merchants in their trade with India against the Portuguese, who now were in the Red Sea threatening to capture Mecca and Medina. In 1510 Kânsûh himself had appealed to the sultan for aid to build a fleet at Suez, and Ottoman experts and mercenaries (see kûnî) were already in Suez. Dîjânberdî Ghazâlî, governor of Damascus, both established secret relations with the Ottomans, and later, Selim won over by promises of rewards many other Mamlûks with promises of employment in the future Ottoman administration.

The Mamlûks feared that the Ottomans were going to invade Egypt from the sea. In fact, Ottoman activities for the construction of new warships at arsenals were intensified in 1513. Always declaring that his preparations were aimed at the heretic Shah, Selim claimed that by allying himself with Ismâ'îl, Kânsûh was attempting to impede the Ottoman sultan in his efforts to extirpate heresy in Persia. The fatwa sought by Selim to legitimise his campaign against this Sunni Muslim ruler laid emphasis on Mamlûk oppression and injustices committed against Muslims. Kânsûh countered that the Ottoman sultan was using Christian soldiers in his army against Muslims. Upon Kânsûh's formal demand for the evacuation of Dhu 'l-Kadrid territory by the Ottomans, war was declared. Selim entered Mamlûk territory in Malatya (end of July 1516), and the two armies confronted each other at the plain of Mardj Dâbik (q.v.) 40 km north of Aleppo on 25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516.

Here, too, the Ottoman waggonberg tactics with the 300 chained war chariots and Ottoman superiority in firearms determined the outcome of the battle. Kânsûh was among the dead. Khâılır Bey surrendered Aleppo and served the Ottomans faithfully, dying as Ottoman governor of Egypt in 1522. Selim left Aleppo after eighteen days, and reached Damascus on 1 Ramadan 922/28 September 1516, where he spent the winter months. Although his viziers were not in favour of a campaign against Egypt, Selim was urged on by KhâİR Bey and other Arab beys against the newly-elected Mamlûk sultan, Tûmânâbây, and he ordered preparations for the invasion of Egypt. An order was sent to Istanbul for the imperial fleet's departure for Egypt. The crucial problem was how to get the Ottoman army through the Sinai desert to Egypt, and to provide a water supply, 30,000 water bags carried by 15,000 camels were prepared. Declaring his decision to take all Muslim lands under his protection, Selim invited Tûmânâbây to recognise him as his suzerain, but this was naturally refused. In the end, Selim captured the town of Qalâzah against the Mamlûk forces under Dîjânberdî (27 Dhu 'l-Ka'da' 922/21 December 1516). Leading Bedouin chiefs submitted to Selim. To confront the Ottoman army, Tûmânâbây had prepared a strong line of defence reinforced with artillery and ditches at-
Raydāniyya. On 29 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 922/22 January 1517, while his main forces attacked in front, Selim surprised the Mamluks by circumventing Tūmān-bāy's fortified encampment. In the first hours of the combat, the vehemence of the attack on the heavy Mamluk cavalry shook the Ottoman lines. But here, too, the outcome of the battle was determined by Ottoman superiority in fire-arms, foiling Mamluk cavalry attacks. The first Ottoman forces entered Cairo on 3 Muharram 923/26 January 1517. Tūmān-bāy and those Circassians who were able to escape resumed fighting in the streets of Cairo, refusing an offer of aman [q. v.] by Selim. Tūmān-bāy mustered his troops on the west bank of the Nile, until Selim decided to cross the Nile and crush resistance. Tūmān-bāy was captured and executed (15 April 1517). The Cairo forces recognised Selim as their legitimate ruler, but only when he believed it was safe did he enter the city (23 Muharram 923/15 February 1517). In the clashes in Cairo and outside the city, the number of Circassians killed or executed was estimated at 50,000 to 60,000 (see ūsūl-nāmeh in Ferīdūn, i, 427-49; Ibn Ṭūlūn, ii, 44-7).

Following the fall of the Mamlūk sultanate, the independent Arab lands, including the Şarifs of Mecca and the Yemen, recognised Selim. Selim appointed Khaʾīr Bey as Ottoman governor of Egypt, who succeeded in reconciling the remaining Mamlūk and Arab shaykhs with the Ottoman administration. Before his departure from Cairo on 26 Şaʿbān 923/13 September 1517, Selim sent by sea to Amasya, who were thought “to cause trouble”, including the last ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil and many artisans. During long stays in Damascus and in Aleppo, he busied himself with organising Syria as a typical Ottoman province. He appointed governors and surveyors to register the population and revenues. He appointed Dānjberdi governor of al-Šāhām (5 Safar 924/16 February 1518), and Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn al-Hanāgh was appointed Khaʾīr Bey as Ottoman governor in Damascus. Selim's name was mentioned in contemporary Arab and Persian sources, including the titles of amīr, amīr al-Muḥāsin, and amīr al-Hāshimyyah, and assumed their title of Khalīfah al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn. The historian Ibn Ṭūlūn witnessed this at a Friday khaba in Damascus. Selim's name was mentioned with the titles of al-Imām al-ʿādil and of Sulṭān al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn. But no contemporary source has confirmed the alleged account that, in a ceremony, al-Mutawakkil officially transferred his caliphal rights to Selim. In contemporary Arab sources, al-Mutawakkil is always mentioned as al-Khaʾīfah, Amīr al-Muṭawakkil, and Amīr al-Sharīf, and his death is recorded as Mālik al-Rūm (in 926/1519; Ibn Ṭūlūn, ii, 78, 91). According to the tradition and the interpretation of the īlāna, the Mamlūk sultan or Selim himself could not claim to replace al-Mutawakkil because they did not descend from the Prophet's tribe Kuraŷš. However, as successor to the last Mamlūk sultan, Selim claimed primacy in the Islamic world; in a letter to the Shīr-wānah [q. v.] he claimed that God had charged him to fight against heresy, to bring order to the true laws of Islam and to protect the pilgrimage routes for Muslims (Ferīdūn, i, 439-45). At a time when the Portuguese had entered the Red Sea and were threatening possibly to capture Mecca and Medina, the protection of Islam had become a crucial issue for all Muslims and the Arabs in particular. Presenting themselves as the “foremost of ẓahīzīn” Selim, and his successor Süleymān, claimed to be the protectors of all Muslims in the world. In 1526, the latter used the title wārīr al-ṣilfīs al-kubrā “inheritor of the supreme caliphate”.

At the time when developments in the east kept him busy, Selim was careful to maintain peace with Christian nations in the west, in particular with Venice and Hungary. On 17 September 1517 he renewed the Venetian capitulations in Cairo, with the additional stipulation that the Venetian tribute to the Mamlūks of 8,000 gold ducats for Cyprus was to be paid thereby to the Ottoman sultan. Selim's diplomacy toward Christian nations was altogether successful; but Pope Leo X's increased efforts to organise a European crusade, and the Şāh's and Kansū's diplomatic relations with Western states against the Ottomans, did not in the end result in any hostile activity (K. M. Setton, The Papacy and the Le- vant, ii, 135-45, 168).

The outbreak of a new Kızılbaš Turcoman rebellion in the Amasya province in the spring of 1519 under a dervish called Djelāl, declaring himself Şāh Weli and a Mahdī [q. v.], showed that Şāh Ismāʾīl was still the principal threat to the empire. The rebellion was suppressed with difficulty (April 1519). At the time of his accession to the throne, Selim was advised to make the conquest of the islands of Rhodes and Chios one of his most urgent tasks. In 1519 extraordinary naval preparations, the construction of one hundred galleys, were believed in Venice to be the signal of a campaign against Rhodes (von Hammer, iv, 247-9). But the following year, Selim died on his way from Istanbul to Edirne near Ćoroš on 8 Shawwāl 926/21 September 1520. His only son Süleymān [q. v.] succeeded him without difficulty.

Well-educated, the author of a collection of poems in Persian, an admirer of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī [q. v.], Selim was at the same time an uncomprising autocrat, and a quick-tempered, merciless man.

Bibliography: 1. Archives. TKSA: Topkapi Sarayi Arşivi, nos. E. 6532, 5594, 5970, 6382, 3703, 6446, 3602, 3197, 5876, 12216, 6353, 6701, 6118, 6189, 7055, 6631, 6399, 6193, 1926, 6304, 5460, 5960, 3602, 12077, 4563, 6762, 5674, 3469, 4796, 5293, 3295, 6384, 2261, 4467, 11654, 8277, 5024, 4512, 6341, 6608, 5594, 6341, 10292, 6401, 5460, 7082, 5846, 9658, 6742, 4020, 7444, 8327, 6577, 5882, 9695, 8339, 6315, 2677, 6301, 10149, 6396, 7053, 6927, 6532, 5811, 6185, 12363, 7633, 6586, 3447, 9525, 6186, 3058, 6271, 7072, 8312, 6425, 6522, 7292, 6316, 5452, 6753, 3057, 6376, 6205, 5861, 7032, 2779, 12277, 6510; Başbakanlık, Osmanlı Arşivi: Ali Emiri Tasnifi, i; S. Selim Devri, Collections of documents: Ferīdūn, Mīngūt al-ulūlam, Istanbul 1247, ii, 367-

300; SarʾʿAbd Allāh, Dāʾūr al-ingālā; Sülɛmāyîne Library, Esad Ef. no. 3333; Tādji-zāde Dāʾer, Mīngūt, Mevlâna Mûzesti Library, Konya no. 4935; Halil Edhem, Mīṣr fethi mukaddemätina ʿaʾd mühim bir wetikka, in TTEM, xix, no. 96 (1928), 30-6.
SELIM I — SELIM II


SELIM II, the eleventh Ottoman sultan (r. 974-82/1566-74), the third son and the fourth of the six children of Kanuni Süleyman I and Khurrem Sultan [q.v.]. He was born in Istanbul on 26 Radjab 930/30 May 1524, during the festivities accompanying the marriage of Süleyman's sister Roxelana to Bahlil Paşa [q. v.]. Together with his elder half-brother Mehemd and his elder brother Mehemd, Selim was one of the three princes in whose honour was held the sünet dünign (circumcision feast) of 1530, one of the major dynastic spectacles of Süleyman's reign. He remained in Istanbul until appointed in 1542, at the age of 18, to his first provincial post in Konya as sanjak-begi of Şahsavan, to his first provincial post in Konya as sanjak-begi of Şahsavan, in 951/1544, following his brother Mehmed's death, Selim was transferred to the latter's more prestigious sanjak of Şarkhan [q.v.] at Manisa, remaining there until his transfer back to Konya in 1558. In 955/1548 Selim was temporarily assigned to Edirne to guard the European front, whilst Süleyman was on campaign in the east against Safavid Persia. Following the deaths in 960/1553 of Mustafa and another brother Djehingir, Selim and his younger brother Bayezid were the only surviving sons of Süleyman. On the death of their mother Khurrem in 966/1559, forcing Bayezid to take refuge in Persia. After lengthy negotiations between Süleyman and Shah Tahmasp I [q.v.], Selim defeated Bayezid's provincial forces at the battle of 966/1559, forcing Bayezid to take refuge in Persia. With the aid of troops sent by Süleyman and Shah Tahmasp I [q.v.], Bayezid and his sons were assassinated, and their father Mehemd, Sultan Selim defeated the princely Szëk of Şarkhan [q.v.] at Manisa, remaining there until his transfer back to Konya in 1558. In 955/1548 Selim was temporarily assigned to Edirne to guard the European front, whilst Süleyman was on campaign in the east against Safavid Persia. Following the deaths in 960/1553 of Mustafa and another brother Djehingir, Selim and his younger brother Bayezid were the only surviving sons of Süleyman. On the death of their mother Khurrem in 966/1559, forcing Bayezid to take refuge in Persia. After lengthy negotiations between Süleyman and Shah Tahmasp I [q.v.], Selim defeated Bayezid's provincial forces at the battle of 966/1559, forcing Bayezid to take refuge in Persia. With the aid of troops sent by Süleyman and Shah Tahmasp I [q.v.], Bayezid and his sons were assassinated, and their father Mehemd, Sultan Selimdefeated the princely Szëk of Şarkhan [q.v.] at Manisa, remaining there until his transfer back to Konya in 1558. In 955/1548 Selim was temporarily assigned to Edirne to guard the European front, whilst Süleyman was on campaign in the east against Safavid Persia. Following the deaths in 960/1553 of Mustafa and another brother Djehingir, Selim and his younger brother Bayezid were the only surviving sons of Süleyman. On the death of their mother Khurrem in 966/1559, forcing Bayezid to take refuge in Persia. After lengthy negotiations between Süleyman and Shah Tahmasp I [q.v.], Selim defeated Bayezid's provincial forces at the battle of 966/1559, forcing Bayezid to take refuge in Persia. With the aid of troops sent by Süleyman and Shah Tahmasp I [q.v.], Bayezid and his sons were assassinated, and their father Mehemd, Sultan Selimdefeated the princely Szëk of Şarkhan [q.v.] at Manisa, remaining there until his transfer back to Konya in 1558. In 955/1548 Selim was temporarily assigned to Edirne to guard the European front, whilst Süleyman was on campaign in the east against Safavid Persia. Following the deaths in 960/1553 of Mustafa and another brother Djehingir, Selim and his younger brother Bayezid were the only surviving sons of Süleyman. On the death of their mother Khurrem in 966/1559, forcing Bayezid to take refuge in Persia. After lengthy negotiations between Süleyman and Shah Tahmasp I [q.v.], Selim defeated Bayezid's provincial forces at the battle of 966/1559, forcing Bayezid to take refuge in Persia.
tion in the extreme north and south of the empire replaced the prominence given in Suleyman's reign to the extreme north and south of the empire. Replacing the prominence given in Suleyman's reign to the extreme north and south of the empire, Selim's childhood entourage included many individuals such as Abu Bakr Ratib Efendi and many others, the historian Mustafa Ali (although no diary of his survives), and a discriminating patron of, amongst others, the historian Mustafa Ali, the poet Baki (q.v.), and the gahnamoglu Lokman (see e.g. F. Çağman, Şahname-i Selim Han ve miniatürleri, in Sanat tarihi yiliği, v [1972-3], 411-43). He was the first Ottoman sultan to honour members of the 'ulumâ' with accession donatives. Among his major architectural projects were the repair of the Mecca water supply system and the re-roofing of the great mosque, the addition of two minarets and extra buttresses to the Aya Sofya mosque, and the building of a canal between the rivers Don and Volga (1566-70), and against Zaydi threats to Ottoman control in 1569-70. The weather conditions, unrest amongst the troops involved, and over-extended lines of communication led to the abandonment of the project with only a third of the canal excavated (cf. H. Inalcik, The origins of the Ottoman-Russian rivalry and the Don-Volga canal, in Annales de l'Univ. d'Ankara, 386b; SelanikT, ed. M. Ipşiri, Istanbul 1283, i, 43-98. 2. Further Ottoman sources, published documents, and secondary works other than those cited in the text are given in §. Turan, IA, art. SELIM II. See also C. H. Fleischer, Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman empire (1541-1600), Princeton 1986, esp. 33-9; M. T. Gökkâlbîn, IA, art. Mehmed Paşa, Sokollu; J.-L. BacquÈ-Grammont, in R. Mantran (ed.), Histoire de l'Europe ottomane, Paris 1989, 155-8 and also index. For additional bibl., see S. J. Shaw, History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey, Cambridge 1976, i, 318-19. 3. SELIM III, the twenty-eighth sultan of the Ottoman empire (1203-22/1789-1807), first son of Mustafa III and grandson of Ahmed III (q.v.), was born in Istanbul on 27 Dümâdâl I 1175/24 December 1761. Considered one of the ablest of the 18th century sultans, Selim III's early upbringing may account for his later perspicacity in reforming the empire. His father's more liberal outlook allowed Selim considerable freedom of action, including the observatory complex by the architect Sinan (q.v.) in Edirne. SEHBÔ, Istanbul 1283, i, 438-504. The most ambitious project of Selim's reign, the building of a canal between the rivers Don and Volga (attempted 1569-70), was unsuccessful. It was promoted by Sokollu Mehmed Paşa with the three-fold object of protecting the pilgrimage route from Central Asia, of curtailing the southward advance of Muscovy (which had captured Kazan in 1552 and Astrakhan in 1556), and of establishing the potential to attack Persia from the north. It would also have served to extend Ottoman control over the khans of the Crimea. Adverse weather conditions, unrest amongst the troops involved, and over-extended lines of communication led to the abandonment of the project with only a third of the canal excavated (cf. H. Inalcik, The origin of the Ottoman-Russian rivalry and the Don-Volga canal (1569), in Annales de l'Université d'Ankara, i [1946-7], 47-110). Selim II died aged 50 on 28 Şa'bân 982/13 December 1574 in Istanbul (the first sultan to die there) following a fall in the palace hamnamâ, and was succeeded by Murâd III (982-1003/1574-95 [q.v.]), his eldest son by his Venetian hahsef Nûr Bânû (q.v.). Five younger sons were executed and buried with him in the courtyard of the Aya Sofya mosque. Three daughters were married to prominent viziers in a triple wedding in 1566: Ismâkhân to Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, Gewherkhan to Piâyê Paşa, and Şehb to Hasan Paşa (re-married later to Dâl Mahmûd Paşa). This network of dâmâd (son-in-law) connec-

Gouffier encouraged Selim to correspond with Louis XVI, letters which demonstrate his powerful anti-Russian sentiments and wish for revenge. Choiseul-Gouffier supported the sending of Ishak Bey, one of Selim’s companions, to France, in an effort to encourage the French link with the Ottoman heir-apparent.

On 11 Rajab 1203/7 April 1789, at the age of 27, Selim III was proclaimed Sultan, ascending the throne at one of the most difficult moments in the history of the dynasty, succeeding to an empire at war with both Russia and Austria and riven by internal rebellions. The previous autumn, the Russians had made deep inroads into Ottoman territory, capturing Khotin [q.v.] on 9 September and routing the Ottoman army at Slatina later that same month. In spite of the evidence of Ottoman military exhaustion, Selim vigorously supported the war effort, immediately confirming Khodja Yusuf Paşa in his position as Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief of the battlefield, glorifying past Ottoman successes, reinstating the ace-in-the-hole, the Fantazis [see FAYZ], which had lapsed with ‘Abd al-Hamid I, and generally boasting the morale of his people (Enwerl; Shaw, 32).

Khodja Yusuf, the bellicose initiator of the war, had demonstrated some success in maintaining the Ottoman position on the southern shores of the Danube, and in winning the loyalty of his soldiers, in spite of the Ottoman losses. He was opposed by Djeza’irli Ghazi Hasan Paşa [q.v.], sole hero of the 1770 Češme [q.v.] naval disaster, reformer, reformer, of the war, and Grand Admiral of the Navy upon Selim’s accession. Selim replaced the experienced admirals Hasan with his boyhood friend Küçük Hüseyin Paşa, ordering Hasan to command the fortress of Ismā’īl [q.v.] in an effort to recapture Özü [see ÖZ], placating the advocates for continuing the war, consolidating his own power base, and managing to maintain the services of a valued commander. The new campaign season proved a disaster, however, culminating in the battle of Martinesti on 22 September 1789 against combined Austrian and Russian forces, a total rout for the Ottomans. Thereafter, the Austrians occupied Belgrade [q.v.] and Bucharest [see BUREST], and the Russians Ak Kirman [q.v.] and Bender [q.v.].

An Ottoman treaty with Sweden to distract Russia, which was concluded on 11 July 1789, resulted in little, but it is noteworthy. From 14 January 1790, and the death of Joseph II of Austria and Austria, the threat posed by the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, a second regiment was installed in the new Selimie barracks in Uskudar, a force drawn largely from the unemployed of the streets of Istanbul, and Turkish peasants from Anatolian villages, whose enlistment was encouraged by high salaries and tax exemptions. By 1801, the force numbered 9,263 men and 27 of officers and men, attached to the old imperial Bostandi corps [q.v.], as its riflemen branch. By 1800, as a result of the threat posed by the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, a second regiment was installed in the new Selimie barracks in Uskudar, a force drawn largely from the unemployed of the streets of Istanbul, and Turkish peasants from Anatolian villages, whose enlistment was encouraged by high salaries and tax exemptions. By 1801, the force numbered 9,263 men and 27 officers, increasing to three regiments and almost 23,000 by the end of Selim’s reign (Shaw, 131-4). During the 1798-1801 confrontations with France in Egypt and against ‘Olmam Paswan-oglu [see PASWAN-OGHLU] of Vidin [q.v.], the new army was put to the test. The result was encouraging, with some small successes, hampered always by the refusal of the Janissaries to serve with them. Reform in the navy was more successful, under the direction of Grand Admiral Küçük Huseyn Paşa, who saw to the construction of new warships and technical schools during the same period.

To finance his reorganisation of the military and
navy, Selim established the İrad-i Djedid, a new attempt at a centralised budget, with revenues from state tax farms set aside for its use. At the same time, vacant, absentee or poorly managed military fiefs of the less distant provincial timar system were seized and revenues from them added to the new treasury. While significant revenue was generated, the provincial upheaval such measures induced exacerbated the growing disaffection of local notables, one of the significant causes of Selim's downfall.

The War of the Triple Alliance (1799-1802) pitted the Ottomans against Napoleon, and forced a reluctant Selim into agreements with Britain and Russia to counter the French invasion of Egypt. During these confrontations, the sultan was forced to rely on the private armies of local notables such as Ahmad Dizazdar Pasha [q.v.] in Acre [see 'AKKA] and Sider [see ŞAYDA], Ali Pasha of Yanina and Oğlu Musa Paswan oglulu, which both extended their power and increased the privations of the countryside, especially in the Balkans. The Treaty of Amiens in 1801, negotiated without an Ottoman presence, so angered the sultan that he signed a separate peace with France on 25 June 1802, restoring that country to all its pre-war privileges and ignoring the question of war indemnities which both Russia and Britain were demanding.

Peace, however, meant the renewal of internal revolt, often encouraged by the empire's erstwhile allies, especially the Russians, who had made tremendous gains in the Treaty of Amiens. A serious revolt in Serbia against Janissary and the auxiliary Yamak abuses broke out in 1802, developing rapidly into a revolution under the leadership of Kara George after 1804, and influencing much of the diplomatic manoeuvring of the period. War between France and England broke out again in 1803, and intense diplomatic pressure by the resurrected Anglo-Russian alliance in Istanbul forced Selim to sever relations with France in 1805. Further French victories over the European allies, however, persuaded Selim to grant formal recognition to the emperor in 1806, and to declare war on Russia in December after the Tsar ordered the occupation of the Principalities and was continuing to support the Serbian rebellion. Britain sent warships through the Dardanelles [see GHALATA in Suppl.], and friend and patron of Shâykh Ghâlib Dede [q.v.], the well-known poet-mystic and partisan of the reform programme of the young sultan. Aside from the new buildings constructed for the Nizâm-i Djedid, Selim completely restored the mosque of Fâhih.

**Bibliography:** The Taşrih of Wâsîf as well as those of Enveri and Aşım Aymed [q.v.] form the chief historical sources on Selim's reign. For general information on the period of Selim III, see the work of one of his advisors, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Tableau de l'empire ottoman, Paris 1788-1820. The diary kept by his private secretary, Ahmed Efendi, from 1791-1807, is a unique source by an individual who accompanied Selim almost everywhere. III. Selim in Sırkâşî Ahmed Efendi tarafindan tutulan rövâne, Ankara 1993; Abû Bakr Râhî, Şahîd Selim’in Veliahtları, Istanbul 1873; E. BOGHAZI [see ŞAHÎD], a last moment of victory and accord between the sultan and his people. The British fleet occupied Alexandria in 1807, but found that Muham- mad Âli Pasha [q.v.], governor of Egypt since 1805, had subdued the Mamlûks [q.v.], forcing the British to head back home.

Selim's failure to create a broad coalition of supporters for his reform agenda, however, finally overwhelmed him. A general call to arms for Nizâm-i Djedid troops in March 1805 had precipitated an open revolt among the Yamaks in the Balkans, bringing the final series of confrontations between the traditional forces and Selim's reformers. Quelled temporarily by Selim's capitulation to the conservatives, the rebellion moved to Istanbul in May 1807, when another attempt to force new uniforms on the unruly Yamaks stationed on the Bosphorus incurred an open call for Selim's removal, a conspiracy spearheaded from the palace itself by the Kâ'âm-înâm(140,657),(274,689) Mûâs Paşa and the Şâykh al-Islâm 'Atâ’ Allah Efendi. The janissaries joined in the revolt, forcing Selim to abandon the Nizâm-i Djedid programme and sacrifice its architects and partisans to their demands, rather than testing the mettle of the new troops, who were confi- scated to their officers. Selim himself was deposed on 92 Rabî’ I 1222/29 May 1807 and as he boarded the Inkerman, he had his eldest son replaced by Muștafa IV [q.v.], eldest son of 'Abd al-Hamîd I. Retiring into the palace, he was executed by Muștafa a year later on 4 Dümâdâd II/28 July 1808 during the attempt by Muștafa Bayrakdar Pasha [q.v. of Rusuk] and the Grand Vizier Çelebi Muștafa Paşa [q.v.] to rescue and restore him to the throne. In the confusion, Mahmûd, brother of Muștafa IV, escaped the same fate as Selim, and was brought out of hiding by Muștafa Bayrakdar at Mahmûd II [q.v.], proving later to be an apt student of his cousin in the matter of reform.

While it is generally conceded that Selim faltered in the matter of leadership and continuity, changing Grand Viziers ten times in the course of his reign, he inaugurated a process of reform which could no longer be halted if the Empire was to survive. Other initiatives included his attempts before France to win the support of prominent Ottoman ambassadors to Europe, to London in 1793 and Berlin, Vienna and Paris in 1795, an avenue for information on European affairs, although diplomacy of the period continued to be conducted largely by the influential foreign presence in Istanbul (Kuran). A notable poet and musician, many of Selim's compositions are still performed. He was a frequent visitor to the Mawlawîyya [q.v.] tekke in Galata [see QALATA in Suppl.], and friend and patron of Shâykh Ghâlib Dede [q.v.], the well-known poet-mystic and partisan of the reform programme of the young sultan. Aside from the new buildings constructed for the Nizâm-i Djedid, Selim completely restored the mosque of Fâhih.
In his childhood he lost his father and was committed to the care of Mirzah Agla, of the Ablan family. At the same time, Adil Giray tried to kill him, but Selim sought refuge among the Shem family and escaped being killed. In 1671 he became the Khan of the Crimean Tatars. The Tatars living in Poland asked Selim for protection and help to settle in the Budjak [q. v.] region, i.e., southern Bessarabia. Their request was not granted by the Ottoman authorities and Sultan Mehmed IV called upon Selim to help in the battle for Kamanica [q. v.] (Kamyanitsa), as a result of which the Polish army was defeated. Soon Selim was again summoned to war against Tatar and later a siege. Kamaniita and nearby fortresses were conquered by the Muslims. After the fighting, Selim became the mediator in peace negotiations between Poland and the sultan; then he fought against Russia and Poland for possession of the fortress of Chirin, but after his failure here, the sultan accused him of ineffectualness, and he was deprived of power and deported to the island of Rhodes. In 1684 Selim was again raised to the throne of the Khans of Crimea in Bakhchisaray because of the ineffectiveness of Hadjigiri I, who had reigned before. During this time, the Russians approached the Crimean territory and surrounded fortresses situated on the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. Selim defeated superior Russian forces, preventing the Russians from entering the Crimea. In 1689 Selim was called upon to help Turkey in the war against Austria, and the Muslim forces won a battle near Skopje. In 1691, after receiving the information that Polish and Russian forces were about to attack, and after being informed of his son's death, Selim abdicated the throne.

He then went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and obtained the honorific title of Haidigiri. The sultan assigned him estates at Silivri. Due to the efforts of the nobles of the Giray dynasty, faced with a rebellion of Tatar troops, in 1692 Selim was appointed to the throne for the third time. At that time, the war against Russia and Austria started. In 1695 Peter I launched an expedition against the Crimea, and in 1696 the Russians conquered the fortress of Azov. Because of that Selim could not properly help the sultan in his war against Austria. He was a signatory to the 1689 peace treaty between Karlowitz (Karlovasi) on the Danube. By virtue of this treaty, the Crimea obtained independence, and was relieved of paying tribute to the sultans. In the same year, 1699, Selim, by now very old, abdicated in his son Dewlet Giray's favor, and the sultan awarded Selim a pension of 8,000 gold coins per year. Intrigues at the sultan's court and the necessity of pacifying the rebellious Tatars led to Dewlet Giray's deethronement and Selim was for the fourth time appointed to the throne of the Crimean in 1702; but, after a short reign, died in December 1704 and was buried in Bakhchisaray. During his occupancy with state affairs, he was interested in literature and the sciences, and left behind a precious library.


SELIMAN RE'IS (d. 923/1527), a Turkish mariner and naval commander in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.

famous seaman, Khayr al-Din [q. v.], he became active as a corsair in the Central Mediterranean (J.-L. Bacqué-Grannont and Anne Kroell, Mamlouks, Ottomans and Portugeois en Mer Rouge. L'Affaire de Djidja en 1517, Cairo 1988, 76). At an unspecified date (at the latest in 1514) he entered the service of the Mamluk sultan Khansaw al-Ghawri [q. v.] who was endeavouring to resist the recently-arrived Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. This may have happened in the framework of Ottoman suzerainty to Egypt, well-documented between 1507 and 1514. This ceased, however, by July 1514, the year in which the Mamluk sultan launched a major campaign to build up the Turkish arsenal and fleet in Suez, with Selman Re'i's as its director and commander of 2,000 mercenaries or marines (Ibn Iyās, Badī'āt al-zubār fī vāsīṭāt al-duhār, ed. M. Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1960, iv, 466-7; Bacquè-Grannont, ep. cit., 5). Under what seems to have been a joint command of Selman Re'i's and Husayn al-Kurdi, this new fleet sailed late in 921/1515 on a campaign launched partly in response to the appeals of Mu'azzar Shah II of Gudjarat [q. v.], and which was thus meant to be the first Mamluk expedition against the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, however, the expedition concentrated on building a stronghold on the Red Sea island of Kamarān [q. v.], near the Bāb al-Mandāb [q. v.] against an expected Portuguese irruption into the Red Sea and on operations in Yemen, culminating in a siege of Aden or 'Adan [q. v.] held by the governor of the ruler of Zabīd (Bacquè-Grannont, 8). The siege failed, and Selman Re'i's withdrew to Dji'dja [q. v.] in anticipation of a Portuguese attack on that port. Meanwhile, the Ottoman sultan had conquered Egypt, and immediately after his triumph he summoned Selman to appear before him in Cairo. In a reply dated 25 Rabi'i I 923/17 April 1517, the Turkish captain pleaded for a delay on the grounds that he could not in good conscience leave the port just as the infidel was going to attack and while the inhabitants were beseeching him to defend them. A minimal note added one day later states that the attack has occurred, Selman has repulsed it, but that it might be renewed and he still cannot leave under these circumstances (S. Tekindag, Süveys'te Türkler ve Selman Re'is'in anması, in Belgeterle Türk Tarhi Dergisi, ix [1968], 77-80; the same document published by M. Yakub Mugul, in Belgeter, ii/5-4 [1967], 465-70).

The events of the next several months are of crucial importance not only for our understanding of Selman's career, but also for our interpretation of the Ottoman sultan’s attitude towards the struggle against the Portuguese and towards the more specific place the defence of Islam’s sanctuaries received in Selim’s mind. Lopo Suares, the Portuguese viceroy of India, withdrew with his fleet by the end of April 1517, but Selman was present in the sultan's hand only on 18 Shawal 923/28 August 1517 (Feritbīn Beg, Mushe'tt, i, 491). He seems at this point to have suffered arrest and imprisonment in Cairo and Damascus.

Eventually pardoned, Selman Re'i's returned from Istanbul to Suez, which now was the base of what would become the “Ottoman Indian Ocean Fleet” and of which he may have been the first commander. The fleet accomplished little in the period of his tenure. In 1525, after an undetermined rupture between the Bāb al-Mandāb strait, a second attempt was made to seize Aden, but a report that a Portuguese fleet was approaching persuaded the Turks to raise the siege and sail back.

These failures may have been due to the low priori-
ty which the Ottoman government attached to the Suez base and fleet. This policy contradicts Selman’s own efforts to alert Istanbul to the challenges from the Portuguese and possibilities in the Indian Ocean; his efforts received an eloquent expressional support from Æliyha or memory duhup da’dul 10 Shab‘a 931/2 June 1525 (Topkapı Palace archive, N.E. 6455; see M. Lesure, Un document ottoman sur l’Inde portugaise et les pays de la Mer Rouge, in Mare luso-indicum, iii [1976], 137-60).

Although anonymous, the report’s internal evidence strongly argues for Selman’s authorship. It is an analysis of the strength of the Ottoman fleet in the Red Sea, a description of the main ports in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, and an assessment of Portuguese and their ships in those waters and of the chances for an Ottoman fleet to oust them from there. In the final year of his life, Selman Re’is was charged with the mission to eliminate Mu斯塔fa Beg, an subordinate governor of Yemen; he did so and assumed the administration of the province himself. Shortly afterwards, Kहयr al-Din Beg, an aide who had assisted him in the assignment, gained the local legends on his side, rebelled in turn and assassinated Selman Re’is towards the end of 1527.

Selman Re’is’s career has received conflicting interpretation. Some historians view him as proof of Ottoman intentions to assume a leading role in the defence of the Indian Ocean and the Muslim world whose trade and pilgrims’ routes were under assault by the Portuguese (Palmina Brummett, Ottoman seapower and Levantine diplomacy in the Age of Discovery, Albany 1994, 115-21); others draw the opposite conclusion, based on such circumstances as the treatment he received in Cairo despite his merit of saving Diu—thus averting a danger to Mecca—from the infidels, and the limited encouragement and means he received after his rehabilitation (Bauqué-Grammont, 19-20).


SELWI, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Bulgarian town of Sevlievo, now in the Gabrovo province of Danubian Bulgaria (population in 1985, 26,440). From the 16th century till 1878 it was the centre of the nahiya, later kadılik, of Hutaļči/Selwi in the sandžak of Nigbolu. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the town and its district were predominantly inhabited by Muslims of Turkish, as well as of Bulgarian, origin. The town is situated in a vast plain 200 m/656 feet above sea level, surrounded by both of the littoral rivers Rosulit and the Yantra. Most of the 33 villages of the cada are situated in the hills around the plain. The town is the indirect successor of the mediaeval Bulgarian castle of Hutaļči, the ruins of which were discovered in the 1980s, 9 km/5 miles to the south-east of the present town at the edge of the plain, in the formerly wholly Turkish village of Hisar Beyli (later, Serbegi, since 1934, Javorets). The Hutaļči castle is mentioned in a 13th-century inscription.

The nahiya of Hutaļči is first mentioned in the Imanal Defter from 884/1479, having 24 villages with Bulgarian names and Christian inhabitants besides two villages with Turkish names and Muslim inhabitants (Cădărăli and ‘Ali Faqhih). Selwi itself is mentioned for the first time in 922/1516, as a newly-founded place ‘not mentioned in the previous registers’ and having 18 Muslim Turkish households. In the course of the 16th century, this village, due to its central location, became the centre of the district and in the course of the late 17th century developed into a town. In 922/1516 there were, next to the old villages, eight new Muslim villages with Turkish names and in 1579-80 fourteen. At this time, the number of the Muslim population rose from 214 to 838 households, whereas the Christians largely remained stagnant because of the re-population of the old villages gradually Islamised. In 1751 Selwi was a small town of 301 households, with two mosques and a weekly market. Through further Islamisation, 71% of the district was now Muslim.

In the course of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the town as well as the district slowly lost its predominantly Muslim character, the Christians having markedly large families. In 1845, 52% of the district was Muslim, in 1873 46%, the town then having 2,345 Muslim inhabitants and 3,864 Christians. Selwi had in 1873 ten mosques, a few hamams and dervish convents and a large and monumental church for the Christian community, rebuilt in 1834 on older foundations, with the support of the local Muslim notables and written permission of Sultan Mahmud II. After Bulgaria became independent, most of the old Turkish colonists, as well as the bulk of the Muslims of local origin, left the villages of Selwi and migrated to Anatolia. Those remaining in the town more than halved in numbers by 1887. According to the census of 1928, only 811 Muslims were still living in the town. After the Second World War, during which time the town saw a rapid development, almost all Muslims left, and their mosques and other buildings were desecrated. The church from 1834 and the Clock Tower, first erected in 1777, remain standing as officially recognised monuments of culture.

Only in the large village of Akindjiler (now Petko Slavejkov), until 1878 wholly Turkish, a majority of the population remained Turkish-speaking Muslims, having one small mosque. The same is valid for the village of mixed origin, Rahova (Rahovite). In Malkoĉlar (now Burja) and Adiller (Idilevo), some families remained, partly with Alevi inclinations.

Throughout the Ottoman period, the nahiye/kada was known by both the names of Selwi and Hutaļči.


2. Studies. Nikolai Ganeev, Stranitsi ot istorijata na grad Sevlievo, V. Tarnovo 1925; Žebo Čankov, Geografski Rečnik na Bălūkarja, Sofia 1939, 394-6; Nikolaj P. Kovačev, Mestnite nazvaji na Selvičko,

SEMA' KHANE [see SAMA']

SEMEDIREK, SEMADIREK, the Ottoman Turkish name for Samothrace, modern Greek Samothraki, a mountainous island of the Thracian Sporades group in the northeastern part of the Aegean Sea, now part of the Greek Republic and at present included in the nomos or department of Evros. Its area is 178 km², and in 1981 the declining population stood at 2,871. In mediaeval times it was famous for its honey and its goats, and the Latins called it Sanctus Mandrachi.

The island, which lies de I'empire byzantin, 8 e e E. Malamut, [q.y.] and in 1863 the French consul Champoiseau was allowed by the Ottoman authorities to transport the inhabitants from neighbouring areas. Amongst those granted by Mehemmed to his father-in-law, the vanquished Despot of Morea Demetrius Palaeologus [see MORA]. Apart from a brief Venetian occupation, Samothrace and the neighbouring islands passed by the Turco-Venetian treaty of 1479 definitively into Ottoman hands; by 1470, the island was recovered by the sultan Mehemmed Fatih's fleet (on 4 June 1456, according to a Byzantine short chronicle), provoked a western counter-attack by a papal fleet under Cardinal Scarampo, but in 1459 the sultan recovered Samothrace, Lemnos (Limni [q.v.]) and Thasos (Thâshoz [q.e.]), and their revenues were amongst those granted by Mehemmed to his father-in-law, the vanquished Despot of Morea Demetrios Palaeologus [see MORA]. After a brief from Venetian occupation, Samothrace and the neighbouring islands passed by the Turco-Venetian treaty of 1479 definitively into Ottoman hands; by 1470, the island had been left with barely 200 inhabitants because of the incessant raiding.

The Ottoman period (1479-1912) is insufficiently documented. A Venetian raid is recorded in 1502. Soon afterwards, Pir Reis called the island seu'litel makāmi "abode of saints", perhaps echoing earlier descriptions of it. In 1698 the Venetian admiral Dolfin forced the Ottoman fleet to retreat to the Dardanelles, so that the Italians could gather taxation from the northeastern Aegean islands. In the early stages of the Greek National Revolt (1821), the island was raided by the fleet of Kara Ali, which slaughtered almost all the male Greek population and enslaved the women and children (see Finlay, History of Greece, i, 192), and only after 1827 did the survivors begin to resettle the island from neighbouring areas. Archaeological excavations were begun on Samothrace in the 19th century by the French and the Austrians, and in 1863 the French consul Champigneul was allowed by the Ottoman authorities to transport the statue of the Winged Victory to the Louvre. The island was occupied by the Greek navy on 19 October 1912 in the course of the First Balkan War; during World War II it was under Bulgarian occupation from Western Thrace 1941-4.

Bibliography: See also Şh. Sâmi, Kâmiş al-a'llâm, s.v.; S. Papageorgiu, Samothrace, history of the island, Athens 1982 (in Greek); I.H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı tarihi, ii, Ankara 1968, index; D.E. Pitcher, An historical geography of the Ottoman empire, Leiden 1972, 84-5 and maps XIV, XVI.

SENEGAL, the name of a former French colony, an independent republic since 1960. Senegal takes its name from the river which rises in Guinea and discharges into the Atlantic Ocean near Saint-Louis after describing a broad curve, a section of which constitutes the frontier with Mauritania [see MœURTANIYa].

The origin of the word "Senegal" is disputed. According to some, the term is said to derive from the name of the Sanhadja (or Zenaga), a Berber people who occupied the northern bank of the lower reaches of the river. The first forms of these names are to be found in the accounts of travellers of the 16th century. Duarte Pacheco Pereira uses the phrase "rio de Çanagua" to denote the river; Zurara, Valentim Fernandes, Ca da Mosto and Diogo Gomes call the river the "river of the Lebu of the Cape Verde peninsula (less than 2%).

French, the official language of the Republic, is
known by approximately one-third of the population. Since 1978, the constitution has furthermore recognised six national languages: Joola, Malinke, Pular, Serer, Soninke and Wolof. Due to its centrality, the number of Wolof speakers, and its historical and political role, Wolof, although little used in the press and in literature, has tended to become, in fact, the principal national language of Senegal. On the other hand, the existence of a public and private network engaged in the teaching of Arabic, and the use of Arabic characters in the transcription of certain national languages, have tended to confer upon Arabic, for religious reasons, the status of a major cultural language, in spite of the relatively small number of those who use it.

The total population of Senegal was 7 million in 1988, representing a density of 35.7 inhabitants per km². The capital, Dakar [g.o. in Suppl.], has a population of over a million. The scale of urbanisation is one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa: more than a third of the inhabitants. In 1988 the G.N.P. was $510 per head of population, and the overseas debt, in 1989, was $288.25 per inhabitant. The vast majority of the population is Muslim. There also exists a Catholic minority (about 5%) in the south of the country ("Little Coast").

2. Economy.

The economy of Senegal, which depends for almost half of its exports on a single agricultural product, the ground-nut, is fragile. Despite efforts towards liberalisation, the Senegalese state remains the principal employer, importer and investor, a fact which increases the risks of corruption and nepotism in the administrative apparatus. The Senegalese economy is, furthermore, deeply dependent on foreign nations for the provision of capital and of technology. For a long time France, the former colonial power, has occupied a dominant position, which is currently shared by the U.S.A.

Since independence, the value of ground-nuts on the international market has declined considerably (in competition with the oils of the soy-bean and the cole-seed). The ground-nut, which represented 80% of the value of exports until 1967, represented no more than one-half fifteen years later. This collapse is also accounted for by the development of new products for export: phosphates, fresh and preserved fish, cotton. On the other hand, the state has given priority to the extension of rice production, as well as the construction of a dam at Diama (near Saint-Louis), to facilitate mounds of sea-shells on the coast, numerous megalithic monuments, dating from the first millennium of this era, between Gambia and Ferlo (in particular the stone circles of Sine-Saloum) and metallurgical sites prove the antiquity of human occupation in these regions.

In the earliest stages of its history, Senegal was a cul-de-sac, backed by an ocean which, until the 15th century, played no part. Essentially, what constitutes its current territory was outside the zone of domination of the kingdom of Ghana, the first political formation of any size in the region. It was also situated at the furthest limits of the Muslim world of the time. It is precisely from this zone of contact with Arabo-Muslim trans-Saharan commerce, at the approaches to the valley of the Senegal river, that the first information filters through, beginning in the 9th century A.D.

The history as such of Senegal really begins with the description of sub-Saharan itineraries by the Andalusian geographer al-Bakri (writing in 460/1068). Proceeding along the course of the Senegal river, al-Bakri gives us detailed descriptions of the river's banks, of Sunghâna (or Sangâna), of Takrûr and of Sîllâ (or Silli). Situated some 200 km from the estuary of the Senegal river ("six days journey between it and the land of the Godala"), Sunghâna is composed of two towns, located on either side of the river. Down-stream, between Sunghâna and the Atlantic Ocean, "the inhabited places follow on from one another". This zone corresponds to the lower valley of the river, known historically by the name of Wialo. Up-stream, at a distance which is not given precisely, are located Takrûr, then Sîllâ, itself situated at "twenty stages" (more than 600 km) from Ghâna. Sîllâ, too, is composed of two towns, separated by the river.

The middle valley of the Senegal represents the first centre of Islamisation of the entire region. The king of Takrûr, Waar Diabâ (d. 492/1046) was converted, calling on his subjects and on the neighbouring city of Sîllâ to accept the new religion. His son, Labi, supported Yahya b. Umar in 448/1056 in the first conflicts of the Almoravid movement [see Almûwâ Batânû]. The king of Sîllâ, for his part, made war on his non-Muslim neighbours, such as those of "Kalânbi" (Galam), another city on the river.

From this period onward, the sources of gold, which constituted the principal magnet for Arabo-Berber merchants, were logged by travellers and geographers. The best gold was then obtained from a site known as Ghiyaru (Gunjuru ?), situated at "eighteen days’ journey" (less than 600 km) to the south of Ghâna. This is in the major auriferous region of Bambuk, which is located on the right bank of the Faleme (a tributary of the Senegal) and is divided today between the modern states of Senegal and Mali. In the following century, according to al-Idrîsî (writing in 549/1154), Takrûr, which seems to have gained by the enfeoffment of Ghâna, possibly by the Almoravids, exerted its authority as far as the approaches to Bambuk, thus controlling exchanges between the salt of the coast and the gold of the interior.

The kingdom of Takrûr was subsequently supplanted by other regional political formations, but the toponym survived and was to acquire great significance. In all probability it is the origin of the name "Toucouleurs" (Duarte Pacheco Pereira, Valen-
tim Fernandes, in the 16th century), then, in French writing, of "Toucouleurs". On the other hand, until the 19th century, the word Takrûr denoted in a loose fashion, throughout the Arab East, the Muslim regions of the extreme west of Western Africa, more
specifically, the lands which are currently Senegal and Mali.
(2) A Senegalese political matrix: the Grand Jolof.
In the participation of Takrūr in the Almoravid movement, the exploits of the Murūbūtin had few repercussions in the region of Senegal. On the other hand, their memory has been magnified to the point of representing the birth of the Islamic history of the land. This sense of identification with the Almoravid ḥiḍāḍ finds its best known expression in the genealogy of the kings of the Jolof, the first great historical Senegalese kingdom. The oral sources, which concentrate on the achievement of the founding hero, claim, in anachronistic fashion, that the first sovereign of the Jolof, Njajaan Njaay, was the son of the Almoravid Abū Bakr b. 'Umar, or one of his descendents and successors. But this is a late genealogy, no doubt fabricated after the 12th/18th century by Muslim scholars anxious to validate the Islamic legitimacy of the dynasty, in competition with other traditions according to which the founder was, on the contrary, renowned for his animist powers.

The “Grand Jolof” was, between the 13th and 16th centuries, the crucible of new Senegalese political identities, more particular those of the Wolof language. But the reconstruction of the process remains in part conjectural. After the legendary account of the foundation of the kingdom by Njajaan Njaay, the oral sources remain virtually silent regarding the latter’s successors, only providing dynastic lists without commentators. These unclear materials make it impossible to establish a firm chronology. At the most, by means of connections and cross-checking it is legitimate to locate the origins of the kingdom at the earliest towards the end of the 13th century. In the Jolof as in the Waalo, the dynasty claimed descent from Njajaan Njaay: these were in all probability the central territories of the new hegemony. On the other hand, the other dynastic unities, Kajoor (Cayor) and Bawol (Baol) are given distinct, even earlier origins (references to the Soninke of Ghana) and therefore needed to be attached subsequently to the great totality. Similarly, the “Wolofisation” of these two countries was accomplished, after some delay, under the influence of the Grand Jolof. Later still, there took place the integration of the southern kingdoms of Sine-Wolof language, of Sine (Sine) and of Saalum (Saloum).

The process of extension of the political range of the Jolof was overshadowed by the expansion of the empire of Mali [q.e.] At its zenith (first half of the 14th century), this empire gained a foothold in the valleys of the Senegal and the Gambia, defeated the sovereign of the Jolof, if the Malinke tradition, and it alone, is to be believed, and radiated, in a fashion difficult to determine, over the rest of the region. Political titulature bears numerous traces of this period of Malinke control. The titles of sara (chief) or of far-ba (great chief), which came to be widely used in Wolof hierarchies, are directly borrowed from the Malinke language. Genealogical connections with the dynasty of Mali also appear throughout the Senegambian zone. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the Jolof was at its zenith, its territory extending as far as Férul, towards the Futa Jallon, whereas Takrūr continued to exert its power further to the east, from the central valley of the Senegal to Bambuk. At the same time, Mali, in a process of decline, nevertheless maintained its pressure, particularly in the Gambian valley.

But the empire of the Jolof was weakly centralised and the subsidiary kingdoms enjoyed considerable autonomy, sometimes engaging in dissidence. The sovereign (baudi) directly governed only the province of Jolof as such, an inland region separated from maritime traffic. As a means of surmounting this handicap the Crown Prince (bauni), Jelen, ousted in a war of succession, made his way, in 1488, to Lisbon, converted to Catholicism and having regained his throne, played an active part in the control of imports (horses, iron, weapons, fabrics, leather and glass objects, etc.).

The coast of Senegambia were discovered by the Portuguese around 1445. The Wolof lands represent in this context the first “morsel” of Black Africa explored by the Portuguese. The testimonies of these navigators, superseding the somewhat limited Arab sources, provide considerable new material for the understanding of Senegalese societies in the 15th century.

By combining these elements of information with those assembled later, it is possible to trace the essential character of these societies. They are first of all marked by a very strict hierarchisation of social classes: the gee (free men), the teeto (considered inferior, of low “caste”, consisting of members of endogamic groups specialising in the practice of certain artisanal occupations, smiths, millers, etc.) and the jaam (slaves and dependents). Power belonged to members of the ruling gee families. In the Senegambian zone, kinship is established both in the maternal and the paternal line; matrilineages are called men and patrilineages gene. The inheritance of goods and positions exposes, in variable proportions according to dynasties and periods, this double filiation. Thus transmission in the dynasty of the Jolof, from the outset until the end, is predominantly patrilineal. On the other hand, the Waalo, the Kajoor and the Bawol practised a bilineal system from the 16th to the 19th century, and previously, in certain cases, possibly a matrilineal system. In the entourage of these Wolof kings, a lady of the Court (mother, aunt or elder sister), theingeer, exercises a substantial authority which underlines the role of matrilinearity in these complex systems.

The diffusion of Islam in these kingdoms is still very uneven. The Portuguese texts speak of animist practices and evoke the propensity of the Wolof for the abuse of alcohol. They also illustrate the important role played by foreign preachers, the majority of them (from neighboring Zanaga groups (contemporary Mauritania)). These are known by the name of bissërin or bissërin (in contemporary Wolof, seri, equivalent of shaykh). From the early 17th century onwards, the term “marabout” comes into general use and is substituted for the latter. As in the rest of western Sudan in the same period, Islam is the faith of elites and of merchants, an Islam of the court, which does not exclude, on the part of the sovereigns of the respective subjects’ behest, recourse to instruments of legitimacy borrowed from ancestral cults (feasts, dancing, sacrifices etc.).

(3) The turning-point of the 16th century: a new political landscape.

The years following 1500 saw a significant turning-point in the history of the region: the accession to power of a Peul or Fulbe dynasty in neighbourhood of Takrūr, and the autonomy of the subordinate kingdoms, destabilised the unity of the Jolof.

The history of the interior of Senegambia is marked, during the second half of the 15th century, by a hostile campaign of great breadth instigated by Peul originating from the border regions of the Sahel, in a double movement, north-south and then south-north. Between 1460 and 1480 the Peul crossed the central
valley of the Senegal in the direction of the Gambia. Soon afterwards, a Peul state was founded by Tengela in the Fuuta Djaloo (Fuuta Djalon, currently in Guinea [see FUTA DJALON]), while Peul forces confronted those of Mali. From 1490 onward, Tengela and his son Koli campaigned along the current eastern frontier of Senegal. Tengela was killed in 1512 in a confrontation with troops of the Songhay empire (an empire centred on the loop of the Niger) and Koli (son of Tengela undertook the occupation of Takrur, where he founded a new dynasty, that of the Deniyakoobe [pl. Deniyankoobe]). The Peul power exerted pressure on the Senegalese frontiers of the Jolof, in particular through the occupation of the Ferlo.

The same period witnessed the increasing power of the Kajoor, annexing the peninsula of Cape Verde, a strategic commercial area, between 1482 and 1515, then, between 1530 and 1550, defeating the Jolof in battle (the victory of Danki). The Kajoor seceded, followed by all the other tributary kingdoms.

After the breakdown of the Gran-Jolof provisional equilibrium was established between the four Wolof kingdoms (Jolof, Waalo, Kajoor, Bawol) and, more broadly, between the Senegambian states (besides the afore-mentioned, the Fuuta of the Deniyankoobe—formerly Takrur—to the north, and the Sinn and the Saalum, to the south). A new disposition of forces was progressively brought into being, marked by the ambitions of the Fuuta, the power of the Kajoor and the economic growth of the Saalum.

In the second half of the 16th century, the buurba of the Jolof passed for some time under the protectorate of the Fuuta. The brak of the Waalo followed, after some delay, and in its turn paid tribute to the Fuuta. The Deniyakoobe dynasty reached its zenith at the beginning of the 17th century under the reign of the satigi Samba Lamu. In confrontation with this regional power, a new hegemony was established under the leadership of Amari Ngoone, the architect of the victory over the Jolof, who united the Bawol and the Kajoor under his authority, but this union collapsed at the end of the 16th century. Henceforward, the Wolof found themselves divided on a lasting basis between the four independent political entities, which were to continue in operation, within virtually stable frontiers, until the colonial conquest, although the memory of their lost unity was not to disappear. For the Senegalese, the Islam of the court, the monopoly of the powerful, was to an increasing extent, not only the trade but also the political and social life of the region.

(4) The period of the slave trade.

The first Portuguese incursion took place, around 1445, at Arguin, on the coast of what is now Mauritania. From there, the Portuguese proceeded along the course of the Senegal and the Gambia to the object of reaching the sources of gold, thus diverting the internal commercial routes towards the Atlantic. From this time onwards, the traffic in slaves began to flourish. Senegambia constituted in fact the primary source of slaves embarked directly for Europe by sea and it continued to be the principal exporter throughout the 16th century, until the Gulf of Guinea and Angola took over this role in the following century.

After the beginning of the 17th century, the Portuguese commercial monopoly was shattered by the successive arrival of the Dutch, the British and the French. The new powers divided the coast into rival zones of influence. The Dutch established themselves on the island of Gorea in 1621. After temporary Por-
tuguese re-occupations (in 1629 and 1645), they were obliged to cede the territory to the British (1667), then to the French (1677). In 1659, the French built the fortress of Saint-Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal river, and organised an active network covering the whole of the river valley. For their part, the British established themselves, in 1651, at the mouth of the Gambia.

This European implantation had profound effects on political and social dispositions. The hunt for slaves led to violence and exacerbated the tensions between Senegalese kingdoms and European traders, and within the Senegalese kingdoms themselves. A social revolution was created, under the flag of Islam, as a reaction against the extortions of the ruling aristocracies. It is known in the European texts of the period as the “war of the marabouts” or “Toubenan movement” (from Arabic tawba “conversion, repentance”).

Initially, a qiyāh born among Berbers of Mauritania, is the initiative of a religious upstart and reformer named Nāṣir al-Dīn. As a reaction against the double pressure of Arab Ḥassānīq warriors moving towards the south and of the Europeans installed at the mouth of the Senegal river, erupted in the river valley, where it acquired aspects of supplementary significance. The desire to convert the populace to Islam was combined here with opposition to the European slave trade. Between 1673 and 1677, the qiyāh was victorious in the Waalo, in the Fuuta, in the Jolof and in the Kajoor. But this victory was everywhere ephemeral. In Mauritania (where this war was known by the name of Shar Bubba), the men of religion (zwāya) were forced to recognise the supremacy of the warriors. On the Senegalese side, the local dynasties re-established their authority everywhere, with the military and material aid of the French traders of Saint-Louis. This restoration was accompanied by an anti-Islamic reaction on the part of the warrior aristocracies, who delivered the defeated survivors into slavery. In these circumstances, adherence to Islam took on a different meaning: from being the distinguishing sign of an elite in mediaeval Sudanese societies, it became the symbol of an ideology of dissidence and revolt against pagan tyrannies (in particular the power of the ceddo warriors, “slaves of the crown” in the service of the ruling families) and the foreign occupation. “Islam which had hitherto been the object of reaching the sources of gold, thus diver-
ing dynasties. In confrontation with the powers of the ceddo, Islamic teaching was seen as a possible response to the general crisis.

Within the Senegalese states, the Muslim communities consolidated themselves under the leadership
of influential religious families, who were not averse to invoking occult means to intimidate their adversaries. These Muslim enclaves, linked together by regular contacts and expressions of solidarity, organised themselves, either to snatch an ever more extensive autonomy, or to unleash Islamic revolutions. Their leaders, "graduates" trained in the same schools, in particular the religious centres of Pir and of Kokki in the Kaajor, in direct contact with the Berber zaouia masters, shared the same culture and exchanged information and plans.

From the end of the 17th century, around 1690, the Bundu, a zone situated to the south of the Senegal river in the east of the country, which had attracted numerous Muslims of the Fuuta Tooro fleeing from repression, had been the epicentre of a Muslim revolution led by a Fuutanke scholar by the name of Malik Sii (Sy), who had studied at Pir and was directly inspired by the model of Naisir al-Din. The Muslim party was thus assured of control of the valley of the Faleme, doubly rich on account of agricultural resources and gold deposits (Bambuk). Like Naisir al-Din, Malik took the title of almami (al-Imâm) and laid the foundations of a régime which was to evolve in dynastic fashion.

The Bundu was a ladder towards the Fuuta Jaaloo, a mountain range recently colonised by the Peul, where other partisans of Naisir al-Din fleeing repression had also taken refuge. In 1725, a second Islamic revolution erupted in this region of what is now Guinea. In its turn it was to serve as the model for a movement of the same nature which was victorious in 1776 in the Fuuta Tooro and led to the fall of the Deniyanke dynasty. The religious party, known by the name of toorodo (from a Peul root which signifies, according to the hypotheses proposed, "to beg" or "to pray") was led by two former pupils of the schools of Pir and of Kokki, Sulayman Bal and Abd al-Kadir, the first almami and amir al-mu'minin of the Fuuta. Abd al-Kadir opposed the sale of Muslims at Saint-Louis and blocked the communications and the supply-routes of the French fortress.

The toorodo party attempted at the same time to extend Islamic power to the neighbouring Wolof kingdoms, but it encountered determined resistance on the part of the sovereign (daml) of the Kaajor, Aminu NDjek, of Ndeela, whose forces crushed the Fuutanke army at Bungoy in 1790. The Islamic revolution was brought to a definitive halt. In the Fuuta, the new aristocracy of the Toorodo appropriated land and dominated the country, while the régime of the almami, consumed by internece rivalry and struggles over succession between families, was in dire need of stability (between 1806 and 1854, 20 candidates came to power on 45 occasions, which, taking account of interregnums, represents an average of less than a year per reign). As in the Bundu and Fuuta Jaaloo, the leaders of the victorious party, trained originally as scholars, progressively yielded power to a new warrior aristocracy which had no direct links with religious studies. However, the Islamic character of the state was reinforced by a network of schools and of kadaas, which had the function of diffusing and promoting the Islamic teaching.

In the Wolof kingdoms, the Muslim groups maintained their cohesion and, sometimes, emigrated towards more hospitable regions (such as those from the province of Njambur, to the north of the Kaajor, who went into exile in huge numbers in the peninsula of Cape Verde.)

(5) The rivalry between the three powers: the warriors, the religious, the French of Saint-Louis.

At the Congress of Vienna (1814), Britain imposed on the European powers the suppression of the slave trade. Although "illicit commerce" continued for some time, the entire balance of Atlantic trading was comprehensively overturned. The Congress of Vienna also restored to French its warehouses in Senegal, which had been occupied by the British. After lengthy research, the ground-nut was identified by the French as the product providing the best substitute for the slave-trade (the British opting, for their part, for palm-oil). From 1840 onwards, the ground-nut was the miracle crop which could rescue French commerce in Senegal from stagnation. This choice led in its turn to a policy of intervention and more resolute territorial expansion. It was Faidherbe, governor of Senegal between 1854 and 1865, who inaugurated this process of colonial conquest: occupation of the Waalo (1855), construction of new posts in the valley of the Senegal river, political and military interference in the Kaajor, and victorious intervention in the Saalum (1859). These campaigns accentuated the fragility of the Senegalese kingdoms.

There was only one force, originating in the cast, which could represent an alternative to the French hegemony. It was embodied by a toorodo of the Fuuta, a veteran of the Pilgrimage, endowed with the title of khaliifa of the new Tjajunnya brotherhood, named al-Hadjdji Umar al-Futi. The latter, also inspired by the model of the caliphate of Sokoto (northern Nigeria) where he had lived for several years and taken a wife, sought to revive the toorodo tradition of Islamic reform. Establishing himself to the north of the Fuuta Jaaloo, he attracted to his cause thousands of "social juniors" from his native territory, in search of adventure and social advancement, and anxious to escape the crisis of power in the Fuuta Tooro. In 1846, 'Umar undertook his first tour of preaching and recruitment in eastern Senegambia and in the Fuuta Tooro. He was faced by the opposition both of the existing hierarchies in the Fuuta and of the French, worried by this new source of instability.

'Umar proclaimed the djihâd in 1852. At the end of 1854 he occupied the Bambuk, invaded the Bundu and established himself in the upper valley of the Senegal. But in 1857, he instigated the siege of the French fortress of Mediouna, adjacent to the upper valley, but was unable to complete it successfully and suffered heavy losses. Henceforward, al-Hadjdji 'Umar withdrew from Senegal and directed his efforts against the Bambara animist hegemonies which then dominated the entire western zone of what is now Mali. But he continued to draw the bulk of his forces from the human reservoir of the Fuuta Tooro, thus contributing to the phenomenon of large (emigration), which had profound effects on the riparian societies.

Taking up the legacy of al-Hadjdji 'Umar (who died in 1864 and whose empire survived for a further generation on the territory of what is now Mali), some Senegambian leaders, influenced by the 'Umarî djihâd or by the toorodo model, revived in their turn a militant and radical programme. In Senegambia, the principal figure was a disciple of al-Hadjdji 'Umar by the name of Ma Bâ Jaaxu, who dominated the stage in Senegal from 1861 to 1867. He took the title of almami and founded a state covering the land between the Saalum and the Gambia and extending, for a brief period, as far as the Senegal river. Ma Bâ Jaaxu was killed in 1867 while attempting to subdue the Siin, who remained resolutely animist.

Some of his companions were to persist in the struggle for Islamic reform and against French expan-
sionism. These included Lat Joor (Lat Dyor), damel of the Kajoor, and al-Bun Njay, his nephew, buurba of the Jolof. Other lieutenants of Ma Ba maintained positions of power along the entire length of the Gamb- bia. But the most significant figures in the long term were to be non-combattant marabouts. The change in emphasis was embodied in particular, a little later, by Abdul Bokar Kan, in the upper valley of the Senegal, Confronted by a warlord, Abdul Bokar Kan, who, between 1860 and 1890, attempted to re-establish the unity and the independence of the Fuuta and to oppose the large-scale drain of the human resources of the region in the direction of the post-13 Umari empire, other religious figures called for the restoration of tawødø ideals: these were Cerno Brahim, a pupil of the Moorish záýya of Tràrza, in the eastern Fuuta, and Amadu Seexu, son and disciple of an influential religious personality, closely linked to the school of Kokki, who was proclaimed Mahdi in the western Fuuta in 1825. Seexu took on the mantle of the "followers of the Mahdi" (given to the movement). Cerno Brahim, for his part, was defeated by allies of Abdul Bokar Kan, in the upper valley of the Senegal, in 1869. The same year, at the time of a devastating cholera epidemic, Amadu Seexu followed his father's example in calling for a movement of reform and of purification. The mobilisation of forces, and the tension which ensued, led to a direct confrontation with the French. Amadu Seexu allied himself temporarily with Lat Joor, the former companion of Ma Ba, and pretender to the throne of the Kajoor, and won numerous victories over the French. For his part, Abdul Bokar Kan avoided any direct confrontation with the Madyankooobe whose leader, powerless to rally the entirety of the Fuuta and being much more respected in Wolof circles, emigrated with all his forces to the Jolof. Having become a threat to the Wolof dynasties, Amadu Seexu found himself progressively isolated. Along with hundreds of his supporters he was killed by a French expeditionary force in a bloody battle in 1875. A final large-scale religious movement was launched, in the upper valley of the Senegal river, by Mamadu Laamin Daraame, a Soninke of the Galam community of Bordeaux, Faidherbe, who had been trained in the Arab Bureaux in Algeria, directed his efforts towards the interior of the country and the Senegal river. He was divided from operations nearer the coast by the separation of Goree into a distinct entity belonging to the "Marine". Protected by the Parisian administration, Faidherbe received the necessary funds and reinforcements. He also knew how to cultivate an image of distinction in influential French circles, showing himself receptive to scholars, publicists and journalists. Like Bonaparte in Egypt, Faidherbe surrounded himself with young officers, graduates of military schools. Combining diplomacy with firmness, he encouraged the signing of treaties of protectorate with African chiefs, but he also organised the Senegalese Tirailleur, an African force in the service of the colonial power, later to enjoy a great fortune. To train an African élite for the role of intermediaries between the Senegalese people and the French authorities, he founded for this purpose the "École des Otages" (1855-1871), which was later to become the "École des Fils des Chefs et des Inté- prétés" (1893). With the annexation of the Waalo (1856), a collection of dispersed trading posts was replaced by a single and continuous tract of occupied territory, the first of its kind for the French in West Africa. On 26 February 1859, the island of Goree and religious zealots, both groups being themselves wrack- ed by internal divisions, there was superimposed to an ever-increasing extent that between African and French interests. This situation accounts for the instability of alliances and counter-alliances. Caught between two fires—the French of Saint-Louis and the religious reformers—the monarchs, who were also dependent on their céddo entourages, made alliances, according to circumstances, with one party or the other. Following the suppression of religious ini- tiatives, in which they collaborated in numerous cases, they hoped to find some common ground with Saint-Louis, but were in their turn eliminated at the end of the century: Lat Joor was killed in battle in 1886, al-Bun Njaay was forced into exile in 1890, and Abdul Bokar, powerless to prevent the occupation of the Fuuta, was killed by Moors acting on behalf of the French in 1891. The last efforts at resistance were those mounted, in the non-Islamised south, by the Joola of Lower- Casamance, to the south of the Gambia. The French administration, reduced to a few coastal warehouses, sought to take control of the Casamancian coast with the aim of developing there the production of rubber. But the Joola took advantage of the inaccessible nature of their villages and of the localised nature of their power to impede French penetration. From 1885 onward, organised on a village-based structure, they resisted the French with some success, and their movement was to remain active until the First World War. The conquest of Senegal by France responded to a double objective: strategic, providing a base of depar- ture for the advance on the Sudan (Segou, the Umari capital on the Niger, fell in 1890), and economic, for the development of the cultivation of the ground-nut, especially in the Kajoor. In 1885, the ground-nut repre- sented 70% of the colony's exports and was poised to become its sole crop. Beyond the various legal constructs, the true founder of the colony of Senegal, reduced to a few isolated trading posts at the time of the French return in 1817, was the governor Faidherbe (1854-1865, with a brief interruption in 1861). At his own initiative, and with the active support of the commercial com- munity of Bordeaux, Faidherbe, who had been train- ed in the Arab Bureaux in Algeria, directed his efforts towards the interior of the country and the Senegal river. He was divided from operations nearer the coast by the separation of Goree into a distinct entity belonging to the "Marine". Protected by the Parisian administration, Faidherbe received the necessary funds and reinforcements. He also knew how to cultivate an image of distinction in influential French circles, showing himself receptive to scholars, publicists and journalists. Like Bonaparte in Egypt, Faidherbe surrounded himself with young officers, graduates of military schools. Combining diplomacy with firmness, he encouraged the signing of treaties of protectorate with African chiefs, but he also organised the Senegalese Tirailleur, an African force in the service of the colonial power, later to enjoy a great fortune. To train an African élite for the role of inter- mediary between the Senegalese people and the French authorities, he founded for this purpose the "École des Otages" (1855-1871), which was later to become the "École des Fils des Chefs et des Inté- prétés" (1893). With the annexation of the Waalo (1856), a collection of dispersed trading posts was replaced by a single and continuous tract of occupied territory, the first of its kind for the French in West Africa. On 26 February 1859, the island of Goree and
the southern trading posts were placed under the authority of the governor of Senegal. The Kajoor, the major source of ground-nuts, all the outlets for which were controlled by French commerce, was progressively encircled. A display of force in the Kajoor and the replacement of the damel (January-May 1861) overcame all resistance. The retreat of al-Hadjjdi 'Umar (Treaty of Medina, August 1860), removed the threat of djihadi and consolidated the structure. If these impressive achievements are supplemented by the organisational work conducted on the ground (administrative institutes, French Muslim courts, Muslim tribunals, modernisation of Saint-Louis, foundation of the Bank of Senegal, etc.) it is evident that, without substantial means, Faidherbe had transformed—twenty-five years before the great colonial partition of Africa—a network of trading posts of mediocre importance into a colony of 50,000 km², to which should be added the zone of influence created in the interior by the various treaties of protectorate and by settlements along the river or on the coast. Guided by the Algerian experience, Faidherbe conducted a rather Islamophile policy, using Muslim institutions as an arm of the French domination. This period saw the beginnings of a phenomenon which was to persist for several generations, the privileged status enjoyed by representatives of Muslim élites of the region of Saint-Louis and of the river: Shaykh Siddiya Baba (1862-1926), a Kâdiri Moorish dignitary of Trarza, Shaykh Sa'âd Bûh (1850-1917), another Kâdiri (and Fadili) Moorish figure, the interpreter Bûh al-Mogdad, drawn from the same circles, Amadu Muğhûr Sakho, kâdi of Boghe (Fuuta) from 1905 to 1934, and a number of prominent citizens and merchants of Saint-Louis (Hamat Njaay/Ndiaye, etc.).

A decree of 16 June 1895 created the ‘Gouvernement Général de l’Afrique Occidentale Française’ (A.O.F.), whose titular head, based at Saint-Louis, combined his duties with those of governor of Senegal. A decree of 1902 separated the two functions: the Governor-General took up residence in Dakar, while the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal remained in Saint-Louis. A decree of 18 October 1904 established the definitive organisation of the A.O.F. and presented Senegal as a colony composed of ‘territories of direct administration’ (the four communes of Muslim schools, Goree, Rufisque, Dakar, and their suburbs, and the coastal zone traversed by the Dakar-Saint-Louis railway) and the ‘protectorate lands’ of the interior.

The ‘Four Communes’ represented an exceptional case in the French colonial system in Africa. A decree of 10 August 1872 had accorded to Saint-Louis and Goree-Dakar the status of fully functional communes. In 1880, this status had been extended to Rufisque, while, in 1887, Goree and Dakar had been separated into two distinct communal entities. Between 1872 and 1887, the Four Communes were endowed with an organisation copied from the French model. The decree of 4 February 1879 created an elected General Council, on the model of the practice followed in the French departments. On the other hand, since 1848 (with an interruption under the Second Empire) the inhabitants of Saint-Louis and of Goree had elected a representative to the French Chamber of Deputies. This right was extended to nationals of the Four Communes. This example of very close assimilation to the metropolitan régime was not extended further; until the Second World War, it never covered more than 5% of the Senegalese population. The other nationals of the territory were, as in the other colonies, ‘French subjects’, subordinated, by a decree of 20 September 1887, to the local colonial régime, by which they could be regularly requisitioned for works in the public interest, while at the same time their right of movement was limited and they were subject to the discretionary power of the administrators.

The Four Communes, on account of their privileged status, witnessed the emergence of the first black élites, whose claims, throughout the early years of the century, were directed towards total assimilation. The first land-mark event took place in 1914 with the election, on a huge majority (1,900 votes against 671) of a negro customs official, Blaise Diagne, competing with a candidate of mixed parentage supported by the administration. Blaise Diagne had benefited, especially, from the support of the Murid brotherhood. For the first time a Black African sat in the French Parliament. A law, sponsored by Blaise Diagne and promulgated in 1915, enlarged the constituency of French citizens, stipulating that all the nationals of the Four Communes and their descendants should enjoy citizen status. As a valued representative of the French government, with the title of Commissioner of the Republic and the rank of Governor-General, Blaise Diagne contributed actively to the recruitment of African troops for the fields of the First World War. He was convinced at this time that the shedding of blood would accelerate progress towards assimilation. After the war, he became Under-Secretary of State for the colonies, the first African to serve a French government in a ministerial capacity. On his death in 1934, Galandou Diouf was elected deputy and pursued the same programme, of populist oratory and co-operation with France, although with less skill. The founding of the Senegalese Socialist Party in 1935 and its affiliation to the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) in 1938 marked a new phase. The leader of the new party, Lamine Gueye, was defeated by Galandou Diouf in the elections of 1934 and 1936, but he dominated Senegalese political life after the Second World War.

Senegal was affected in numerous ways by the global conflict. Pierre Boisson, Governor-General of the A.O.F., remained loyal to the government of Vichy and offered military resistance to an attempted landing by General De Gaulle, supported by British naval forces at Dakar (15-23 September 1940). After the Allied landing in North Africa, Boisson negotiated an accord with Admiral Darlan and with General Eisenhower (7 December 1942) which brought the A.O.F. back into the war, but not into alliance with Free France (this was not to be achieved until June 1943).
citizenship on all nationals of the overseas colonies. In 1948, Senghor resigned from the S.F.I.O., which he considered too assimilationist, and founded his own party, the "Bloc Populaire Senegalais" (B.P.S.). Henceforward, the two organisations were to compete for control of the electorate, actively soliciting the religious leaders (the marabouts), who now enjoyed the status of electoral brokers and were the recipients of all kinds of favours from politicians. In spite of his Catholic allegiance and the attacks levelled at him on account of it, Senghor emerged from this confrontation the victor. Lamie Gueye, as a city-dweller from Saint-Louis, was not at all familiar with rural issues. Intellectual though he was, Senghor paid more attention to the problems of the “bush” and gained the support on this basis of numerous “marabouts” who had a direct interest in agricultural problems. He also manipulated with skill the internal conflicts within the brotherhoods. Thus he supported the head khala of the Murids, Fallou M’Bâcké, against his nephew and rival Cheikh M’Bâcké, a friend of Lamie Gueye. Told by the members of the moderate socialists, he won over to his side one of the great historical figures of the Tidjaniyya, Seydou Nourou Tall, grandson of al-Hadjdj Umar, a man of influence, who, from his stronghold in the Fuuta Tooro, had served all the administrations and now put his considerable expertise at Senghor’s disposal.

Senghor won the elections of 1951, and continued to consolidate his power at subsequent polls. The frame law of June 1956 (the “Defferre Law”) established a régime of internal autonomy and gave rise to an autonomous executive and a “Republic of Senegal”. Elections intended to put this autonomy into effect took place on 15 March 1957. The party of Senghor (which had become, through the unification of small parties, the “Bloc Populaire Sénégalais”) secured 78.1% of the votes, as against 11.1% for the Socialists (limited essentially to Dakar and Saint-Louis). Senghor’s principal assistant, Mamadou Dia, became Vice-President of the Council of Government (the functions of President being reserved for the French representative, the territorial chief), while Senghor continued to sit in the French National Assembly. The Council of Government was to be established in Dakar, promoted to the status of capital of Senegal, to the detriment of Saint-Louis and the old political weight of the latter town. Senghor’s political strategy was consolidated by the fusion of the Socialist Party and the B.P.S., forming the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (U.P.S.) in April 1958.

The year 1958 was dominated by the referendum on the “Communauté”, which gave the African electors a choice between independence by stages, within a “Commonwealth” retaining unified defence and foreign policy (“Yes” vote) and immediate independence (“No” vote). The question of the marabouts and religious leaders, uneasy at the direction proposed by Dia, expressed public support for Senghor. A new constitution, abolishing the bishops, was adopted by referendum on 3 March 1963 (99.4% of the votes cast). The consolidation of power was pursued with the establishment, through the integration of some and the exclusion of others, of the U.P.S. as a “unified”, i.e. single party. This aggressive policy of presidentialisation, in a context of economic stagnation, provoked movements of discontent and strikes. On 22 March 1967, supporters of Mamadou Dia attempted to assassinate Senghor as he was leaving the Great Mosque, on the occasion of the feast of Tabaski (Id al-Kabir). In the face of increasing pressure and the demand for local autonomy, 1 May 1968; 1 May 1969; 22 July 1969; 1 May 1970; 22 July 1970) and a constitutional revision restored in 1970 the functions of Prime Minister and extended the powers of the Assembly. Four days after the referendum which confirmed the revision with 94.9% of the votes cast, on 26 February 1970, Senghor called upon one of the younger senior civil servants, Abdou Diaf, to serve as Prime Minister.

A new constitutional revision took place in 1976, restoring, on a distributive basis, the multi-party principle: three parties were authorised, on condition that one was to espouse “liberal democracy”, another Marxism-Leninism, and the third “socialist democracy”. The U.P.S., claiming the latter label for itself, was admitted to the Socialist International in November 1976 and adopted the name of Parti Socialiste in December. This “democratic awakening” of 1976 was accompanied by a veritable explosion of new titles in the press. This burgeoning of a press catering for political discussion in the French language, which had no equivalent in the rest of Francophone Africa, was to continue throughout the 1980s.
On 31 December 1980, President Senghor took a decision of a kind hitherto unknown in sub-Saharan Africa, resigning from his functions and withdrawing entirely of his own accord from public life. He thus illustrated once again the extent to which he differed from the leaders of other African régimes, among others President Houphouët-Boigny who, encouraged by the results of the “Ivory Coast economic miracle” of the 1970s, was eager to wrest from Senegal its former role as the leading nation of Francophone West Africa. In conformity with the Constitution, Abdou Diouf of the PDS (Parti Democratique Senegalais—right-wing liberal) was elected President of the Republic on 1 January 1981. On 24 April 1981, on the recommendation of the new President, a law was introduced, abolishing the limit on the number of parties. On 27 February 1983, Abdou Diouf was elected President with more than 83% of the votes cast, while the Parti Socialiste obtained some 80% of the votes in the legislative elections. Out of fourteen officially recognised parties, eight participated in the legislative elections and five submitted candidates to the presidential elections: Abdou Diouf (P.S.): 83.5%—one percentage point higher than the vote obtained by Senghor in 1978; Abdoulaye Wade (Parti Démocratique Senegalais—right-wing liberal): 14.79%; Mamadou Dia, the former detainee (Mouvement Démocratique Populaire—internal autonomy): 1.39%; Oumar Wone (Parti Populaire Senegalais—nationalist): 0.20% and Mahjmount Diop (Parti Africain de l’Independence—communist): 0.17%. The results were vigorously disputed by all the defeated parties, with allegations of corruption, as had previously happened in 1978. Shortly after his retirement, Léopold Senghor was elected a member of the Académie Française (May 1983).

As regards the most recent period—which has been marked, internally, by a consolidation of socialist power (in spite of recurrent political crises, in particular with the P.D.S. of Abdoulaye Wade), an extension of freedom of opinion, but also an aggravation of economic and social problems, further accentuated by the devaluation of the C.F.A. franc—the principal events to be noted are the failure of the Senegambian confederation (Senegal + Gambia) which had been proclaimed on 1 February 1962 and was dissolved in September 1989, the gravity of the crisis which for several months paralysed Senegal (economic and social crisis): 1989, and the emergences of an independence movement in the isolated southern region of the country, the Casamance, whose indigenous populations (Joola and others) showed themselves hostile to agricultural colonisation by Wolof migrants (armed confrontations in September 1989 and September 1990, provisional cease-fire in July 1993). In the course of the 35 years which have followed independence, Senegal deserves credit for having been in the vanguard of democratic evolution in Francophone Black Africa, but the paucity of its natural resources and the circumscription of its territory, since it ceased to be the “centre” of French West Africa, render its position fragile. The laboratory of African democracy (it is one of the few countries of sub-Saharan Africa which has not experienced a coup d’état or a military régime) Senegal is also, and even more so, a laboratory for the study of contemporary Islamic trends.

4. Religious and intellectual life.

Islam is both an ancient and a recent phenomenon in Senegal. The first contacts date back to the 11th century, with the conversion of the king of Takrûr (before 1040), then the rise of the Almoravid movement in the second half of this century. But Islamisation was a long-term process which, under the triple influence of Soninke dynasties, inheritors of the empire of Ghana, pioneers of Sahelian commerce and first transmitters of the faith, of institutions originating in the empire of Mali, and of the education conveyed by learned Moorish scholars hailing from the right bank of the Senegal, henceforward to be the guides of Senegalese Islam, developed very slowly from north to south.

In the early modern period, the Portuguese noted the general presence of religious Muslims (the “hissiru” or “hissiru”) in the entourages of chieftains. But the same authors also report the existence of altars and of animist sacrifices. Adherence to Islam, when it took place, was therefore superimposed upon more ancient cultural and religious traditions, still very much alive. As in the other Sudano-Sahelian formations of the period, Islam was at first a sign of social distinction, valued by the aristocracy, associated as it was with literacy and with trans-Saharan commerce. Islam was thus a superior knowledge reserved for élites. The lower classes, for their part adhered to ancestral traditions. European observers thus had difficulty establishing a firm distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims.

This “Islam of the court”, complainant towards princes and wealthy merchants, which did not disappear entirely, was succeeded, following the “war of the Marabouts” (1673-7), by a militant Islam, more aware of itself and taking advantage of major social issues, in particular, the extension of the Atlantic slave trade, to question the legitimacy of the ruling dynasties and to call for an Islamic revolution, presented as the reign of the law and of justice. After the defeat of the “marabouts”, Islam tended to be concentrated in enclaves partially exempt from the direct authority of the sovereigns and attracting pupils and students, as well as refugees anxious to escape from exploitations practised by those in power. The scholastic centres of Pir and Kokki, in the Kajoor, illustrated this new brand of Islam which laid emphasis on the higher education of students drawn from all the neighbouring regions. This “populist” Islam, nourished periodically by weekend pilgrimages, and committed to the triumph of the shari‘a, established a firm tradition, with recurrent manifestations, in the Senegambian regions.

The success of the Islamic revolution in the Fuuta Tooro (1776) and the pioneering role then adopted by Peul and Toucouleur scholars, as a new “chosen people” bearing the divine word (“Arabs of Black Africa” as they called themselves), reinforced the hopes of the Muslims of the region, but the Wolof monarchies, still attached to the old tradition, were not ready to experience its most rapid progress. It has been stated above to what an extent, in the wake of al-Haqqi ‘Umur and under the influence of various local preachers (Ma Bâ, Cerno Brahim, Amadou Sene and Mamadou Sene), in the 19th century was a century of religious effervescence, with competition between different types of claimant to political power: military, religious, and foreign. The French feared, in what they called the “Tidjani league”, a “holy alliance” of all the Muslim forces opposing their penetration. However, not all the
religious actors were necessarily Tidjani or 'Umari. This “djihadist” 19th century also saw an intensification of Muslim pressure on the southern regions of Senegal (Sereer kingdoms of Sen-Saloum/Sine-Saloum, Joola societies of Casamance), which had remained largely animist. For centuries, the Wolof had been moving towards the south, in search of better irrigated land. In these foreign regions, they willingly united around religious figures. It was in fact in a zone of Wolof colonisation situated to the north of the Gambia (the Badibu, or Rip), that the movement of Ma Ba first flourished. Saloum, caught between French and Islamic threats, fell into a state of total instability and experienced widespread conversion to Islam in the following decades. Finally, it was the other Sereer kingdom, that of Siin, politically stable and far less receptive to Islam, which brought about the downfall of Ma Ba (1867). However, the lieutenants and companions of Ma Ba subsequently continued his policy in their respective districts. Ma Ba had failed to establish a lasting empire, but he had dislocated the existing traditional societies and opened the door to the way companies of Islamisation, which, on the basis of the occupation of land, has continued into the present day. In the following generation, further to the south, yet another Malinke “marabout” and warrior chieftain, Fode Kaba, appeared on the scene, and between 1877 and 1893 he defeated and forcibly converted the Bainuk and made war against the Joola. When he concluded a peace treaty with the French, in 1893, more than half of the population between Saloum and Casamance, had, as a result of his exploits, embraced the Muslim faith either voluntarily or under duress.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, another phenomenon, much further to the north, is observable in the border regions between Senegal and Mauritania, which, as noted above, had maintained privileged connections between France and a series of Muslim dignitaries, the emergence of a whole galaxy of scholar-personalities, such as Sire Abbass Soh, Yoro Dyao (1847-1919) and shaykh Musa Kamara (1864-1945), a native of Ganguel (Fuuta), a gifted and prolific writer and historian (the author, in particular, of Zahr al-basatin fi ta’riff al-sawadim), who contributed in a very active fashion, in French, in Arabic or Peul, to the creation of a Senegalese historiography.

But the most characteristic movement of this period was the emergence of the major Senegalese dervish brotherhoods or Shi'ite orders, which began to establish themselves at this time. By filling in a very visible fashion the political void created by the defeat of the princes and the collapse of the Senegalese states, the orders presented themselves as structures of substitution and of refuge. They were the catalyst for the promotion of a Muslim élite which had long been obstructed and frustrated by the exertions of political authorities. On the other hand, they gave the signal for a radical change of strategy: frontal attack upon the colonial occupier was superseded by an attitude of prudent restraint, where the emphasis was on the peaceful rallying of the faithful around their charismatic leaders. The formation of these new associations was at first a cause of concern to the French power, but a series of negotiations ensued, progressively transforming the brotherhoods into influential elements of the colonial, and later the post-colonial order.

The tarika which best illustrates this new trend is the Muridiyya [q.v.] or Muridism. At the end of the previous century, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Habib Allah, better known by the name of Amadu Bamba, whose father Momar Anta Sah, a regular frequenter of the courts of the Wolof princes, was affiliated to the Kadiriyya, brotherhood, which contributed to the flowering of the Tidjaniyya under French domination. Coming to terms with colonial constraints in the interests of establishing an associative and pedagogic space tolerated by the administration, al-Hadj Malik Sy devoted his efforts in particular to a "grass-
roots Islamisation”. He was especially committed to the struggle against what he considered the deviations of Sufism and adopted the stance of a defender of a “Sunni taqwawiy” in the tradition of al-Ghazâli. After the First World War, his brother Seydou Nourou Tall, grandson of al-Hâdjî ‘Umar, who pledged him his allegiance and proceeded to develop useful contacts with the authorities. After the death of al-Hâdjî Malik Sy in 1922, the Sy family retained control of Tivaouane, while an annual pilgrimage (the gamu), gave the fraternity an opportunity to advertise the scale of its membership. The Tijânîyya of Tivaouane has been distinguished, since the colonial period, by the wealth of juridical recruitment: free peasants, senior bureaucrats and officials.

The second “House” is that of the Niassé family, at Kaolack. Although without the local network of the Tivaouane branch, the “Niassene” zîwiyat of Kaolack has ramifications throughout West Africa and beyond. It was founded by a former disciple of Ma ba Jaxu, named Abdoulaye Niassé (ca. 1840-1922). Initially a refugee in the Gambia, before coming to terms with his master in French, the frail Abdoulaye Niassé went to Kaolack in 1910, Abdoulaye Niassé had performed the Pilgrimage at an early stage (1887) and he enjoyed close contacts with the “mother-houses” of the Tijânîyya (Ayn Madi in Algeria; Fez in Morocco; and the tribe of the İdâw ‘Ali in Mauritania). In his lifetime, a kind of separation of tasks was operated with al-Hâdjî Malik Sy, with whom excellent relations were maintained. Al-Hâdjî Abdoulaye Niassé exerted the most influence in the Sine-Saloum, where he encouraged the cultivation of the ground-nut, laying more emphasis than did the Murîds on small-holding and free agricultural enterprise. On his death, his younger son Ibrahim Niassé (b. 1902) who showed himself a better religious “entrepreneur” than the elder, Muhammad, the official heir, gave a new impetus to the Kaolack branch, conferring on it an autonomy and a particularism which both distinguished and detached it from Tivaouane. On account of his close links with the North African centres of the order, the Niassene House henceforward claimed primacy: around 1930, Ibrahim Niassé declared himself ghâith al-zamân (“saviour of the age”), a major title which placed him directly in the line of succession of Ahmad al-Tijânî, the founder, and of al-Hâdjî ‘Umar al-Fâti. A spiritual vision, accompanied by the attribution of a number of fayda (emanation of grace) and of aifâ (emanation of light), consolidated this claim. At the end of 1936, Ibrahim Niassé performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca. This was the opportunity, on his part, for a new leap forward in the community of Madina-Gounass, renowned for its abâds (patrons). By dint of religious figures, it was committed to the agricultural exploitation of the inhospitable valleys of Upper Casamance. But, since the mid-1970s, the “communal ideal” of Madina-Gounass, divided by conflicts between Toucouleur and Peul adherents, has been gradually absorbed by the surrounding Senegalese society.

Other Sufi tendencies exist in Senegal, such as the Kâdrîyya, but they are of less importance. Mention should be made of a small brotherhood, strongly ethnic in membership and, at the outset, syncretist, that of the Layennes of the Cape Verde peninsula, principally belonging to the Lebu ethnic group. Although it numbers no more than 20,000 to 30,000 adherents, its powerful presence in Dakar ensures its disproportionate visibility. The founder of this order, Limamou Laye (1843-1909) was an illiterate from a fishing village who, unlike the founders of the other groups, left no written legacy. Beginning to preach in 1883, and for a brief time suppressed by the French administration, he claimed to be a Mahdi and a black reincarnation of the Prophet Muhammad (while his son and successor was that of Ɨsâ/Jesus). In spite of its syncretist aspects (iconography celebrates the legend of alliance with a djinn-fish), the new order marks a departure from Lebu traditions (alcohol, dancing, cults of possession, etc.) and manifests the conversion of the majority of the group, men in particular, to Kurzanic monotheism. The later evolution of the movement in an orthodox direction was to confirm this trend.

Outside the domain of the brotherhoods, the most significant movement is the Union Culturelle Musulmane, of reformist tendency, which was influential in some parts of West Africa. Founded by certain brotherhoods, and took a vigorously anti-colonial stance. After independence, the Senegalese branch of the U.C.M. gradually passed under the control of the state, and this resulted in the departure of Cheikh Touré and his colleagues in 1979.

The 1970s saw an acceleration of the trend towards the establishment of Islamic associations. The Fédération des Associations Islamiques du Sénégal (F.A.I.S.), founded in 1977, and the Union pour le Progrès Islamique au Sénégal, created in 1973, itself a member of the F.A.I.S., both of them closely associated with the state, united a number of them. Also to be found are the “Al-Falâdî” movement (created in 1956), more entrenched among the commercial classes, close to Wahhâbî positions, which laid stress upon Arabo-Islamic education; the “Jamaatou Ibadou Arrahman” (founded in 1978 by a companion of Cheikh Touré), composed primarily of intellectuals

See also the following articles, appearing in Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara: C. Gray, The rise of the Niassene Tijaniyya, 1875 to the present (ii, 1988); O. Kane, La conférence ‘Tijaniyya Ibrahimiyya’ de Kano et ses liens avec la zaïbuna mère de Kualock (iii, 1989); C. Hamès, Shaykh Sa’d Bâh (iv, 1990); P. Mark, L’Islam et l’articulation des sociétés cédéennaises au début du XIXe siècle, Paris 1990; M. Gomez-Perez, Associations islamiques à Dakar, v (1991); T. Ka, al-Hajj Makhîtor Touré (1863-1918) (vi, 1992); J. Schmitz, S. Bousbina and A. Bondopoulo, A la découverte de Shaykh Musa Kamara (vii, 1993); D. Robinson, Malick Sy: un intellectuel dans l’ordre colonial au Sénégal (vii, 1993); R. Loimeier, Cheikh Touré. Du reformisme à l’islamisme, un musulman sénégalais dans le siècle (vii, 1994).

Senegal has a strong identity to a long past and a singular history. In contact with the French since the 17th century, “headquarters” of French West Africa for two generations, Senegal has retained from these privileged links a substantial Francophone legacy. The ancientness of Islamic culture and the power of the Sufi orders represent another recognisable element, making this country a model for the study of Islamic phenomena to the south of the Sahara. Despite periodic internal crises, Senegal is remarkable both for constitutional stability and for a fertile discussion and debate which has existed for a longer time than in any other part of Francophone Africa. The prestige and the influence of this country, which has produced numerous men and women of cultural distinction, are thus considerably greater than would be expected, on the basis of its demographic and economic resources alone.


See also the following articles, appearing in Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara: C. Gray, The rise of the Niassene Tijaniyya, 1875 to the present (ii, 1988); O. Kane, La conférence ‘Tijaniyya Ibrahimiyya’ de Kano et ses liens avec la zaïbuna mère de Kualock (iii, 1989); C. Hamès, Shaykh Sa’d Bâh (iv, 1990); P. Mark, L’Islam et l’articulation des sociétés cédéennaises au début du XIXe siècle, Paris 1990; M. Gomez-Perez, Associations islamiques à Dakar, v (1991); T. Ka, al-Hajj Makhîtor Touré (1863-1918) (vi, 1992); J. Schmitz, S. Bousbina and A. Bondopoulo, A la découverte de Shaykh Musa Kamara (vii, 1993); D. Robinson, Malick Sy: un intellectuel dans l’ordre colonial au Sénégal (vii, 1993); R. Loimeier, Cheikh Touré. Du reformisme à l’islamisme, un musulman sénégalais dans le siècle (vii, 1994).
Sumerian, Old Babylonian and New Babylonian kings. Up to the recent intervention of the United Nations into 1stāri affairs, the site has been regularly excavated.

The two largest buildings to have been identified are the “White House” which was the temple of the god Šamaš, and the royal palace of Nur-Adad, an Amorite ruler of the 19th century B.C. The early chapters of the Bible refer to the site as Elarra, and it is clearly an example of a very important ancient city abandoned after Hellenistic control was imposed on the area and never revived.


SENN (see sanandaj).
SER'ASKER (see bāb-i ser'asker).
SERVET (see ta'hir bey).
SETH (see sufi).
SEVENERS (see sa'Biya).
SEYCHELLES, a group of islands in the Indian Ocean to the north of Madagascar and east of Tanzania and Kenya, successively a French and British colony (1756-1976), and an independent republic since then (Republic of Seychelles, République des Seychelles, and Republik Sesel in its three official languages, English, French and Creole). The population of over 80,000 souls is mainly of African descent (brought there by French and British colonists as slaves), the minority consisting of Indian, Chinese and European elements. The prevailing religion is Roman Catholic, while Muslims form a minute portion of other confessions. The archipelago received its name in 1756 after Morceau de Selèches, one of Louis XV’s ministers.

Unlike the Comoros [see rūmrk] and Maldives [q.v.], the closest comparable archipelagos, the Seychelles had received little attention from Muslims, and the earliest existing mention of the Portuguese began to notice them in the first years of the 16th century. It seems, though, that the islands called Zarin in the sailing directions by Sulaymān al-Māhri [q.v.], dated 866/1462, were the Seychelles (G. Ferrand, L’Empire Sumatranas de Cireyoga, Paris 1922, 141-45; see facs. of the ms., B.N. Paris, fonds arabes 2292, published by Ferrand as Instructions nautiques et roteurs arabes et portugais des XV° et XVI° siecles, Paris, 1925, fols. 205-73b). This suggests that Muslim mariners did occasionally visit these islands situated not far from their routes between eastern Africa and western India; the etymology of the name of the westernmost island, Aldabra, is believed by some to be a distortion of the Arabic word al-Khadrā ("The Green [Island]"), while Zarin (Pers. zarrīn "golden") may go back to the legend of a gold-bearing island in the Indian Ocean ultimately identified with Sumatra (Ferrand, L’Empire, 145). The small Muslim cemetery at Anse Lascar on Silhouette Island reported by P. Vine (see Bibl.) probably dates from recent centuries, but only a closer examination of the tombstones may answer this question.

Bibliography: G.R. Tibbetts, Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese, Lon-
SEZA'I, Hasan Dede (or Efendi) (1080-1151/1669-1738), also known as Sheyh Hasan Efendi, a member of the noble family of the Ghalshinya (see Ghalshin, Shams). He was born in Morea (see Morea) where his paternal grandfather Kurbey-zade Hasan was a well-known figure. Tahsin Yaziçi (1A, art. Seza') disagrees with Björkman (1E, art. Seza') that he was of Greek origin. He was brought up in Morea, his later achievements indicating a good education. In 1097/1685, after the Venetians conquered Morea, he migrated to Istanbul, but leaving the capital he moved on to Edirne, from where Mehmed IV was attempting to stem Austrian and Venetian attacks on the Ottoman Empire, and entered the Sultan's service in the mukabale kalmesi.

Many details about his life and thinking, and of his opinions concerning his contemporaries, emerge from a collection of his letters published, with a six-page biography, under the title Melekbah-i Seza' (Istanbul 1829/1879). Those to whom they were written include family and followers, as well as statesmen and leading figures of the day.

Seza'i's interest in mysticism is shown to have developed from an encounter with a sheikh of the Chalwatiyya aboard the ship going to Istanbul and, in Edirne, he was to become a murid first of Mehmed Şirri at the khanak of Sheykh Aşılık Mûsa (a follower of İbrahim Ghalsheni) and on Mehmed's death, of Mehmed Lahi Fenâ'i (Shemsedd-in Sami, Kamâs al-šâdîm, iv. 2562). The latter charged Seza'i with the collection of rents from the khanak's waqf properties, giving him thelab of Iqlîbi (rent collector) Dede Efendi. He then became pîst-îzîyan of the Sheykh Wehi Dede Efendi khanak, but when Mehmed Lahi Fenâ'i died in 1112/1700-1 (and his successor in turn died shortly afterwards), Seza'i took his place. The khanak became known as the Seza'i kâtêk, and on his death he was buried at his own wish close to it in a shop (later converted into a türbe) alongside that of his predecessors. His son Mehmed Şadîk succeeded him at the Sheykh Wehi Dede Efendi khanak. Seza'i's writing, his letters and poetry in both diwas and folk style (see Vasti Mahir Kocaturk, Tekke şiri antolojisi, Ankara 1968, 400-2), show him as a man of religion first and a poet second. The main tenor of his diwas is mystical, and although he had been brought up to the demands of the Ottomans, his second volume of Şir-i Şevke (Yasân, 349) he is not generally considered very highly, lacking the occasional burst of poetic inspiration as regards mystical thinking or style (loc. cit.). Kocaturk (Turk edebiyatı tarihi, Ankara 1970, 554-5) points to a resemblance between himself and both Neslml and Yunus Emre [q.v.] in addressing the wider folk masses rather than the upper, intellectual classes, a trait that Seza'i shares also with Niyazi Misn (see L4, art. Seza'). His preoccupations centre round the Islamic makhls of art and society's sake and of romanticism and realism. Son of the statesman-author Sâmi Paşa, Seza'i was born in Istanbul, tutored in the family mansion and encouraged by visiting prominent writers. He started publishing

journalistic articles when aged 14, learned Arabic, Persian, French and German, and came under the influence of Nâmîk Kemâl [q.v.]. In 1879 he published Şir-i "The lion", a prose tragedy meant more for reading than staging. From 1880 to 1884 he served as Second Secretary at the Ottoman Embassy in London and later in the Foreign Ministry in Istanbul.

Seza'i's principal opus Seriçeb ("The adventure"), his only novel, came out in 1889. Influenced by Victor Hugo and Alphonse Daudet, it broke new ground with its realism notwithstanding its ornate, maudlin and occasionally poetic style. The tragic story of a slave girl, it is an indictment of slavery and of injustice against women. In 1892 Seza'i published Kûcük şepler ("Little things"), a collection of eight stories notable for his mastery of the genre and for a new sophistication in psychological analysis. Rumûz ul-edebl ("Symbols of literature"), a compilation of his essays, critical pieces, short stories, recollections and travel notes, came out in 1896.

Seza'i fled the Hamidian oppression in 1901 and lived in France. In 1902 he was a founder of the Committee for Union and Progress and writing for its periodical Şirâ-vi ummet ("Council of the nation") until 1908, when, with Constitutional government proclaimed, he returned to Istanbul. In 1909 he was appointed Ambassador to Madrid, serving until 1921. His last work İqlîl (a threnody for his beloved niece, to which he appended a miscellany of articles, letters, short stories, discourses, etc., appeared in 1923. He died in Istanbul in 1936.

Seza'i's literary work is generally viewed as significant in the transition of Turkish fiction into its realist phase.


SHABAN ROBERT (1909-1962) was the foremost Swahili poet of his generation, if not of the past three centuries. He also had a profound influence on contemporary Swahili prose writing. He was born at Machui, a village south of Tanga on the Tanzanian coast, the son of a Yao settler from Malawi and a local Digo mother. His only formal education in the western sense was in Dar es Salaam from 1922 to 1926, which enabled him to gain employment as a government clerk and later in the Colonial schools, and, as truly an autodidact, classes in traditional Swahili poetry, of which he had an encyclopaedic knowledge. A.C. Gibbe (see Bibli.) gives a bibliography of his collected poetry and of his prose works. His preoccupations centre round the Islamic religion and its moral teaching, in a manner that a European critic found comparable to the work of Dante. He is greatly concerned with the teaching of marriage, of the education of children, and particularly of girls. The Second World War was to him essentially a struggle between the forces of good and evil; he had little or no interest in politics.


SHABR. 1. In pre-Islamic South Arabia this term (spelt zæb in the musnad script) denotes a unit of social organisation for which there has grown up among specialists a convention of using the translation "tribe"; but this can be misleading for non-
specialists. The South Arabian sz'b was antithetic on one hand to the term Vr ( = Arabic ^ashd^ir] applied by the South Arabian sedentary communities to the nomad bedouin of central Arabia; and on the other hand, within the South Arabian sedentary culture itself, to the "house" (byt), a family group based on kinship whether real or fictitious. The former of these dichotomies was still current in 'Abbasid Arabic usage, when (as exemplified by al-Dschâbî in his R. al-
Atâkh) sz'hâb al-'Adîam denoted Persian sedentary communities and contrasted with sz'ha\b\ in al-'Arab, the Central Arabian nomads. The South Arabian sz'b was in no way kinship based, but rather a functional entity engaged in some common enterprise. The term has a certain fluidity, to the extent that it had no fixed place in an ordered hierarchy of comprehensiveness: in one instance, that of Ma\'în [q.v.] it was co-extensive with the kingdom, its subdivisions there being termed shi. It seems probable that in some cases it designated a group based on membership of a profession, or on religion (in the 4th century A.D. the more specific connotations are called sz'ab). But by far the commonest application was to a territorially-defined group of agriculturalists, whose functional unity rested on having shared responsibility for the irrigational installations of the specific area. A typical feature of these territorial groups was the possession of a "town" (khr) as centre for local trade, communal business, and a communal cult. In a few cases, such as Shâyân to the south-east of San'â\', town and "tribe" had the same name. Another feature of the sz'b is that the nisba formation, with terminal -i-n (pl. always of the pattern sz'b-i-n, e.g. šrub-y-ni z'ar-i-n "the Siwräheit(s')") tends to imply "tribal" membership, not membership of a byt. But it has been pointed out that in the 5th-6th centuries A.D. the plural nisba could denote the vassals of an influential family whose actual members were adîbâ [q.v.]; thus sz'ab-na are vassals of the Yazan (Ye\'ân) family [q.v.], while a family member was Dhu Yazan.

(A.F.L. BEESTON)

2. In modern political parlance, sz'ab is one of many Arabic terms which, used in modern social and political contexts, acquired new meanings alongside or instead of the old. On the eve of the modern era, however, the term was still devoid of such novel implications, retaining the old meaning of an exogamous group based on an ethnic or a people. When applied to Muslims, sz'ab sometimes carried a slightly negative sense, recalling separatist trends from early Islamic periods [see sz'ub\'un\']. Used with reference to non-Muslims, it was often tinged with the disparagement reserved for unbelievers. A pliant term, comparable to "people" in the broadest sense, sz'ab was applicable to groups of different scope and nature, an application it would retain even after assimilation to the modern state.

As so often, it was in references to developments in Europe that the notion of "people" first took on a new political sense. In early Arabic accounts of the French Revolution and Napoleon's era, sz'ab was used to denote the rulers—as opposed to the rulers—struggling to attain their deserved political rights. Evidently inspired by foreign sources, these reports referred to the sz'ab "rising in total revolt" against Louis XVI, and to the "French people's will" (iridat sz'ab\'anâ) which subsequently brought Napoleon down (Nikûlâ al-Turk, Mâdhikkarât, ed. Gaston Wiet, Cairo 1950, 2-5, 11-12, 195-6; Haydar al-Sz'hâbî, Lubnân fi 'sdh al-umârâ al-'zhâbihîyân, Beirut 1933, 214-15, 218-19, 320, 430, 602). Such usage became more frequent with the emergence of private Arabic newspapers which, reporting international affairs from the late 1850s on, discussed such ideas as "public opinion" (nây al-shâb\'), "people's will" (iridat al-shâb\'), and the relationship between the government (hzûma) and the sz'ab. The modern concept of popular sovereignty was also reflected in the compound wzkalât al-shâb\' "people's representatives" (and modilîs wzkalât al-sha\b\ "assembly of people's representatives"), in texts discussing parliamentary life in the West (cf. many examples and references in A. Ayalon, Language and change in the Arab Middle East, Oxford and New York 1967, 49 and n. 22). In the same vein, the Lebanese-Egyptian journalist Adîb al-Isâhî [q.v.] in 1877 defined "republic" as hûkumat al-sha\b\ bi û-sha\b\ "government of the people by the people", echoing Abraham Lincoln's phrase (al-
Dusrâ, Alexandria 1886, 49).

Being largely irrelevant to Ottoman political realities for much of the 19th century, the idea of popular sovereignty was at first discussed in foreign contexts only. But as the century drew to a close, it began to appear in texts specifically dealing with Ottoman political events and political ideas. The name al-Sha\b, owner of the Egyptian weekly al-Musîr, proudly defined himself as "one of the sz'ab\", warning the Ottoman sultan, "Woe to him who tries to withstand the sz'ab once it unites, makes a decision and sets out to achieve a noble goal" (al-Musîr, Alexandria, 2 May 1896). Mustafa Kemal [q.v.], the eloquent leader of early Egyptian nationalism, stated around the turn of the century that "every sz'ab has sacred rights in its homeland, which no one can infringe ... the sz'ab is the only true power" (Mustafa Kemal fi 34 rabi\'î, ed. 'Ali Fahmi Kemal, Cairo 1910, 288-91). Such application of the term, recurring with increasing frequency, gradually turned the word into a battle cry in the community's rightful struggle against those seen as encroaching on it, whether the government at home or a foreign force.

By the end of World War I, sz'ab had become a common item in Arabic political vocabulary, particularly that of nationalism, along with (but somewhat less frequent than) umma and watan [q.v.]. Capable of evoking strong popular emotions, it appeared in names of political parties (hzûb al-sha\b\)—in Syria (1925, 1947), Iraq (1925, 1946), Egypt (1930) and Lebanon (1945)—as well as of newspapers throughout the Arab world, implying a claim for public legitimacy by those leading the struggle for national independence and other political battles. In another part of the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey, populism (Turkish halkçilik) was adopted as a central principle in the state's official ideology, signifying recognition of the people's sovereignty. Thus it was incorporated in the 1924 Turkish constitution by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk [q.v.], who had established the "People's Party" (Kûlîk Partiyâ) the previous year as a vehicle of popular mobilisation. The notion's growing public attraction gave birth to another phenomenon: its abuse by autocratic or aristocratic politicians seeking to benefit from alleged popular support. Egypt's rigid Prime Minister Ismâ'îl Siîlî, who in 1930 founded a party and a paper bearing the name al-sha\b\', offers a conspicuous example of this cynical practice, which continued in later years there and elsewhere.

During the first half of the 20th century, reference to "the people" was made in a different sense, by thinkers advocating socialist and communist ideas. In their teachings, sz'ab (and its equivalents) signified the common people, the deprived lower classes, rather than the whole community. This was its sense in the
parlance of such leftist organisations as the 'Irāk Ahlī group of the early 1930s [see iṣāṣ], which label-
led its ideology al-shā`bīyya (Maḥdī Khadduri, Independent Power in the Middle East, 2, 1963-1975) and managed to form splinter groups calling themselves tabāri al-shā`bīyy ("people's liberation") and al-talīfa al-shā`bīyya li 'l-
tabāra ("popular vanguard for liberation"), which formed in the following decade (Rифāṭ al-Ṣaʿīd, Ta`līfa al-harakah al-shā`bīyya al-miṣriyya, Cairo 1987, iii, 196-9, 203 ff.). At that stage, however, the discus-
sion of such notions in Islamic countries was still on the sidelines of public political debate, and the ap-
plication of "the people" with such meaning was marginal.

By mid-century, with the struggle for national in-
dependence in most Arab countries won, the focus of political discourse had begun to shift to other issues, primarily sociopolitical reform. New leaders—in Egypt, Syria, 'Irāk, Algeria, Yemen, Sudan, Libya—having seized power, claimed to be acting on the basis of their own politics and corrupt order. In the revolutionary ideologies which they preached, leftist ideas, hitherto marginal, came to play a major role, and "the people" were given a prominence unprecedented in their societies' tradi-
tion. The shā`b was now identified as the common masses, primarily workers and peasants (equally often referred to as джама`ат "masses"), those who previously had been outside the circle of power, and were now hailed as the mainstay of reform. Thus in the Egyptian National Pact (al-使之lāh al-waṣām al-waṣām) of 1962, the shā`b was the hero whose will and resolve ac-
counted for the success of the 1952 revolution and guaranteed its future. Its objectives were social justice, military might and "healthy democratic life"; its enemies were imperialism, tyranny, feudalism and monopolism (al-Dżumhūrīyya al-`Arabīyya al-Muttahida, ماجد al-mishrīyya, 21 mayy 1962, Cairo n.d., 3-6 et passim). Likewise, in Baθth ideology, which the régimes in Syria and 'Irāk adopted in the 1960s (if in different versions), the sha`b is regarded as the leader of renaissance, battling domestic and foreign oppression, and striving for social and popular democracy (Mīḥāl `Allāk, Fi sabīl al-baθth, Beirut 1959, 172-85; Hizb al-baθth al-`Arabīl `Allāt al-Ightirākī, al-Manḥaj al-manḥaj li-`l-qaṣar al-`Arabī min ād, London 1965, 72-4; and the Egyptian Marxist ideolo-
gy, al-Ma`ṣūr, Dar al-Šīrā`īyya (al-Manḥaj, Cairo 1965, esp. 9, 21-9). This is also the sense of the notion in the con-
struct ma`ṣūlī al-shā`b "People's Assembly", used to designate legislative bodies in the revolutionary régimes of Egypt, Syria, South Yemen and several other places. Two states even incorporated the word, in adjectival form (sha`bīyya), in their official names: "The People's Republic of South Yemen" (1967, renamed as "The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen" in 1970), reflecting its leftist doctrine and pro-Soviet orientation; and "The Arab Libyan People's Socialist Dżumhūriyya" (1976, to which the adjective "the Great" was added in 1986), underscor-
ing the popular nature of its political structure. Leftist ideas also inspired the foundation of many "people's fronts" of political action, fashionable in the late 1960s and the 1970s, namely, groups purporting to advocate social reform along with other, often more important objectives—e.g., "The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf", "The Popu-
lar Front for the Liberation of Arab Canterbury", etc.

Shā`b has thus come to imply a variety of concepts. In addition to its use in the broad sense of "people" or "nation", it also means the governed people as op-
posed to the government and, still more narrowly, the lower classes striving to recover their derived

political rights. The distinction between these mean-
ings is often blurred, sometimes intentionally so, as in the rhetoric of revolutionary leaders who, appealing to "the sha`b", seek at once to speak for the whole nation and to voice concern for the deprived classes' grievances. In the second half of the 20th century, this last phenomenon had become a prominent aspect of the application of sha`b.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(A. Ayalon)

SHABA [see Katanga].

SHABADHA, شهادتا (also with final َd for ُd) (...) preparation, sleight of hand, and from it, mushāb/ţadh, magician, trickster. The word is paraphrased by the lexicographers, following al-Layth (b. al-Muzaffar) [g.v.], by kaṣīf al-yaḍ and ʿalbdh (pl. of ʿalbdha), see al-Azhari, Taḥāib, i, 405. Fihrīst, 312, mentions as "the first to perform sha`baddha in Islam" a certain `Abīd/Ubayd al-Kayyis who also wrote a Kitāb al-shahabaddha, and another mushābīd nicknamed "Mill Shaft" (Kurṭ al-rāhah), about both of whom unfortunately nothing further seems to be known.

According to al-Djawbarī [g.v. in Suppl.], among all the fraudulent practices of the large underclass of crooks and swindlers, the activity of the mushābīd is distinguished by its innocuousness; his tricks are performed as harmless entertainment. Ibn Khalīūn, Mukaddima, iii, 126 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 158 ff., uses the term in a more general manner and understands it scientifically as characterising one of three kinds of sorcery [see šīh]. He explains the underlying process as the transformation, by the power of the imagina-
tion, of something imaginary into imagined existence in the world of the senses; for the religious law, it would fall under forbidden sorcery, but since it is not real (and, therefore, presumably incapable of doing actual evil) and something irrelevant that is easily avoided, it was certainly in the eyes of Ibn Khalīūn, not as bad as the other kinds of sorcery (and not really forbidden).

The term's etymology has interested philologists ancient and modern. The Arabic lexicographers stress that it is not true Arabic (see Lane, 1559a). The suggested derivation from Aramaic/Syriac šawabdhīh "to subdue" is linguistically adequate (both šawabdhīh and ṭadhīh are not inconsistent with this assumption) and conceptu-
ally plausible: the final َd (form X َd) is a sorcerer's task, see Fihrīst, 309, i. 2). An Arabisation of Persian šabbāz seems less likely, as does a con-
flation with the root ʿ-ṭ-ṭh, the lexicographers' deriva-
tion from a supposed meaning "quickness" and šawabdhīh "express courier" if anything reverses the actual process.

Bibliography: Djawbari, al-Mukhtar fi kaṣīf al-
ṣahr, ch. 25, tr. R. Khamaw, Le voile arraché, Paris 1979-80, ii, 135-142; the promised scholarly edition by S. Wild has apparently not yet appeared. See further, C. E. Bosworth, The mediaseval Islamic under-
world, Leiden 1976, i, 128, ii, 51, 299, 333, with the older literature.

(Ф. Rosenthal)

SHABAK, a heterodox religious community living in several dozen villages east of Mawil, in a triangle bounded by the Tigris and the Greater Zāb. Their numbers were in 1925 estimated at around 10,000; the 1960 'Irākī census enumerated 15,000, living in 35 villages (Vinogradov 1974: 208). Recent estimates tend to be considerably higher.

The Shabak commonly consider themselves as Kurds, but have since the 1970s been subject to concerted efforts at Arabisation, culminating in the destruction of around 20 Shabak villages in 1988. The
language of their prayers and religious ritual is Turkish. Most Shabak are multilingual, which has given rise to claims that they are really Turcomans or Kurdish speakers or even Arabs; their mother tongue, however, or at least that of most Shabak, is a dialect of the Gürani branch of Iranian languages. Their religion is closely related to that of the Anatolian ʿAlewis (Kızılbaş); one of their invocations, as given by al-Sarrāf, explicitly refers to Hādji Bektar and the adepts of Ardabil (Erdebil), the local pronunciation of which is a key word in the founders of their spiritual path. Some of the religious poems sung in their ritual meetings are attributed to Shah Ismaʿil and to the Anatolian saint Pir Sultan Ābdal. A basic tenet, expressed in several poems and invocations, is the Shabak’s belief that Allah, Muhammad and ʿAli constitute a triinity, in which “Ali appears as the dominant manifestation of the divine.

The “sacred book” of the Shabak, known as Kitāb al-Mandik or Buyarduk (Buruk, in the local pronunciation) and published integrally in al-Sarrāf’s monograph (1902), consists of two parts. The first part is a question-and-answer dialogue between Shaykh Safl al-Din and his son Āḏar al-Din on the āḏāb of the tāḏkā, in which there is now indication of extremist Shiʿi influences; the second part, the buyarduk proper, resembles in content the texts of the same title found among the Anatolian ʿAlewi communities. It consists of various teachings and instructions associated with the imāms ʿAli and ʿAbī Ḥāmid al-ʿAṣīf and discusses the relationship between teacher (mürbēḥ) and disciple (tāḏīb), and the institution of ritual brotherhood (muyṣībīk).

Their Safawi-Kızılbaş affiliation distinguishes the Shabak from neighbouring heterodox communities, the Yezdis, their relatives of the local tribe, and the Şarlı, see Şarlıyya, to their southeast. The latter are, like the Shabak, non-tribal peasants, sharecropping on land belonging to urban-based sayyid families who have great moral authority over them due to their descent from the Prophet and ʿAli. The Shabak are probably related to the Arzamians and the Mongols; or all of Shabakhtan formed part of the short-lived Khurāsān Kāmil; briefly, the Kh-visible, or most of them has been captured by a reḥber or guide, and in the major annual celebrations, twelve functionaries have to be present: ṭir, reḥber, lamp-bearer (hāmāl al-dīrāj) and a buskeeper (bahāb). The ʿAlewi communities of Anatolia also knew these twelve functionaries (a ṭir a ḡimṣ) in their annual festivities from generation to generation. All rituals have to be led by a ṭir. In most of them he has to be assisted by a reḥber or guide, and in the major annual celebrations, twelve functionaries have to be present: ṭir, reḥber, lamp-bearer (hāmāl al-dīrāj), gown-bearer (hāmāl al-miknasa), cup-bearer (ṣakkā), butcher, four attendants (ḫādīm) and two gatekeepers (bāsawād). The ʿAlewi community of Anatolia also knew these twelve functionaries (on ikh hizmet), although the names given to each vary. The Shabak themselves do not appear to use the name at all, however.

Pilgrimages are another important part of the ritual calendar. Two important local shrines, visited at the ʿid al-ʿatīf and ʿid al-adhā, are named ʿAli Rash (“Black ʿAli”) and ʿAbbās. Shabak identify the former with the Imām ʿAbī Ḥāmid al-ʿAṣīf b. Ḥusayn, the second with Ḥusayn’s younger brother ʿAbbās, who died at Karbalā. A different type of pilgrimage consists of the stoning of the alleged grave of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṣiyād, the Umayyad governor of ʿIrāk who was responsible for the drama at Karbalā. This takes place throughout the year.

Bibliography: Père Anastase Marie al-Karmali’s misleading but influential articles in al-Mashritt, ii (1899) and v (1902) have now been superseded; the only serious work on Shabak beliefs and practices is Ahmad Ḥāmid al-Šarrāf, al-Šarrāf min šarāf al-šāfī (Beirut, 1957); a useful study written in the local language is given in M. Leezenberg, The Shabak and the Kakais: dynamics of ethnicity in Iraqi Kurdistan (technical note, Inst. for Language, Logic and Computation, University of Amsterdam, 1994; also to appear in Studiaurdica, Paris).

(M. VAN BRUINESSEN)
SHABAKHTAN — SHA'BAN

In Morocco, on the last day of Sha'bân a festival is celebrated called the Sha'bânâ which resembles a carnival. A description of it is to be found in L. Brunot, La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé, Paris, 1901, 99-108.


SHA'BÂN, the name of two Mamlûk sultans.

1. AL-MALIK AL-KÂMIL, (son of al-Nâsir Muhammad b. Kalâwûn [q.v.]), who succeeded his full brother, al-Sâlih Ismâ'il, on the latter's death on 4 Rabî' II 746/4 August 1345.

His accession was brought about by a faction headed by his stepfather, Arghûn al-'Alâî, who had been in effect regent for Ismâ'il. A rival faction led by the viceroy of Egypt, Almalik, supporting his half-brother HâdjdjâT, rapidly lost power, and Arghûn became the dominant magnate throughout the reign. His sound political advice to the sultan served as a moderating influence, but was frequently disregarded. Sha'bân's authority deteriorated rapidly from the beginning of 747/April 1346. Almalik and his colleague, Kumârî, were sent to prison in Alexandria, and their property was sequestrated. The death of Yusuf, another son of al-Nâsir Muhammad, in Rabî' II July-August, gave rise to suspicions that the sultan was implicated. The final crisis of the reign resulted from Sha'bân's determination to make a state visit to the Hidjâz, which led to heavy demands on the peasantries of Egypt for grain, and on the Arabs of Syria for camels, while it would have involved the Mamlûk military aristocracy in ruinous expenditure. A conspiracy to overthrow the sultan was hatched by the governor of Damascus, Yâlbughâ al-Yahyawî. When Sha'bân seized two of his remaining brothers, HâdjdjâT and Husayn, and placed them under guard the sultan two days previously.

2. AL-MALIK AL-ÂSHRAF, Mamlûk sultan (grandson of al-Nâsir Muhammad b. Kalâwûn [q.v.]), who succeeded his cousin, al-Mansûr Muhammad, when the latter was deposed on 15 Sha'bân 764/30 May 1366.

In this month is likewise devoted to the dead; the tombs are cleansed, religious meals (kândûrî [q.v.]) are given and it is the dead who profit from the merits of these good works. The night of the middle of Sha'bân bears a particularly sacred character, as is attested by the kândûrûs and the salâts which are called salât al-hâdîjâ or, on account of certain eulogies, salât al-tasâbîh. During the last days of the month, a market is held in the capital.

At Mecca, Raşdîb, not Sha'bân, is devoted to the dead. Here, in the night of 14th Sha'bân, religious exercises are held; in the mosque, circles are formed which under the direction of an imân recite the prayer peculiar to this night.

In Atcheh, this month is likewise devoted to the dead; the tombs are cleansed, religious meals (kândûrî [q.v.]) are given and it is the dead who profit from the merits of these good works. The night of the middle ofSha'bân bears a particularly sacred character, as is attested by the kândûrûs and the salâts which are called salât al-hâdîjîa or, on account of certain eulogies, salât al-tasâbîh. During the last days of the month, a market is held in the capital.

At Mecca, Raşdîb, not Sha'bân, is devoted to the dead. Here, in the night of 14th Sha'bân, religious exercises are held; in the mosque, circles are formed which under the direction of an imân recite the prayer peculiar to this night.

In Morocco, on the last day of Sha'bân a festival is celebrated called the Sha'bânâ which resembles a carnival. A description of it is to be found in L. Brunot, La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé, Paris, 1901, 99-108.


SHA'BÂN, the name of two Mamlûk sultans.

1. AL-MALIK AL-KÂMIL, (son of al-Nâsir Muhammad b. Kalâwûn [q.v.]), who succeeded his full brother, al-Sâlih Ismâ'il, on the latter's death on 4 Rabî' II 746/4 August 1345.

His accession was brought about by a faction headed by his stepfather, Arghûn al-'Alâî, who had been in effect regent for Ismâ'il. A rival faction led by the viceroy of Egypt, Almalik, supporting his half-brother HâdjdjâT, rapidly lost power, and Arghûn became the dominant magnate throughout the reign. His sound political advice to the sultan served as a moderating influence, but was frequently disregarded. Sha'bân's authority deteriorated rapidly from the beginning of 747/April 1346. Almalik and his colleague, Kumârî, were sent to prison in Alexandria, and their property was sequestrated. The death of Yusuf, another son of al-Nâsir Muhammad, in Rabî' II July-August, gave rise to suspicions that the sultan was implicated. The final crisis of the reign resulted from Sha'bân's determination to make a state visit to the Hidjâz, which led to heavy demands on the peasantries of Egypt for grain, and on the Arabs of Syria for camels, while it would have involved the Mamlûk military aristocracy in ruinous expenditure. A conspiracy to overthrow the sultan was hatched by the governor of Damascus, Yâlbughâ al-Yahyawî. When Sha'bân seized two of his remaining brothers, HâdjdjâT and Husayn, and placed them under guard the sultan two days previously.

Bibliography: Notices of some leading personalities of the reign are given by their contemporaries al-Safādī; e.g. Sha'bân, Arghûn al-'Alâî, Almalik (Wâfî, xvi, 153-5; viii, 355; ix, 372-3, respectively). There are detailed accounts of the reign by the 9th/13th-century chroniclers, Makrîzî, Sulâkî, ni/3, 680-713; and Ibn Taghribîrî, Nâdîjîm, x, 116-41.

2. AL-MALIK AL-ÂSHRAF, Mamlûk sultan (grandson of al-Nâsir Muhammad b. Kalâwûn [q.v.]), who succeeded his cousin, al-Mansûr Muhammad, when the latter was deposed on 15 Sha'bân 764/30 May 1363.

Owing to Sha'bân's youth (he was born in 754/1353-4), a series of high Mamlûk amîrs held power in the early years of his reign. Yâlbughâ al-'Umârî and Taybûgha al-'Tawîl, originally Mamlûks of al-Nâsir Hasan [q.v.], at first shared the regency, until Taybûgha was ousted in Dhu 'l-Hijja 767/March 1366, when Yâlbughâ assumed sole power. In the meantime, a Crusading expedition under King Peter I of Cyprus briefly occupied Alexandria (Muharram
767/October 1365), but withdrew as Yalbugha and the sultan advanced to relieve the city. The regent thereupon set foot on the construction of a war-fleet for, he asserted, a counter-offensive. An appeal from the king of Prosecutors for aid against his usurping nephew led to the organisation of an expeditionary force (Rabi‘ I 767/December 1365), and action against Arab tribesmen who were ravaging the Aswān frontier-region. In Rabi‘ II 768/December 1366 Sha‘bān, resenting Yalbugha’s domination, concluded with him the regent’s mutinous Mamlūks to overthrow him. The sultan did not, however, finally free himself from the control of the Mamlūk magnates until 769/1370, when he recaptured his capital. This numismatic renaissance began. There was an infrastructural attack on Tripoli by Peter I in Muḥarram 769/September 1367, but otherwise the sultanate was in no danger from any foreign power. Sha‘bān’s quiet reign was disturbed in Muḥarram 775/June 1373 by a dispute with his stepfather, the atābak Uldājā al-Yuṣufi, over the inheritance from the sultan’s mother, Khawānd Baraka, who had died in the previous month. Uldājā was defeated in conflict over the crown of Mamlūk of Mamlūk and Ibn Taghribirdi disagreed as to whether the two risings were concerted. On reaching Kubbat al-Nasr outside Damascus, he asserted, for a counter-offensive. An appeal from the sultan’s household. Disregarding advice, and in spite of his recent recovery from a severe illness, he insisted on making a state pilgrimage to the Hidjaz. When he was encamped at the pass of Aya [q.v.], his Mamlūks revolted, demanding fodder and pay. The situation got out of hand, and he fled with a few companions towards Cairo (2 Dhū‘l-Ka‘ba 778/1 March 1377). While they were on their way, Mamlūk rebels gained control of the Citadel, and proclaimed Sha‘bān’s infant son, ‘Ali, as sultan. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taḥrīrīdī disagreed as to whether the two risings were concerted. On reaching Kubbāt al-Nasr outside Cairo, Sha‘bān’s companions were discovered and killed. He himself was found and strangled two days later (4 Dhū‘l-Ka‘ba/15 March). His son succeeded him, as al-Malik al-Mansūr ‘Ali (778-83/1377-81).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hadājār al-‘Askālānī, al-Durar al-kāmina, 2nd edn. ‘Haydardārād 1972-6: notices of Sha‘bān, ii, 342-3 (no. 1936); Tāybughā al-Tawīl, ii, 395-6 (no. 259); Yalbughā al-Unmārī, vi, 208-10 (no. 2565); Khawānd Baraka, ii, 6 (no. 1201). Accounts of the reign in Makrīzī, al-Sulūk, iii/1, 83-283; ibn Taḥrīrīdī, Nujūm, xi, 24-147. On Peter I’s Crusading exploits, al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, Kitāb al-Imām, 7 vols., ‘Haydardārād 1968-76; see also O. Weintritt, Forner spinneutzeitlicher islamischer Geschichtsdarstellung, Beirut 1992; P.W. Edurty, The Crusading policy of King Peter I of Cyprus, 1359-1369, in P.M. Holt, The eastern Mediterranean lands in the period of the Crusades, Warminster 1977, 99-103; idem, ‘The kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374’, Cambridge 1991. (P.M. Hol) **SHA‘BĀNIYYA**, a mystical brotherhood arising out of the Khlawatiyya [q.v.] at Kastamonu in northern Anatolia towards the middle of the 10th/16th century. Its prē, Sha‘bān Welī, born at Tāshkōprü in this same region, was initiated into the Khlawatiyya precepts by the shaykh Khayr al-Dīn Tokāldī of Bolu on his return from a period of study in Istanbul, and died in 970/1368-9 at Kastamonu, where he directed a group of his disciples after spending twelve years at the University of Edirne. There, he established two prominent sources on the origins of the Sha‘bāniyya which is the work of one of Sha‘bān Welī’s successors, ‘Omer Fu‘ādī (d. 1046/1636), the Menāṣik-i shāfi‘i-i Fīrād-i Khlawatiyya hadfati-i Sha‘bān Welī. This work on the life and miracles of the founder was printed at Kastamonu in 1294/1677 in a volume also containing the same author’s Risāla-yi türbe-nāme, which deals with the building of Sha‘bān Welī’s tomb at the beginning of the 11th/17th century. ‘Omer Fu‘ādī is also said to have written an enlarged version of the Menāṣik-nāme, unfortunately lost. Sha‘bān Welī himself left behind no works. For almost a century, the new order’s network seems to have remained an Anatolian one. However, in the capital, one of the founder’s khalīfas, Shaykh Shudja‘ (d. 1347) (q.v.) exercised his functions at the little town of Cerkesh, to the south-west of Kastamonu. More than Muhammad...
Nasühi, he seems to have set his mark on the brotherhood. He lightened the burden of the rules by introducing a mode of life which he called "tekke," a disciple's heart, in imagination, with that of his spiritual master, committing oneself to him totally; to be linked with a tekke, first recite the brotherhood's psalms (tawba), then the brother's name (sahib), and after a particular imprint to the order, notably by repeating the three formulae of the tekke, a mode of life which he considered to be in a state of degeneration (when the tekke which he headed in Istanbul was burnt down in 1833, he refused to rebuild it and settled down in a simple konak). The fourth and last person considered as founder of a branch of the Shabankara country abounded in strong places, e.g. Ig, Istabanan (or Istabanat), Burk, Tarum, Khayra, Kurm, Runluz, Lar Nurylz, which has not survived in Turkey (see Bibliography). Shabankara was reckoned among the warm countries, Shabankara was reckoned among the warm countries (garnsir); but it enclosed also regions of a moderate temperature, characterised by repetition of the three formulae Lâ ılah illâ 'llah, Allah and Hu, and then ending by standing up in a balka. According to recent publications attesting the activities of the Shabankara in Turkey (see Bibliography), these belong to the Čerkešiyya branch and consider Mustafa Čerkeşi as their second šeh. In Kastamonu there exists a "Şa'ban-ı Veli Association of Kastamonu" which looks after the ancient centre of the order. This consists of a much visited complex, including a mosque which until 1925 served als as a tekke and in which one can still see a series of small cells intended for spiritual retreat, a türbe, an incription and a fine-textured white turban falling back. The association of the Shabankara consisted chiefly in corn, cotton, dates, (dry) grapes and other fruits; at Darabdjird, mineral salt was found. Among the most fertile districts were the Nakshbandiyya and Kadiriyya), is said to have been the author of an epistle said to have been written at the request of Sultan Mahmud II (R. ft. dhikr, dhikr, unceasingly. CerkeshI made by Karabash Well, reducing the precepts for members from twenty to three: to be linked with a tekke, first recite the brotherhood's psalms (tawba), then the brother's name (sahib), and after a particular imprint to the order, notably by repeating the three formulae of the tekke, a mode of life which he considered to be in a state of degeneration (when the tekke which he headed in Istanbul was burnt down in 1833, he refused to rebuild it and settled down in a simple konak). The fourth and last person considered as founder of a branch of the Shabankara was Ibrahim Kushadali (d. 1915), a disciple of Mustafa Čerkeşi. He had numerous disciples (including some provincial governors and some women) and gave a particular imprint to the order, notably by rejecting residence in a tekke, a mode of life which he considered to be in a state of degeneration (when the tekke which he headed in Istanbul was burnt down in 1833, he refused to rebuild it and settled down in a simple konak). He was certainly influenced by malânî doctrine, but equally, he placed the shari'a in the forefront, insisting on the practice of râbi'a (liaison of the disciple's heart, in imagination, with that of his shaykh) and on that of khalifat. Under the impulse of these different persons, the Shabankara gradually became that branch of the Khalwatiyya with the most centres in the Ottoman capital. It even exceeded those of the Sunbuliya [q.v.] in the last decades of the 19th century, with 25 tekkes, of which about ten were on the Asiatic shore, mainly at Üsküdar. The tekke likewise spread vigorously in northern Anatolia, in a zone extending from Istanbul to Tokat, above all in the triangles of Fars and Kirman, of a special spurt of growth in the second half of the 19th century, notably in Bulgaria (at Nevrkop/Gocce Delcev and Trnovo), at Iskece/Xanthi in Thrace, at Bitola in Macedonia, and also in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where tekkes were founded from ca. 1865 onwards at Sarajevo, Severin, Bijeljina, Donja Tuzla and Višegrad under the stimulus of the shaykh Muhammad Sayd al-Din Ibızović. It may be noted that Ya'kub Khan Kâshgharî, who was one of the disciples of Muhammed Tewfik Boshevi, khalifat of Ibrahim Kushadali (as well as being also affiliated to the Nakâbîyana and Kâdirîyya), is said to have contributed to spreading the order in India; but it does not seem to have put down sturdy roots there. Today, the Shabankara, which has not survived in the Balkans, is represented uniquely in Turkey, where it is the most active branch of the Khalwatiyya. In Istanbul itself, there are at least fifteen mosques where the Shabâbî dervishes meet for dhikr, generally on Thursday or Sunday evening. For the ceremony, each adept wears a ghiyâr and a fine-textured white turban falling on the back. The dhikr unfolds in three phases: seated in a circle, in darkness, the dervishes first recite the brotherhood's şir, then the dhikr properly speaking, characterised by repetition of the three formulae Lâ ılah illâ 'llah, Allah and Hu, and then ending by

**Bibliography**

(Nathalie Clayer)

ŞABANKARA, the name of a Kurdish tribe and of their country in southern Persia during mediaeval Islamic times. Ibn al-Athir spells the name Şabânkârân, whilst Marco Polo rendered it as Sincona. According to Ḥamd Allâh Mustawfi, the Şabankârân country was bounded by Fârs, Kirmân and the Persian Gulf. At present, it falls within the ustan or province of Fârs, and there are still two villages, in the šehrestân of Djamhrûn and Bu Şahr respectively, bearing the name Şabankârân (Razmârâ (ed.), *Parâng-i djaqãnîf-e-i râmânî*, vii, 139). Mustawfi says that the capital was the stronghold of Ɨg or Ɨd, other localities of the province, which was divided into six districts, were: Zârkân (near Ɨg), İstâbanân (or İstâbanâ), Burk, Târum, Khâyra, Nâyriz, Tûrûntûl (q.v.) and Darâbdjîrd (q.v.). As for the ustan or province of Fârs, and there are still two villages, in the šehrestân of Djamhrûn and Bu Şahr respectively, bearing the name Şabankârân (Razmârâ (ed.), *Parâng-i djaqãnîf-e-i râmânî*, vii, 139). Mustawfi says that the capital was the stronghold of Ɨg or Ɨd; other localities of the province, which was divided into six districts, were: Zârkân (near Ɨg), İstâbanân (or İstâbanâ), Burk, Târum, Khâyra, Nâyriz, Tûrûntûl (q.v.) and Darâbdjîrd (q.v.). As for the ustan or province of Fârs, and there are still two villages, in the šehrestân of Djamhrûn and Bu Şahr respectively, bearing the name Şabankârân (Razmârâ (ed.), *Parâng-i djaqãnîf-e-i râmânî*, vii, 139). Mustawfi says that the capital was the stronghold of Ɨg or Ɨd; other localities of the province, which was divided into six districts, were: Zârkân (near Ɨg), İstâbanân (or İstâbanâ), Burk, Târum, Khâyra, Nâyriz, Tûrûntûl (q.v.) and Darâbdjîrd (q.v.). As for the ustan or province of Fârs, and there are still two villages, in the šehrestân of Djamhrûn and Bu Şahr respectively, bearing the name Şabankârân (Razmârâ (ed.), *Parâng-i djaqãnîf-e-i râmânî*, vii, 139). Mustawfi says that the capital was the stronghold of Ɨg or Ɨd; other localities of the province, which was divided into six districts, were: Zârkân (near Ɨg), İstâbanân (or İstâbanâ), Burk, Târum, Khâyra, Nâyriz, Tûrûntûl (q.v.) and Darâbdjîrd (q.v.). As for the ustan or province of Fârs, and there are still two villages, in the šehrestân of Djamhrûn and Bu Şahr respectively, bearing the name Şabankârân (Razmârâ (ed.), *Parâng-i djaqãnîf-e-i râmânî*, vii, 139).
rebuilt later on) and Burk. At the time of Mustawft, the fortifications of Darabdjird were ruinous, but the mountain-pass of Tang-i Ramba, to the east of the town, had a strong castle. In the chapter on the Muzzaffarid dynasty, intercalated in the manuscript of Mustawft’s Tārīkh-i guzīda, facets. ed. Browne, 665-6, there is also mention of the fortifications of Shabānkāra, the fertility of that country (“beautiful and cultivated like the garden of Frram”), its mills, bāzârs, etc.

The Shabānkāra tribe were Kurds; in Ibn al-Balkhi’s time (early 6th/12th century) there were five subdivisions of them, viz. the Ismā‘īlī, the Rāmānī, the Karzuwi, the Mas‘ūdī and the Shākānī. They were herdsmen, but also intrepid warriors, who more than once, in the course of history, became a power to be reckoned with. Their chiefs boasted descent from Ardakhir, the first Sāsānī, or even from the legendary king Manuchīr. Leaving aside the exploits of the Shabānkāra in Sāsānī times (as e.g. the fact that Yazdādjiird III is said to have taken refuge among them at the time of the Muslim invasion), the history of the Shabānkāra begins at the epoch of the decline of Bu‘yid power.

The Ismā‘īlīs were regarded as the most noble in descent; their chiefs are said to descend from Manučhr and to have held in Sāsānī times the function of Ismā‘īlī Amir. So far as we know, this tribe came into collision with a great Muslim power was in the days of the Ghūznawī Mas‘ūd b. Mahmūd (512-570/1001-1055), whose general Tāsh Farrāsh drove them from the environs of Isfahān, so that they were compelled to remove southward. But now they came within the sphere of Bu‘yid influence. The Bu‘yids not suffering their presence, they had to migrate once more, until they settled in the Darābdjīrī district. Ibn al-Balkhi gives the history of their ruling family at some length. It may be sufficient to state that in the course of the quarrels which arose among the kinsmen one of them, Sālk b. Muhammad b. Yahyā, called to his aid the mighty Fādūlya of the Rāmānīs [see FA‘DULLAY], at the time Ibn Balkhi wrote. Sālk’s son Husūya was the ruler of the Ismā‘īlīs, but his kinsmen contested his supremacy.

The Karzuwi Shabānkāra, taking advantage of the decline of the power of the Bu‘yids, obtained Kāzārūn [q.v.], but were driven out of it by Cāwulī when he made his expedition in Fārs. The Mas‘ūdīs also came to some power in the days of Fādūlya; the Karzuwi chief Abū Sa‘d had also served under that Rāmānī ruler. For some time, the Mas‘ūdīs possessed Fīrūzābād and part of Shāpūr Khūra, but they were no match for the Karzuwi, whose chief, Abū Sa‘d, defeated and put to death Amūrīyā, the Mas‘ūdī prince. When, later on, Cāwulī ruled Fārs, he installed Amūrīyā’s son Vīhrāsī as ruler of Fīrūzābād. The Shākmās, rapacious mountaineers of the coastland, preserved their historical interest. They also were subdued by Cāwulī.

Historically, the most important tribe was the Rāmānīs, to whom belonged Fadūlya (Ibn al-Āthīr, x. 48, calls him Fadūlī), the mightiest amīr of the Shabānkāra. This man, the son of a certain ‘Ali b. al-Hasan b. Ayyūb, who was the chief of his tribe, rose to the rank of Shāshkāl in the service of the Shāhīb-‘Adī Muhādhdhib al-Dawla Ḥībat Allāh, the wālī of the Bu‘yid ruler of Fārs. Even before this time, the Bu‘yids had been troubled by the Shabānkāra. The Ta‘rīkh-i guzīda, 432, mentions an insurrection of a certain Ismā‘īl of Shabānkāra against ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū Khādir Marzubān (415-50/1024-48). This prince was succeeded by his eldest son al-Makh al-

Rahīm Khusrū Fīrūz [q.v.], who died in 447/1055 and left the throne to his younger brother Fūlād Sūtūn, the royal master of the Shāhīb-‘Adī. Fūlād Sūtūn put to death his brother, whereupon Fadūlya rose in rebellion. He succeeded in capturing the prince himself and his mother, the Sayyida Khurṣūnīya. Fūlād Sūtūn was confined in a stronghold near Shīrāz, where he was murdered in 545/1062; the Sayyida was, by order of Fādūlya, suffocated in a bath. The Shabānkāra chief, now ruler of Fārs, soon came into collision with the Saldjūk power. After fighting without success against Kāwūr, the brother of Alp Arslān, he submitted to the latter, from whom he received the governorship of Fārs. Fādūlya afterwards revoluted; the stronghold of Khūrshāh, to which he had betaken himself, was besieged and taken by the great Nīzām al-Mulk, and Fādūlya, after many vicissitudes, captured and executed (464/1071). Such is in substance the account of Ibn al-Balkhi, a younger contemporary. Ibn al-Āthīr represents these events somewhat differently (x. 48-9; the Kūrd Fadūlī, who, according to Ibn al-Āthīr, ix. 289, held part of Adhar-baydān and raid the Khazars in 421/1030, cannot, of course, be identified with the Shabānkāra chief and was, in fact, an amīr of the local line of the Shaddādīīds [q.v.]). With the Fādūlya affair is connected without any doubt, the expedition of Alp Arslān to Shabānkāra. This commander, Fāhhr al-Dīn Cāwulī, who died in the year 510/1116 (the Ta‘rīkh-i guzīda wrongly places his death under the rule of Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh), governed Fārs on behalf of the Saldjūk ruler of ʿIrāk, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh. The Shabānkāra Amir al-Ḥasan b. al-Mubārīz Khusrū refused to pay homage; thereupon, Cawulī attacked him suddenly. Khusrū had a narrow escape, being saved by the help of his brother Fađlūya. Now Cawulī subdued Fađlūya and Dжалhm in Fārs; he then besieged for some time the stronghold where Khusrū had taken refuge, but perceiving that the siege would be a long and hard one, he came to terms with the Shabānkāra chief. Later, Khusrū accompanied the Atabeg on his expedition to Kirmān, the ruler of which had sheltered the prince of Darābdjīrī, Ismā‘īlī. In this connection, Ibn al-Āthīr mentions the fact that Cawulī requested the ruler of Kirmān to hand over some Shabānkāra forces who had taken refuge to him.

After these events, the Shabānkāra seem to have kept quiet during the rule of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, but new troubles arose when, under the following sultans: Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh (524-538/1130-1143), the wazīr Fađlūya, who afterwards became the first independent sovereign of the Greater Lur, died in 555/1160 [see LUR-I BUZURJ], made himself formidable by a victory over the chiefs (hukkan) of Shabānkāra. In 564/1168 the Shabānkāra sheltered Zangī b. Dīklā, who was expelled from Fārs by the ruler of Khūzistān.

We now enter on the most glorious period of
Shabankara history, which, however, lasted only a few years. The Shabankara chief Kutb al-Din Mubarriz and his brother Niẓām al-Dīn Mahmūd, amirs of Iṣfahān, availed themselves of the disturbances which arose in the region after the extinction of the ruling Saljūq dynasty of that country. They responded to the call of the ważīr ʿNāṣīh al-Dīn, who solicited their aid against the Ghuzz. Contrary to the intention of the ważīr, but assisted by the citizens, they occupied, before giving battle to the Ghuzz, the capital Bārdsīr and so secured the dominion of Kirmān (507/1209-1).

The two amirs now defeated the Ghuzz, but in the sequel the Ghuzz by the aid of the records of the Atabeg of Fars compelled them to return to their realm after having appointed as their nāʿīb one of the nobles of Kirmān. At this point, the Ghuzz appeared once more to repeat their ravages. One of the nobles of Kirmān, Hurmuz Tādū ḍ al-Dīn Shāhshāh, concluded a treaty with them. Niẓām al-Dīn marched against him from Iṣfahān; in the battle which ensued Hurmuz fell and his Turkish allies were routed. Shortly after, a prince named ʿAdjam Shāh b. Malik Dīnār, a protégé of the Khārazm-shāh ᾱlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, ʿAdjam Shāh had concluded an alliance with the Ghuzz, who assisted him in his attempts to secure the realm of Kirmān. In short, the course of events was as follows. The prisoner Niẓām al-Dīn was sent to the Salghūrid Atabeg of Fars, but if ʿAdjam Shāh expected to remain in the quiet possession of Kirmān, he was disillusioned by a polite message from the Atabeg, Sayd b. Ẓangi, to the effect that Sayd was sending his general ʿĪzz al-Dīn Faḍlūn to accelerate the reduction of the garrisons mentioned above (600/1203-4). The troops of Fars duly arrived in the best ms., Istanbul, Yeni Ṭamūr, 909, and in the ms. in Tabriz. An abridgement of this third recension, extant in several ms. (e.g. B.L. Add. 16,696), probably originated at a considerably later date, since none of the ms. is earlier than the 10th/16th century.

The Shabankara tribe produced a historian during the 8th/14th century, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shabankara3 [q.v.], author of a general history which brings considerable near-contemporary and contemporaneous information on Fars during the Il-Khānīd and Il-Khānīd periods (Maqâmāt al-anṣāb, ed. Mīrāz Ḥāšīm Muhāddith, Tehran 1363/1984, 220 ff.).

**Bibliography:**


(V.F. BÜCHNER-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SHABANKARA2, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Persian poet, littérateur and historian of Kurdish origin (ca. 697-759/ca. 351), to the effect that Saʿd was sending his general ʿĪzz al-Dīn Faḍlūn to accelerate the reduction of the garrisons mentioned above (600/1203-4). The troops of Fars duly arrived in the best ms., Istanbul, Yeni Ṭamūr, 909, and in the ms. in Tabriz. An abridgement of this third recension, extant in several ms. (e.g. B.L. Add. 16,696), probably originated at a considerably later date, since none of the ms. is earlier than the 10th/16th century.

The Maqâmāt al-anṣāb fi Ṭawārikh, exists in a number of versions. The first redaction, dedicated to the Il-Khānīd Abū Saʿīd the vizier Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ragḥūd al-Dīn, was produced in 733/1332-3 but was lost in the destruction of the vizier′s house in 736/1336. Shabankaraṭī completed a second redaction on 22 Djamʿād 1 738/17 December 1337; this is found in the best ms., Istanbul, Yeni Cami 909, and in the printed edition. Yet a third version, dedicated to the Ėhpānīd Pīr Ḥusayn and finished in 743/1343, is represented by the Paris ms. Supp. pers. 1278 and by a ms. in 1270/1853, an abridgment of the said redaction, extant in several ms. (e.g. B.L. Add. 16,696), probably originated at a considerably later date, since none of the ms. is earlier than the 10th/16th century.

The Maqâmāt al-anṣāb is of importance for its original material on the Ghawānids, being the sole source to supply the alleged Pand-nāma of Sebūtkī. It is also the first general history to incorporate chapters on the local dynasties of Shabankārā′s native region of southern Persia, with sections inter alia on the rulers of the Shabankārā′s Kurds [see SHABANKARA], the atabegs of Fars, and (most detailed) the princes of Hurmuz [q.v.] and the atabegs of Lūrīstān [see LUR-I BUZURG].

After Shabankārā′s death, and not later than 783/1381, a certain Ghīyāth al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Fārīyāmīd wrote, apparently in Gurgān or Khurāsān, a brief dāvīd or continuation of the Maqâmāt al-anṣāb, dealing with the Sarbadār [q.v.] and the local dynasties of Khurāsān during the mid-14th century; this is extant only in the Istanbul ms.

**Bibliography:**
Storey, i, 84-5; Storey-Bregel, i, 334-7; Bosworth, Early sources for the history of the first four Ghawānīd sultans (977-1047), in IQ, vii (1963), 18-20; A. M. Muginov, Istoričeskiy trud Muhameda
SHABBATAY SEBI, a Jewish mystic, pseudo-Messiah and the inspiration for a Judaeo-Muslim sect.

Born at Izmir in 1035/1626, where his father, originally from the Peloponnese, was a trader, he showed a precocious propensity for the religious sciences, and was dedicated to a rabbinical career. From his adolescence, he devoted his time to the esoteric study of the Kabbalah and led a life of asceticism, observing the Muslim religion externally whilst practicing certain Jewish rites. He is described as a wandering ascetic travelling in turn from Jerusalem to Cairo. There, during 1663-5, he was the protegé of the mystical circle of Raphael Joseph Celebi, head of the mystical circle of Khidirlik and frequently frequented in Edirne the Bektashi tekke of Khidirlik and took part in diwar sessions. He was again arrested in Rabi’I 1083/August 1672 on charges of licentious conduct, and finally deported in Shawwal 1083/January 1673 to Ulcinj in the distant province of al-Bassan (Albania). Despite visits from certain of his followers, apparently disguised as Muslims, Sebi died in solitude on 9 Radjab 1086/17 September 1676 at Ulcinj, where his unmarked tomb is still venerated in March 1678, where he was hailed as the Messiah by Nathan’s predictions, he was to seize the crown of the “Grand Turk” without having to strike a blow. Meanwhile, the Ottoman government, perhaps alarmed by the Jewish pseudo-Messiah’s own Jewish opponents, decided to put an end to this ferment of activity, considering it to be seditious. The fate of the agitator, intercepted on the high seas, was decided by the Grand Vizier Ahmed Koprulu [see KOPRULU], who, unwilling to create a martyr, imprisoned him in the fortress of Gallipoli (Shaabban 1076/February 1666). With an aura of prestige for having escaped death, Sebi continued to receive, in prison, delegates from all over. These included Nehemiah Cohen, a Polish Kabbalist, who feigned conversion to Islam in order to gain access to the Grand Vizier, to whom he presented an epistle which denounced Sebi as an imposter. Sebi was brought to Edirne and to Sultan Mehmed IV’s diwan on 16 Rabi’I 1077/16 September 1666.

Sebi escaped capital punishment by “adopting the turban”, on the advice of the apostate Mustafa Hayati-zade, alias Gid’on, the sultan’s physician. On his conversion to Islam, he took the name of ‘Aziz Mehem Efendi, saw himself receive the honorific title of kapidj bash! “chief doorkeeper of the palace”, and received a royal pension. Had the Turks spared him in order for him to act as a missionary for Islam? If the majority of his followers abandoned him, his apostasy was in fact followed by numerous of his faithful followers, including his wife Sarah, who, after arriving in Gallipoli, took the name of Fâtima Kadîn. Seeking a theological justification for the paradoxical mystery of his defection—it could allegedly be considered as a deliberate act with an esoteric aim—Sebi’s partisans continued to believe in him, adopting for themselves the Hebrew name of ma’amnim “believers”. Sebi kept up secret contacts with them and with Nathan of Gaza during his stays in now Edirne and now Istanbul, during which he led a double life, observing the Muslim religion externally whilst practicing certain Jewish rites. He is described as going now to the mosque and now to the synagogue, holding a Koran in one hand and a Tôrah scroll in the other. The Shabbatayan tradition holds that, despite this duplicity, Sebi enjoyed the favour of Mehmed Wani Efendi, the sultan’s favourite preacher, who is said to have been assigned to him as his teacher of the precepts of Islam. It seems also that during this period Sebi had contacts with Muslim sectaries like the Bektashis, and perhaps also with the Khatwâwi mystic Mehem Nîzarî [see KATWÁ]. According to certain pieces of evidence, he reportedly frequented in Edirne the Bektashi tekke of Khidirlik and took part in diwar sessions. He was again arrested in Rabi’I 1083/August 1672 on charges of licentious conduct, and finally deported in Shawwâl 1083/January 1673 to Ulcinj in the distant province of al-Bassan (Albania). Despite visits from certain of his followers, apparently disguised as Muslims, Sebi died in solitude on 9 Radjab 1086/17 September 1676 at Ulcinj, where his unmarked tomb is still venerated by the local Muslim population.

As coming it as it came at a time of eschatological expectation in the Muslim environment, where he was seen as the Daqdjdîl [p. 218], Sebi’s death stimulated the appearance of Mahdi claimants.
However, the demise of its founder did not mean the end of his messianic movement. Accepting Nathan’s teaching, according to which Ṣebi had gone into a phase of occultation—one that formed the basis of concept of ghayba—and whilst awaiting his return, several hundreds of his followers embraced Islam en masse in 1095/1683 at Salonica, which henceforth became an active centre for propaganda. Under the direction of Jacob Querido (‘Abd Allāh Ya‘qūb), the brother of Jochebed-‘Ašīgā, Ṣebi’s last wife, these apostates assumed the shape of a sect known as the dōnmes [q.v.] (Tk. “convert”). Querido was proclaimed by his sister as Ṣebi’s reincarnation; he preached the pious performance of the Islamic obligations and died at Alexandria or at Būlāk in ca. 1102/1690 when returning from the Meccan Pilgrimage. The dōnmes split into various factions, the most radical of them being headed by ʿOTHMĀN BABA (alia Berukhyah Russo, d. 1721), who also claimed to be a reincarnation of Ṣebi. They borrowed certain practices and also liturgical chants from the Bektashi circles whose tekke liturgical chants from the BektashI circles whose

They observed a messianic form of Judaism based on tekke

ca. (Tk. “convert”). Querido was proclaim-

ed by his sister as Ṣebi’s reincarnation; he preached the pious performance of the Islamic obligations and died at Alexandria or at Būlāk in ca. 1102/1690 when returning from the Meccan Pilgrimage. The dōnmes split into various factions, the most radical of them being headed by ʿOTHMĀN BABA (alia Berukhyah Russo, d. 1721), who also claimed to be a reincarnation of Ṣebi. They borrowed certain practices and also liturgical chants from the Bektashi circles whose

verses, the shortest are mere couplets. Al-Shabbay used poems in which he plays on the number of poetic feet and by alternating the rhymes. A varied typology opened up for him, e.g. seven possibilities for a single verse, the shortest are mere couplets. Al-Shabbay used poems in which he plays on the number of poetic feet and by alternating the rhymes. A varied typology opened up for him, e.g. seven possibilities for a single verse, the shortest are mere couplets. Al-Shabbay used poems in which he plays on the number of poetic feet and by alternating the rhymes. A varied typology opened up for him, e.g. seven possibilities for a single verse, the shortest are mere couplets. Al-Shabbay used poems in which he plays on the number of poetic feet and by alternating the rhymes. A varied typology opened up for him, e.g. seven possibilities for a single
ramal. Thus we have a strophic schema for the seven attested combinations:
one foot, rhyme A
one foot, rhyme A
four feet, rhyme B
four feet, rhyme B
two feet, rhyme C.

The young poet's death, at the age of 25, in a Tunisia where poets had been very few, gave him a romantic halo and a popularity verging on the mythic. This infatuation with him has engendered, for over 60 years, erroneous, contradictory or fantastic biographical statements, and peremptory, verbose or extravagant literary judgements. Whilst he was published as a literary critic at the age of 20, his collected poetry had to await publication 21 years after his death.


(A. GHEDIRA)

SHABBIR HASAN KHAN DJOSH, modern Urdu poet, born 5 December 1898, died 22 February 1982.

He was born in Mahabubâb, a town in present-day Uttar Pradesh (formerly United Provinces) in India. His parents gave him the name of Shabbir Ahmad Khan, but subsequently he adopted his existing pen-name Djosh. He was a prolific writer and has left Urdu writings which had been out of print for a long time. Djosh claimed to have begun composing poetry when he was nine years old, eventually using as his pen-name Djosh. He was outspoken both in his personal dealings as well as in his poetry. His habits were provocative; thus his taste for drinking shocked orthodox sentiments, and he seemed irreverent where religious matters were concerned, yet, at the same time, he displayed deep feelings for the Prophet Muhammad and for 'Ali and his son Husayn.

In 1924 Djosh went to Haydarabad (Deccan) and was appointed in the Translation Bureau of Osmania University, his duty being to supervise the translations of literary works from English into Urdu. Through his poetry he won access to higher social circles, and seemingly enjoyed a pleasure-loving life. He stayed in Haydarabad for some ten years, when he was expelled for reasons which are unclear but probably resulted from official disapproval of his dissolute conduct. Whatever the case may be, he was dismissed and made to leave the state summarily.

In January 1936 Djosh started a monthly magazine from Delhi, Kalim. Although the magazine was well received in literary circles, it came up against financial difficulties and ceased in 1939 as an independent publication. Thereupon it became merged with the journal Nayâ adab ("New literature"), and appeared for some time under the title Nayâ adab awr Kalim, with Djosh acting as its chief editor. Soon after the outbreak of World War II it published in its August-September 1941 issue an inflammatory poem by Djosh, entitled East India Company ke farzand ke nâm ("To the children of East India Company"), which received wide prominence, but was banned by the government for its strong anti-British content.

From 1943 till the beginning of 1948 Djosh was associated with Indian films as a songwriter, most of this time with Shâlîmâr Pictures in Pune (Poona). In 1948 he became the editor of Agâ kal ("Now"), a literary magazine published from Delhi under the auspices of India's Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, continuing in that capacity until 1955.

Djosh had strongly supported the cause of Indian nationalism. This, together with his outstanding contribution to literature, assured him a privileged place in the new set-up after India became independent in 1947. The Indian government rewarded him with one of its highest honours, the Padam Bhushan. Given all the prestige that he enjoyed in India, it came as a shock when he suddenly migrated to Pakistan towards the end of 1955. From the Indian point of view, his action amounted to a betrayal of trust, the more so because of the strained relations existing between India and Pakistan. According to Djosh's own admission, he made the choice (which he seemed to have regretted afterwards) in anticipation of better economic prospects for himself and his family. In Pakistan he was appointed in 1958 as literary consultant in the Tarakî-yi Urdu Board ("Urdu Development Board"), a Karachi-based, government-sponsored body, which was entrusted with the task of preparing a comprehensive dictionary of Urdu on the pattern of the Oxford English dictionary. Later, the Board also assumed the work of reissuing standard Urdu writings which had been out of print for a long time. Nevertheless, his contract was not renewed by the military government of President Ayub Khan, supposedly because the poet was reported to have spoken against Pakistan while on a tour to India during the previous year. In 1972 Djosh moved from Karachi to Islamabad where, in 1973, the government of Prime Minister Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto provided him with a job in the Ministry of Education. He continued in this position under President Zia-ul-Haq, but in 1981 his health began to fail and he died in February 1982, being buried in Islamabad.

Djosh remained a controversial figure throughout his life. He was outspoken both in his personal dealings as well as in his poetry. His habits were provocative; thus his taste for drinking shocked orthodox sentiments, and he seemed irreverent where religious matters were concerned, yet, at the same time, he displayed deep feelings for the Prophet Muhammad and for 'Ali and his son Husayn.

Djosh claimed to have begun composing poetry when he was nine years old, eventually using as his pen-name Djosh. He was a prolific writer and has left numerous publications in verse and prose (see Bibliography). His first collection, Raḥî adab ("The spirit of literature"), which contained his work composed since the age of nine, was published in 1920, and the entire edition quickly sold out. His other published works followed in quick succession, and a posthumous volume of his unpublished poems appeared in 1993 under the title Misrâb u mifârâb ("The niche and the spectre"). He was also a prose-writer with a distinctive style, his best-known book here being his
autobiography Yadon ki barat (“The wedding procession of memories”), which is perhaps one of the most interesting works of modern Urdu literature. Djosh’s early nazms were love and nature. Soon, however, politics also entered his verse, and became ultimately one of his most frequently employed themes. Superficial and devoid of any sustained effect, these inflammatory and topical poems were nevertheless important because they articulated the prevalent political mood of the country, and may be said to have laid the foundation of militant poetry in Urdu. One of the best-known poems reflecting this tendency, Shikasti-i zindan ka ghobar (“The dream of the breaking down of the prison”), was composed in the 1920s, and reflected the revolutionary fervour of the period against British domination.

The predominant note of Djosh’s verse is its romanticism. His poetic outlook is largely traditional, and he employs set forms for his compositions. One of his favourite verse forms is the ruba’i, in which his mastery is evidenced by the skilful treatment of varied subjects. He has also revived the traditional marthiya by using it as a medium for conveying a new social and political sensibility. Another significant aspect of his poetry is his protest against religious hypocrisy, social injustice and political expediency, though his command over language often translates itself in his poems into a mere exercise in words, adding little to the development of the thought and its content.

Djosh undoubtedly ranks among the foremost Urdu poets of modern times. In fact, he is regarded by his admirers as next only to Ikbal (d. 1938) and his poetry is his protest against religious hypocrisy, social injustice and political expediency, though his command over language often translates itself in his poems into a mere exercise in words, adding little to the development of the thought and its content. His advice (fatwa) on juridical and ritual matters was (fatwa) on juridical and ritual matters was
allegedly sought by many, and the trends he set in fashion and cosmetics, such as his habit to wear clothes of silk and dye his hair with henna, are extensively dealt with in Ibn Sa’d, vi, 176. Furthermore, al-Sha’bi’s recorded skill in arithmetic, cf. ibid., 173, l. 3, made him especially expert in the solving of inheritance problems, as is attested in Ibn Abi Shawayha’s Musannaf and al-Dārimī’s Sunan, chs. on farā’id. An explanation for Sha’bi’s supposedly frequent resorting to rā’yan, as set off against his vehement rejection of it on other occasions, may be sought in plain jalousie de métier: we may assume that he barely suffered trespassing on his patch by recently converted mauwālī who, with the exception of the Ḥudayrī, were everywhere in the majority in the Islamic domain. In their desire to find out what their new religion stood for, and, where necessary, to give it substance, they were presumably also engaged in the giving of fatwās and the dissemination of āwārid and ḥaddīth. Their mere presence in the mosque where al-Sha’bi himself held court may have prompted him to call them by highly derogatory appellation (e.g. “Persian merchants”), cf. LA, s.n. On the whole, he seems to have mistrusted mauwālī, as may be reflected in a remark attributed to him: after the mauwālī had mastered the rules of Arabic grammar, they are surely the first to corrupt them, cf. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, ‘Ubd, ed. Cairo 1948-53, ii, 478; al-Dīnjārizī, Bayān, ii, 69. Mauwālī mentioned as the butt of al-Sha’bi’s vitriol were among others Hammād b. Abī Sulaymān, the celebrated teacher of Abū Ḥanīfa [q. v.], Hakam b. ‘Uṭayba, Abī Ṣāliḥ Bāḏghīj, and the self-styled Kurʿan exegete of Su’di.

Moreover, al-Sha’bi figures in the insān strands of innumerable historical figures: akhbār the majority of which deal with the early conquest history of ‘Irāq as recorded by Sayf b. ʿUmar [q. v.] and a few other historians. Among these, the disproportionately large number of reports of the āwārid [q. v.] genre is particularly striking. Appointed kābi by the governor of ‘Irāq Ibn Hubayyra [q. v.] (according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1347, in the year 100/718), he is said to have refused to combine his judgeship with nocturnal conversation (Ar. sāmar) with his employer. Besides, Sha’bi is recorded to have composed unusual rhymes (awā’id), as well as high-class poetry. He allegedly boasted that he could recite poetry for a month without having to resort to repeats. The ‘Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik, who had been ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the then governor of Egypt (cf. Aqīli, xi, 20-6) as well as to the emperor of Byzantium, who is said to have been greatly impressed by al-Sha’bi (Ta’rīkh Baghdād, xii, 231). Among his contemporaries, as set off against his vehement rejection of al-Hadjdjadj [q. v.], the governor had reportedly always held al-Sha’bi in great esteem, so that he had appointed him the ‘awārid [q. v.] of his clan and the munkib (= superintendent) of the Hamdān tribe. After this insurrection was put down, al-Sha’bi fled from the governor’s revenge to the court of Kutayba b. ‘Ummāl [q. v.], where he enjoyed asylum for a time. Later, he allegedly returned to al-Hadjdjadj, apologised for his role in the rebellion and was subsequently pardoned. His confrontation with the governor has given rise to a long range of flowery anecdotes, which receive broad mention in the historical sources as well as adab sources.

Bibliography: More or less extensive sections on al-Sha’bi are given in Ibn Sa’d, vi, 171-8; Ṣa’dī, Anwār al-āwārid, vi, index s.n.; Ta’rīkh Baghdaďd, xii, 227-34; Dhahabi, Sīyar al-ālam al-nubūṭ, ed. Arna’ūt, iv, 294-319; idem, Ta’dkhirat al-ba’ṣfār, i, 79-88; Ibn Khaliḳān, Wafayāt, ed. I. ‘Abbās, iii, 12-5; Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥḥasar ta’rīkh maṣdmarat Dimashq, xi, 249-63; Ibn Ḥadjiyar, Tadhkhir al-tāḥdib, vi, 69-59; Abū Nu‘aym, Ḥibyat al-adlīya, iv, 310-38, contains a long series of traditions most of which are spuriously ascribed to al-Sha’bi. He is, furthermore, credited with numerous bon mots and aphorisms which are scattered over early historical and adab works, cf. the indices of such works as Fasawān, Aḥmad, Māṣūma, ‘Abd al-Malik, Bāḏghīj, Ṣafārī, and Ḥuyayyān; Ibn Kutayba, ‘Uṣayn al-akhbār; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, ‘Īlāk, ‘Ishṭāhān, Ḥaḏīḥ, Mubārrad, Kāmi’il, etc. For al-Sha’bi’s awā’id reports, see the indices of s.n. of Abū Hīlāl al-‘Askari, K. al-Awā’il, ed. M. al-Misrī and Wālid Ḳassāb, Damascus 1975, and Djalāl al-Din al-Suyutī, al-Wasā’il ilt maṣmūrat al-awā’il, ed. As’ad Talaṣ, Bagdād 1930. For his role in mu’ammārīn in his insān, see WZKM, lxixi (1991), 155-75. For his role in ḥaddīth, see G.H.A. Juynboll, Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith, Cambridge 1983, index s.n. (G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

SHABBIB B. SHAYBA, Abū Maʿmar al-Minkari al-Ṭamīmī, orator, narrator of akhbār and author of many maxims preserved in various works of adab literature, was a man of high lineage of the Sa’d b. Zayd Manāṭ branch of the Banū Ṭamīm at Basra. Ḳaḥīd b. Saʿwān [q. v.], the famous orator of the late ‘Umayyad period, is said to have been related to the same family as Shabbib. According to al-Dīnjārizī (al-Ṭabarī wa l-tabyin, ed. A.ḥad al-Salām M. Ḫarīn, iii, 355), they were cousins, but biographers also note a different lineage (e.g. al-Khāṭirī, Ta’rīkh Baghdaďd, ix, 231).
274). In any case, they are often mentioned together, and it is noted that their relationship, dictated by the ties of family and profession, was not always friendly (Baghdd, i, 940; Aghbain, xx, 404-5). After serving for a short time as head of the ‘ghulat’ Banu Bayd’s (Wā‘ūs), Akhīn al-kudhā, i, 60), Shābīb went to the new capital Baghddād, where he was admitted at court as companion and lītellātār of the caliph al-Mansūr and al-Mahdī. He is said to have had some influence, and he reports himself that he was regularly invited to meetings with al-Mahdī (Tha‘lab, Maqāli, ed. Hārūn, 413), who held him in esteem for his wise and witty statements. His acquaintance with the inner circles of power made him an authority for some historical lākhbār. After about two decades, he returned to Baṣra. Ibn al-Imay includes Shābīb among the names of the deceased of the year 162/778-9, but it is more likely that he died some years later, “in the sixties” as al-Dhahābī (Ta‘rīkh al-Īlam) notes.

As a pious man, Shābīb included prophetic hadithān in his sayings. However, when the specialists of Islam’s Tradition developed their criteria of censura, his testimony did not find approval, although his merits in the literary field were acknowledged by Ibn Hībīn and others (K. al-Magdhūn, ed. Zāyid, i, 363 and Ibn Ḥaḍar, Ta‘līhāb at-ta‘līhāb, xxiv, 307). These merits are expressed in al-Dhābī in clear terms: in addition to his competent knowledge of style, Shābīb was distinguished by the dissemination of his sayings among the literati (Bayīn, i, 117-18). The reason for this was, as it is witnessed by the quotations preserved in our sources, his mastery of the short sententious expression. This art was for him the true perfection of speech (Bayīn, i, 112). Adab literature preserves examples of his eloquence in the oratory genres of admonition (maw‘oza), condoleace (ta‘ziya) and general ethical topics. His repeated recommendations for the quest of adab are early references to this literary and social concept (e.g. Maqāla Tha‘lab, 257; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Boldhūr al-maqlīdī, ed. al-Khālī, i, 112; Ta‘rīkh Baghdd, ix, 276). Besides maxims of his own, older examples of aphorisms and speeches appear in literature on his authority. A considerable number of the texts quoted from Shābīb show parallels which testify to a wide transmission of his sayings. Brockelmann already mentions him as a precursor of adab literature (Suppl. I, 105), and in spite of the fact that Shābīb did not compose books—al-Nadīm only mentions the hadithān of Shābīb (Fihrist, ed. Tadjaddud, 139)—this view is confirmed by the materials preserved.

Bibliography: In addition to the literature mentioned: Ma‘ṣūdī, Marāqī, ed. Pellat, vi (Index), 409-10; W. Werkmeister, Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kiāb al-jamī‘ al-farīd, Berlin 1983, 385-7; Yākūt, Irshād, ed. Margoliouth, iv, 260; Dhahabī, Ta‘rīkh al-Īlam, ed. Tadmūrī, 257-9, years 161-70. For the events, presenting Salih’s rebellion as separate from that of Shābīb’s. Be this as it may, according to Sayf, Shābīb then led the remnant of Salih’s force through al-Mawsīl and central ‘Irāq, scoring victories at Khāmīn and al-Nahrāwān, and even appearing in al-Kūf with 200 men; he then defeated Zā’īdī b. Kudāma at Rūdhbār, and ‘Uṯmān b. Kātan at al-Ḥārijī near the village of al-Batt, which lay on the southern borders of the province of al-Mawsīl, in Dhu ‘l-Hijja 76/March 696. After 3 months of manoeuvring in early 77/mid-696, Shābīb eventually took al-Madā‘īn, and now with perhaps 600 men, defeated ‘Attābī b. Warkā al-Riyāḥ, and threatened al-Kūf. But his luck finally turned when a force of several thousand Syrians under the command of Sufyān b. al-Abraq al-Kalbi routed him near al-Kūf; after an indecisive battle at al-Anbār, he marched through Dju‘kha, Kirmān, and moved into al-Ahwāz. There, crossing the Dţujayl before the Syrians, he was drowned sometime near the end of 77/early 697. Other reports put his death in 78/697-8. Despite Shābīb’s failure, the Khāridjītes of al-Dṇa‘īra and al-Mawsīl continued to draw on the region’s restive tribesmen, and the sources record a nearly unbroken succession of rebellions against the Umayyads and early ʿAbbasīds; among these later Khāridjītes the sources identify Shābīb’s son Suhārī, who rebelled against the governor Khu‘lī al-Kasri [q.v.] in 119/737.

Bibliography: Tabarī, ii, years 76, 77; Balādhūrī, Ansāb al-ashāb, ms. Resūlkāpptik 598, fol. 43b-50a; Ibn Aṯām al-Kūfī, Kūfī, Kifūt, Hadīrādīb 1974, vii, 84-92; Ya‘kūbī, ii, 328; Ibn Ḥazm, Dhamarat ansāb al-ʿarab, Cairo 1977, 327; Ibn Kutilāyba, Ma‘ārif, Cairo 1960, 410-11; Mubarrad, Kāmil, Caire 1964, 676-7; Baghddādī, Fārkhān al-fanāk, 89-92; Ibn Ḥaddīkīn, Wafayat al-ayn, Beirut 1977, ii, 454-84; Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinet, CCSO 81 and 109, Louvain 1920, 1937, 1850; (Latin); Chronicorum annorum ad annum 1234 pertinet (ed. in the same vols.), 296/231; J. Wellhausen, Die religiō-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alien Islam, Göttingen 1901, 42-8, Eng. tr. The religio-political factions in early Islam, Amsterdam 1975, 67-78 (based exclusively on
**SHABIB B. YAZID — SHABWA**


(K. V. Zettersten [C. F. Robinson])

**SHABISTARI** [see MAHMUD SHABISTARI]

**SHABTUN** [see MAHMUD SHABISTARI]

**SHABWA**


**SHABUSAHTI**

Al-Shabúsháti, Abu l-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad, littérature de Fâtimid period, and librarion and boon-companion to the caliph al-Aziz (365-86/975-96 [q. v.]), died at Fustat in 388/998 or possibly in the succeeding decade. Ibn Khalikán explains the unusual cognomen Shabúshtí as being a name of Daylamí origin, and not a náhsh; an origin in sháh pughít “he who guards the king’s back” has been somewhat fancifully suggested.

Al-Shábúsháti’s works included a K. al-Yar bád’ al-‘asz, a Marádih al-fukáhah, a K. al-Yasákíj wa l-tájühás, a K. al-Zahd wa l-mawá’ís, and collections of epistles and poetry. All these are lost, and his fame stems from his K. al-Dívádí “Book of monasteries”, extant in a Berlin ms. and now ed., with a good intro., by Gürgis ‘Awádd, *Báddíd 1386/1666*. This forms part of a minor genre of writing about monasteries, in which the author had been preceded by the Khálidíyán brothers, Abu l-Faráqíj al-lSáfíhání and al-Sári l-Ráffíz [q. v.]. It deals with 37 Christian monasteries in Irák, plus a smaller number of those in Syria and Egypt, and is of high importance for the culture historical, historical geography and literature. There emerges from it that the monasteries were places to which caliphs and other high men of state could retire for recreation, above all, for drinking parties, since the monasteries were leading centres for wine-making [see DÁYR]. A considerable amount of poetry is cited, including verses otherwise unknown.


**SHABWA**

The name of the ancient capital of the South Arabian kingdom of Hadramawt [q. v. in Suppl.].

The name of this town appears in classical sources as Sabata (Strabo, *Geographica*, XVI, 4. 2, according to Eratosthenes), Sabatha (Ptolemaios, *Geographia*, VI, 7. 38), Sabatha (Periplus maris Erythraei, 27) and Sabata (Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, 155; XII, 52). Ptolemaios calls the town a metropolis, and the Periplus additionally calls it the residence of the king, for whom silverware, horses, statues, and clothing of fine quality are imported. Pliny mentions as the chief place of the Atramiátí Sabata a walled town containing sixty temples (ibid., VI, 155), built on a high hill and situated a march of eight days away from the incense-producing region (ibid., XII, 52). That the capital was also the religious and cultic centre of the kingdom seems to be confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

Shabwa, the geographical co-ordinates of which are lat. 15° 22’ N. and long. 47° 01’ E., is located about 700 m/2,300 feet above sea-level at the eastern border of the Ramlat al-Sab‘atayn on a hill at the mouth of the Wadi ʿAfīf, the lower course of the Wadi ʿIrma. The area was already inhabited during the Stone Age, and in the middle of the second millennium B.C. a settlement existed at the southern part of the later town. Shabwa was situated at the meeting-point of important caravan routes leading from the port of Kana to the Indian Ocean in the south and from the Djawl and the Wádi Hadramawt in the east to Timna, the capital of Katabán [q. v.], and Máríb [q. v.], the capital of Saba [q. v.], as well as through the Ramlat al-Sab‘atayn and the Yemeni Djawl to...
Naghrān [q. v.] in the west and to al-ʿAbr further to the north.

The first epigraphic attestation of Hadramawt is to be found in the Old Sabean inscription RES 3945, a record of Karibṭil Watar, from Miʿmah Sabwā, in Hadramawt, and in Hadramitic inscriptions found outside of the capital (e.g. Ḫor Ṛyrt 1, 3, from the ancient town of Samārum at the coast of Ṣafār; Jamme 892 from Saʿānūn, the present-day Hānūn in the Karāt Mountains of Zafār; RES 4912 from al-ʿUkla, a fortress to the west of Shabwa) give evidence to the importance of the Sabean kingdom.

In the 5th century B.C., the first buildings on stone bases were erected in Shabwa and inscriptions in monumental script were set up. The cultural and political heyday of Shabwa was in the period between the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. The mention of Shabwa in the epigraphic form ḥabīb, ḥabīt, ḥabbait, in Hadramitic inscriptions found outside of the capital (e.g. Ḫor Ṛyrt 1, 3, from the ancient town of Samārum at the coast of Ṣafār; Jamme 892 from Saʿānūn, the present-day Hānūn in the Karāt Mountains of Zafār; RES 4912 from al-ʿUkla, a fortress to the west of Shabwa) give evidence to the importance of the Sabean kingdom.

The extensive research work carried out by the French Archaeological Mission in the ruins of the ancient town showed that, inside the fortified walls, tower dwellings were the most common architectural type of building in Shabwa. Materials for the construction of the houses were stone slabs, wooden beams and bricks of dry mud. A complex fortress with a courtyard surrounded by columns, turned out to be the royal castle. Its name ʿākr, ʿaṣṭān, was already known from Hadramitic and Sabean inscriptions and from legends of coins, since the royal castle was also the mint of the Hadramite kingdom. Later, parts of the town and the royal castle were rebuilt, and the palace was splendidly decorated with sculptures and ornaments manifesting local traditions as well as Hellenistic influences. During the first decades of the fourth century A.D., the Himyarite kings put an end to the independent kingdom of Hadramawt, and at the beginning of the 5th century the town of Shabwa began to decay.

The Arabic geographers of the Middle Ages knew the ruins of the former metropolis only an insignificant settlement still called Shabwa, a name which has survived until today. Al-Hamdānī speaks of a province (mīḥāl) Shabwa, the inhabitants of which are the Ağḥībā (the supposed descendants of a certain Shabwā, a grandson of Hadramawt; cf. Ḫilīl, ii, ed. M. al-Akwa; Cairo 1966, 372, i, 5-373, 1.1), the Ayādī (i.e. the Yanazīds), and also ʿṢādā and Ṣubāṭ (Ṣufī, ed. Mūller, 98, 20). According to the same author, Shabwa is situated between Baybān and Hadramawt and is a town belonging to the Himyar. One of the two mountains of salt lies in its neighbourhood. When the Himyar waged war on the Madḥūbī[q. v.], the people of Shabwa emigrated from their town and settled in the Ḫādir Hadramawt, where Shabwān was allegedly named after them (Ṣufī, ed. Mūller, 97, 22-3). The fact that Shabwa is considered as belonging to the Himyar may reflect the situation of late pre-Islamic times when Hadramawt had become part of the Himyarite realm. In another passage, al-Hamdānī enumerates Shabwa among the strongholds of Hadramawt (Ḫilīl, v, viii, ed. al-Akwa; Damascus 1979, 157, 1.5). Until today, salt of good quality is mined from two mountains to the north of Shabwa, called Milḥ Maḥa and Milḥ Kḥaḥa, and from two mountains to the south-west of it, called Milḥ Khaḥa and Haṣy al-Milḥ near Ayād. Yākūṭ writes that Shabwa is a station on the main road from the Wadī Hadramawt to Mecca (Mūṣṭafā, iii, 1974, 257, 1.14), and in another passage he mentions that it is the place where the grave of the prophet Sāliḥ is supposed to be (iv, 184, ll. 17-18). The notice that in Shabwa one sells a load of dates for one dirham ( Ibn ʿAbd al-Muʿmīn al-Himyarī, al-Rauṣd al-mufār, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1974, 37) indicates that the surroundings of the town must still have been fertile in the Islamic Middle Ages.

H. Helfritz was the first European who succeeded in reaching Shabwa during an adventurous journey in 1934. In 1936 H.-J.B. Philby, coming from the north, visited the ancient town, gave a detailed report on the existing ruins and drew a plan of Shabwa. The first small excavation in the ruins of Shabwa was undertaken in 1939 by R.A.B. Hamilton. In December 1947 a French Archaeological Mission under the direction of Jacqueline Pirenne and subsequently of J.-Fr. Breton started excavations at the site of Shabwa which have given a deep insight into the two millennia of the ancient history of this important settlement.

The extent of the ruins of Shabwa is so extensive that, within the area of the ancient town, there are the three villages of Hadjar, Maywān and Maywān, which are inhabited by members of the tribes of the Karāb and Al Bāryāk. In the former People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen and in the present Republic of Yemen, Shabwa has given its name to a governorate (muhāfaza) which reaches from the Saudi Arabian border to the Indian Ocean and includes an area of 37,910 km². The governorate of Shabwa is divided into four administrative districts (mudārijyāt), and its capital city is ʿAṣīq. In the recent past, the region around Shabwa has become economically important because of the exploitation of the oilfields which have been discovered there.


(W.W. Mūller, shortened by the Editors) SHADD (a.) either the act of girding with an initiatory belt or girdle, as practised by the chivalrous sodalities (the exponents of futuwwa [q. v.]), the trade guilds (ṣafīd, see below, 2., and ṣīf), and certain Sufi orders, or the belt or girdle itself. To the Arabic shadd in its verbal meaning correspond the Turkish expressions şel küşatmak, küşat küşatmak, and bel küşatmak, and the Persian baglamak, kamar bastan. The origin of the custom has been attributed to the kust; the sacred girdle of the Zoroastrians, for whom, however, girding on the kust was a rite of passage into manhood, not of initiation into a closed society; moreover, the
symbolism attributed to this girdle—a separation of the noble from the ignoble parts of the body—found no reflection in any of the groups practising šhadd ([J. Duescne-Guillen, *Le religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962, 114-15]. In Islam, the initiatic belt was regarded as a symbol of steadfastness and submissiveness (Şükeymnn Uludag, *Tasavvuf terimleri« sözü, Istanbul 1991, 447-8).

1. In futuwma and in Şüfism.

Handbooks of futuwma assert that the first initiatic belt was that which Adam girded on at the behest of Gabriel as a token of fidelity to his terrestrial mission as God's vicegerent (Neve, *Neve Türk tarihi*, 3/1981, 181). By way of reaffirming this primordial covenant, Gabriel wound a similar belt around the waist of the Prophet Muhammad, and he in turn girded it on ʿAli. Next, those of the Companies who came to be regarded as the patrons of various crafts and trades were invested with a šhadd, either directly by the Prophet or by ʿAli acting under his instructions. As an honorary member of the Prophet's household, Salman al-Farsi ([g.v.] is also said to have participated in this activity (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *IA, art. Şeddi*). No Kurʾānic reference could be adduced to vindicate the practice of girding; however, the words of Moses referring to Aaron in XX, 31, *aşhad bihi azrī* ("strengthen my back by means of him") are sometimes cited as alluding to the šhadd ([F. Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*, Zürich and Munich 1979, 162). Among the fīṣān, the girding on of the šhadd was accompanied by the recitation of various prayers that always included mention of ʿAli, who was regarded as the fountain head of the tradition; mention of all Twelve Imāms was also common, particularly from the 8th/14th century onwards. A further echo of the putative ʿAlid origins of futuwma was the practice of associating one end of the belt with ʿHasan and the other with ʿHusayn; the latter was kept longer than the former, as an indication of the primacy of the Husaynid over the Ḥāsānī line of descent (Çağatay, 45-7). At the time of initiation, the belt would be handed to the candidate for futuwma by a companion (rafı), whose duty it was to assist him in his further progress; and the ceremony of girding would be concluded with the drinking of salted water (şhad), water signifying wisdom and salt, justice (Taeschner, 139). The ūlā ad circument, rather than being held together by a buckle, and it would be wound around the waist a varying odd number of times. It was usually made of wool, although other materials such as leather, rope and cloth were also acceptable; the only condition was that the šhadd should not resemble the *sunna*, the distinctive gīrdilmis were required to wear (Murudā Şarrāl, *Rasid-i-i Ebuqaimdərin*, Tehran and Paris 1973, 77). It is worth noting that despite this stipulation, Jews and Christians were permitted to join the futuwma brotherhoods, particularly if there was reason to hope they might come to accept Islam, conversion being, in fact, a condition of their proceeding beyond the stage of girding on the belt (Taeschner, 116).

The novice girded with a belt was known as *mahšfiid* ("girded") or, more fully, *mahšfiid al-wast* ("girded of waist"), and counted as a probationary member of the brotherhood; full initiation, referred to as *takmil* ("completion") and symbolised by the putting on of ritual trousers (sirvūlī /ghalawŠ) ([see šhirwaš*], came later. The ceremony of *šhadd* was said to correspond to nikāh, the conclusion of a marriage contract, and that of *takmil* to the consummation of marriage (Taeschner, 141; Şarrâl, 77).

Similar procedures accompanied the girding on of the initiatic belt in the craft guilds, except that in the accompanying prayers mention would generally be made of a Companion of the Prophet being invested with the craft belt by the Prophet, who had practised the craft in question. Although Jews and Christians sometimes organised their own guilds, they were also admitted to those established by Muslims; in 19th-century Syria, they would recite the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer respectively as the šhadd was bound on (Taeschner, 385). Each guild, especially in Ottoman Turkey, had its own distinctive form of *šhadd* and method of tying and knotting it (Çağatay, 156-7; Gölpınarlı, 380).

The fraternities of brigands known as *ayyār* ([g.v.] which may be designated as a degenerate manifestation of futuwma also resorted to the girding on of initiatic belts. This is apparent from the advice given in 532/1138 by Abuʾl-Karam, the governor of Bagdad, to his nephew, Abuʾl-Kasim, that as a precautionary measure he should have himself girded with a belt by Ibn Bakrā and then threaten the city (Ibn al-ʾAjīr, xi, 24).

The custom of *šhadd* was relatively uncommon among Şüfis, for whom the major initiatic garment was the cloak or *khirka* ([g.v.]; in fact, an explicit parallel was sometimes drawn between the belt and trousers of the fīṣān and the *khirka* of the mystics (see e.g. Ibn al-Djawżī, *Talbis Iblis*, Cairo 1340/1922, 241). Nonetheless, certain Şüfi orders did use the binding on of a girdle as part of their initiatic rites, undoubtedly as a borrowing from the traditions of futuwma. It is tempting to suppose that this borrowing first took place under the auspices of Shihāb al-Dīn Abī ʿAbīs Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [q.v.]), for he was simultaneously a Şüfi and an initiate of the caliph al-Nāṣir’s courtly futuwma (the assumption is made by J.S. Trimmingham, *The Şüfi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 35). However, al-Suhrawardī’s only reference to *šhadd* in his celebrated manual of Şüfi practice comes in the context of travelling, where he remarks that binding up the waist (šhadd al-wast) before setting out on a journey forms part of the Prophet’s *sunna* (*Awdrif al-maʿārif*, printed as a supplement to Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Iṣlaḥ al-dīn*, Beirut n.d., v, 95). The connection between *šhadd* and travelling is confirmed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s description of travelling Şüfis arriving at the khanqahs of Cairo as described by Eberhard (*Ibn Baṭṭūṭa und seine Reiseberichte*; Frankfurt 1974, 241) or those of the 8th/14th century onwards. The Mewlewls wore a woollen girdle (or *aaj_am*) during their whirling ceremonies. The principal Şüfi orders using belts or girdles for cultic purposes were the Mewlewls and the Bektâşis, a circumstance accounted for by the ubiquity of futuwma (or of *ağībik*, its Turkish equivalent) in Anatolia during the period of their genesis in the 8th/14th century. The Mewlewls wore a woollen gir- dle known as the elīf nemed, so called because with its tapering end when laid out flat it resembled the letter *a*lif. A cord long enough to be twisted around the waist twice was attached to the end of the elīf nemed (Gölpınarlı, *Mescel elīf ve erkân*, Istanbul 1963, 16-17). A second type of woolen girdle, known as the *ğhībd* (literally, "swordbelt"), was worn only
during the Mewlewi dance, in order to hold in place during its initial stages the ample skirt of the garment known as the shadd (ibid., 49).

The tīgbend held a central place in Bektāshī ritual and belief. According to their tradition, the caliphal Highīm wished to hang the Imam Muhammad al-Bākīr q.e., but the first time the rope was twisted around his neck he invoked the name of God and was saved, only a knot remaining in the rope. The second and third times the Imam invoked the names of the Prophet and 'Ali respectively, giving rise to two further knots. Whom the initiates were being made for a renewed attempt to hang the Imam, one of his followers by the name of Mu‘mīn ‘Ayyār suggested that a rope made from the wool of a freshly slaughtered ram would be more effective, as he then demonstrated by hanging himself in front of the Imam’s cell. Duly impressed, the caliphal agents went to hang the Imam using the same rope, but the Imam had peacefully breathed his last at precisely the moment. Mu‘mīn ‘Ayyār had hung himself. The Bektāshī tīgbend, also fashioned from ram’s wool, was intended to be a replica of this rope, and it thus served as a symbol of self-sacrifice and commitment. Its girding on was the second element (after the donning of a skullcap) in the Bektāshī ceremony of initiation known as škrār. The three knots tied into the tīgbend symbolised both the names of the Bektāshī trinitarian scheme (God, the Prophet and ‘Ali) and the threefold ethical injunction of Bektāshīsm (restraining the hand from stealing, the tongue from lying and the loins from sexual transgression) (Ahmed Rīfā‘ī, Mir‘āt al-ummakāsī fī dī‘ īl-mifāsīd, Istanbul 1293/1876, 67-80; J.K. Birge, The Bektashi order of dervishes, London 1937, 170, 181, 192, 234-5).

Other Śūfī orders said to have practised the shadd in Ottoman Turkey and—under Turkish influence—the Arab lands, include the Waṣṣā‘yya, Rīṣā‘yya, Sa‘dīyya, and Badawīyya (Trimingham, 105, n. 1; Pakaln, iii, 314). In Persia, the girding on of an initiatory belt is recorded for the Khāksār dervishes. The seven folds of the Khāksār girdle (kamār) signified the discarding of seven ‘insulting fetters’ (band-i nafsān), i.e. vices, and the fixing in their place of seven ‘divine fetters’ (band-i rahmdn), i.e. virtues. The fact that the Khāksār, like the Bektāshīs, girded a sword-belt on a newly-initiated student, was called for by a newly-installed sultan, first documented for Murād II (824-841/1421-44 and 850-51/1446-51) was a reflection of shadd as practised both in futuwwa and in Turkish Śūfī orders (Çağatay, 45; Mustafa Kara, Din, hayat, sanat aşırrandn tekkeler ve zaviyeler, Istanbul 1980, 166-8). It may finally be observed that the tradition of shadd may have predisposed certain Turkish Śūfīs to adopt freemasonry, with its comparable custom of initiatic girdling (Th. Zarcone, Mystiques, philosophes et francs-maçons en Islam, Paris 1983, 312).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(Hamid Algar)

2. In the trade guilds.

Under its corporate aspect, the practice of shadd was adopted from the 16th to the 19th century in the Arab lands of the Near East; the guilds in the Maghrib did not apparently know this initiation rite.

There have been numerous descriptions of the futuwwa and the shadd ceremony (with divergences over details) all through the period of the Ottoman empire. The sources are too varied to be found in the K. al-Dhahākhīr (ms. Gotha 903, studied by Goldziher, Thorning and Baer) and in four mss. of the K. al-Futuwwa, all closely related to each other and concerning, like the preceding work, Egypt (Gotha ms. 906, used by Thorning, and three B.N. mss., arabe 1375-7, used by Massignon), whose dates of copying extend between 1653 (Gotha 906) and 1735 (B.N. 1377) and which relate to the situation in the 16th and 17th centuries. These texts give lists of the guilds and their masters (pir), tracing the history of the shadd, received by Muhammad from Djibril, handed on to `Ali, and then handed on by `Ali to seventeen masters in the first place, beginning with Salmān al-Fārisī, who then proceeds to the shadd of other masters (whose number varies in the texts from 50 to 58). The texts then describe the initiation ceremony. Ewliya Celebi gives information on the guilds and the futuwwa at Istanbul and Cairo, Al-Djabartī mentions a very similar ritual (without mentioning the term shadd). The ceremony itself is described in detail, in an essentially similar form, by Jomard (Description de l’Egypte) and Lane (Modern Egyptians), and, for Damascus at the end of the 19th century, by Qoudisi.

The ceremony of the shadd took place at the point of reaching the status of master of a craft (ma‘alimin). It is unclear whether there was a shadd ceremony for the entry of the apprentice into his profession (mentioned by the K. al-Dhahākhīr); it may be that the usage fell into disuse. When the apprentice was considered expert enough in his trade to open a workshop or shop, he was brought to the shaykh of the guild, who examined him and, if he found him qualified, summoned a meeting, through the na‘ik (his assistant and the master of the ceremonies), of the masters of the trade. On a fixed day, those invited gathered together. The na‘ik brought forward the petitioner to the shaykh who, after reciting the Fātihah, proceeded to instil him according to a ritual laid down in minute detail. He tied a girdle round the upper part of the neophyte’s body, making in it knots, between three and six or seven in number, in the accounts of the various authors, according to the number of important master craftsmen of the trade then present. Each knot had a symbolic meaning and was tied by the candidate’s master, the shaykh and one of his assistants. When the ceremony, punctuated by recitations of the Fātihah, was over, the young man was considered to be ma‘ṣhūd. The shaykh gave him various pieces of advice. Then a feast (wa‘ilim) was given, at the expense of the petitioner. There may perhaps have been a similar ceremony for the elevation of someone to the office of shaykh.

This ceremony (shadd al-walad) was the corporate usage which lasted longest, but in a more and more restricted number of trades. Lane, in ca. 1830, mentions it for the carpenters, the wood-turners, the barbers, the tailors and the bookbinders. ‘Ali Paşa cites the barbers, the keepers of baths and the shoemakers. It was, in fact, amongst the shoemakers (sarmā’tāyya) (Mahmoud Sedky, La corporation des cordonniers, in Revue Egyptienne (1912) and the coppersmiths (nahhādsin) (A. Cherkes, Images, Cairo 1947) that the last echoes of it, well into the 20th century, were to be found. The inevitable decline of the trade guilds, because of the modernisation of the Egyptian economy, explains the progressive disappearance of these traditions. The same thing happened in Syria, where the very detailed picture given by E. Qoudisi in 1885 of these usages (largely similar to
those of Cairo) clearly reflects a situation largely outdated.


**SHADDAD** b. *AD*, a personage associated with the legendary town of Iram Dhāt al-īnād, to whom is attributed its foundation. For information on him, see *AD* and *I RAM*.

(T. FāHd)

**SHADDAD** b. *AMR* b. Hīd b. al-ʿAdābāb al-Kurāghī al-Fihī, *Companion of the Prophet* (ṣahīb), as also his son al-MUSTAWIRID, who transmitted on the authority of his father.

It is unknown when he was born or when he died. But since his son was also a Companion, he must have been of a certain age in the earliest Islamic period. But contrariwise, there is known a tradition of his from the Islamic period, transmitted by his son from Shaddad and going back to the Prophet Muhammad himself, "I went along to the Prophet's side. He took his hand, and lo, it was softer than silk and colder than snow" (see Ibn Ḥaḍjr, *Isāba*, ii, 141 no. 3855; on the vocalisation of the name Ḥisāl (sic) and of Fīhr, see *Caskel-Strenziok, Gharābṭ an-nasāb*, i, 324, 246, and Ḥaḥāla, *Maʿṣūmah kahb̲īl al-ʿarab*, 1 Beirut 1985, i, 271, iii, 929).

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

**SHADDĀDIS** or BĀNĪ SHADDAD, a minor dynasty of Arrān and eastern Armenia which flourished from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th century (ca. 340-570/ca. 951-1174), with a main line in Gandja and Dvin (q.v.) and a junior, subsequent one in Ani (q.v.) which persisted long after the end of the main branch under Saldjk and laterly Ilfezhid suzerainty.

There seems no reason to doubt the information in the history of the later Ottoman historian Münəddiğm Bāshī that the Shaddādis were in origin Kurdish. Their ethnicity was complicated by the fact that they adopted typically Daylamī names like Lāshkārī and Marzūbān and even Armenian ones like Ashot, but such phenomena merely reflect the ethnic diversity of northwestern Persia and eastern Transcaucasia at this time.

Around 340/951 the adventurer Muhammad b. Shaddād b. Kātātī established himself in Dvin whilst the Musafīrīd Daylāmi ruler of Adhābarbādjan Marzūbān b. Muhammad was preoccupied with various of his enemies, including Kurdish and other Daylamī rivals, the Arab Hāmādānis, the Rūṣ (q.v.) and the Būyīds (who eventually captured and imprisoned Marzūbān [see MUSAFĪRĪD]; but Ibn Shaddād was unable to hold on to Dvin and had to flee to the Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan. Muḥammand’s eldest son Lāshkārī (d. 368/979-80) in 360/971 seized the Shaddādis an independent power, ending Musafirid influence in Arrān and expanding northwards into Şamkūr in Transcaucasia and eastwards to Bārdhā [q.v.]. After the short reign of Muhammad’s second son Marzūbān, the third son Fādī (I) began a long reign (375-422/986-1031) and, in general, expanded the Shaddādis territories from his base in Arrān. He combated neighbouring Armenian princes, recovered Dvin from them in ca. 413/1022, and occupied the territories of the Armenianised Hungarian Severdīk to the west of Şamkūr. His campaigns against the Armenian Bagratids of Tashīr, who had styled themselves “kings of [Caucasian] Albania”, Avānḵ and the Georgians, met with varying fortunes, but in 421/1030, after a successful foray into Georgiv, he was intercepted by the Georgian king Līparī and the Armenian prince Anholin of Tashīr and his forces disastrously defeated. He had in 418/1027 constructed a fine bridge over the Araxes river (see *AL-RASS*), possibly in anticipation of an incursion into the Rawwādīd’s [q.v.] territory of Adhābarbādjan.

By this time, the whole region was becoming confused and unstable, with strong Byzantine pressure on the Armenian princes and with increasing raids from the Turkmen Oguzh bands, who were eventually to establish Saldjk suzerainty over Adhābarbādjan and Arrān; thus the chronicles record an attack on Shaddādī Gandjā by Kūlumūbb b. Ārsān Isrāīlī (see *SALDKĪDĪS*, III. 5) in 437/1045-6, or 438/1046-7. Ali Lāshkārī b. Fādī (I) (425/1043-49) had a successful and prosperous reign; he was praised by the Persian poet Kātān [q.v.], who frequented his court at Gandjā, amongst other things for a major victory over the joint forces of the rulers of Armenia and Georgia; but towards the end of his reign, he was besieged in Gandjā by the Oguzh, mentioned above, and relief only came from the imminent approach of a Byzantine and Georgian army.

Lāshkārī’s brother Abu ‘l-ʾAswār Shāwur (I) had ruled in Dvin as a vassal of the elder members of the Shaddādī family—in effect as an autonomous prince—since 413/1022, in the face of increasing Byzantine operations against Dvin and Anī. In 441/1049-50 he took over power in Gandjā also, and ruled as the last great independent Shaddādī until 459/1067. Although married to a sister of the Armenian king of Tashīr David Anholin (whence, doubtless, the name Aghūr given to his second son), Abu ‘l-ʾAswār achieved a great contemporary reputation as a ghāzī against the infidels and he restored the Shaddādī principality to much of its former glory in Arrān and Şamkūr. But after the Saldjk Toghrīl Beg had made the Rawwādīd’s Adhābarbādjan his tributaries at Tābīz, the sultan came to Gandjā in 446/1054 and Abu ‘l-ʾAswār became his vassal also. In the latter part of his reign, he participated in the Turkmen expansion into Armenian and eastern Anatolia, and he further combated his kinsmen the Yazdī Shīrwān-Shāhs [q.v.] in Shīrwān to the north of Arrān and of the Turkmens in the south. In Shīrwān, at the end of Abu ‘l-ʾAswār’s reign, the Alans or Aš [see ALAN] of the central Caucasus...

But in the end, the Saldjūks imposed direct rule over Arrān and brought about the end of Shaddādī power there. Abu ‘l-ʾAswār’s son Fādī (II) was captured by the Georgians, and the Shīrwān-Shāh Farīburz b. Sallār invaded Arrān. When Sultan Alp
Arslan's eunuch commander Sawtigin passed through Arrân in 460/1068, the dissensions within the Shaddâdid ruling family were apparent to the Saljûq ruler, and when Sâwîtîn appeared a second time in 468/1075, the rule of Fâdîl (II) was ended and the Shaddâdicts' territories were annexed to the Great Saljûq empire.

However, the branch installed by the Sâljdâqûs at Anî continued for another century or so. Anî, the capital of the Armenian Bagratids, had been taken over from them by the Byzantines, but in 456/1064 was conquered by Alp Arslan. Certainly by 464/1072, and probably before then, the Shaddâdid Abû 'l-Abbâr Anîbûbâr b. 'Abd al-Mu'mûn (I) (d. b. 512/1118) was governing the city. The history of the Shaddâdicts of Anî is known only sketchily. We no longer have for them an Islamic source comparable to the information on the main line in Gandja found in Mûnedjîm Bâshî and going up to 468/1075-6. We do know that Mûnîçûr, with help from his Great Saljûq suzerains, had to fight off attacks by the Artûkîs (see q.v.) and by the latter's vassals. The latter (sometimes called in the Arabic sources al-Salûbî al-Absâr 'the Red Lion'), of the region to the south of Lake Van; but the Shaddâdicts seem to have held on to Dvin till 498/1104-5. In the reign of Mûnîçûr's son and successor Abu 'l-Aswâr Shâwûr (II), the Georgian king David the Restorer (1089-1125) recaptured Anî for the Christians and replaced the Muslim crescent emblem on the Armenian cathedral there by the cross, and it was recovered for the Muslims by Abu 'l-Aswâr (II)'s son Fâdîl or Fâdûn (III) (d. 524/1130), who also retook Dvin and Gandja. Nevertheless, the Shaddâdict principality of Anî remained under Georgian overlordship, and few facts are known about the Shaddâdicts âmirûn of the middle decades of the century. After internal unrest within Anî itself the Georgians occupied the city in 536/1141, carrying off Fâdûn (IV) b. Mahmûd b. Mûnîçûr, and shortly afterwards sacked Dvin and Gandja also. It was Eldîqûz or Ilî-dînîz (q. v.) who regained Anî in 559/1164, and the historian of Miyâfârîkîn al-Fârîkî records that its governorship was given by him to a Shaddâdid, Shâhânshâh (b. Mahmûd) b. Mûnîçûr; he ruled there until the Georgians once again conquered Anî in 570/1174-5. Thereafter, the Shaddâdicts fade from mention, except that a Persian inscription in Anî of 593-656/1196-1258, one of the great virgins in the Sufism of the brotherhoods. His teachings launched a tarîqa which gave birth to numerous, dynamic ramifications. These developed and have constituted a mystical tradition very widespread in North Africa and equally present in the rest of the Islamic world, as far as Indonesia.

Al-Shadhili's life is known to us through the texts compiled by his disciples, often late and in a clearly hagiographical vein, which is hard to distinguish the historic personage from what pious legend or the archetype of the wali has brought forward. Yet one can sketch out the course of life of one of the most famous saints of Maghribi Islam. The most important sources here are the Luṭâf 'al-imânîn of Ibn 'Arâ 'Ali Allâh (d. 709/1309; ed. 'A.H. Mahmûd, Cairo 1974) and the Durât al-âsâr of Ibn al-Sallâbî (d. 724/1323; Brockelmann, S II, 147, which places his work ca. 751/1350, to be corrected; ed. Tunis 1304/1886). There is also the synthesis of Ibn 'Iyâd (sometimes written Ibn 'Ayyâd and even Ibn 'Abbâd), the Majûfakîr 'al-îsâma fi 'l-ma'nîwîr al-shâdhdhîya, Cairo 1355/1937, much later than the previous two sources since it cites al-Suyûtî, Zârûkî (9th/15th century) and al-Shârîrî (10th/16th century).

Al-Shadhili was born in northern Morocco, in the Ghumâra country between Ceuta and Tangiers in ca. 558/1163 or ten years later, according to the sources. He claimed descent from the Prophet via al-Hasan. He studied the various religious sciences in Fâs, was tempted for some time to follow alchemy, but abandoned it for the mystical way in its proper sense. Seeking instruction from the great masters of his time, and seeking especially to meet the Pole [see Kûbî, he left for the East, sc. Irân, in 615/1218, where he continued his education, notably with the shaykh Abd Allah âl-Wasiti (d. 632/1234), disciple and khalifa of Ahmad al-Rîfî (see Khîyûh). One master (be'd al-a'wliya', according to Durrâ, 4), nevertheless suggested that he should return to the Maghrib to seek out the Pole of the age. Back in his homeland, Morocco, Al-Shadhili recognised the Pole in the person of the hermit of the Rif, 'Abd al-Salâm b. Mahdîh (d. 625/1228 [q. v.]). He stayed with the latter for several years, until 'Abd al-Salâm suggested that he should travel to Irîkîya; it is not impossible that Al-Shadhili's departure was motivated by local disturbances, in the course of which 'Abd al-Salâm was murdered. We do not know exactly why he decided to settle precisely in the village of Shadhîla, half-way between Tunis and Kayrânîn, nor why he henceforth began to be called by the nisba of Al-Shadhili—which a flash of divine inspiration offered him the interpretation of al-Shadhili li 'the man set apart for My service and My love'—by the title Du'ra, 10. But his worth as a spiritual influence, especially on those the Pole of the age, was said to have been in touch with al-Khadîr. His influence displeased the 'ulama' of Kayrânîn, who launch-
ed against him a campaign of denigration, accusing him of proclaiming himself a “Fātimid”—an allegation which was possibly not entirely alien to al-Shadhili’s conviction (since, as we have seen, he was of Shāfi‘ī origin) that he was the Pole of his age. He finally decided to leave Irfikīya when a Pilgrimage caravan was departing. He settled in Egypt, an attractive and welcoming land for Sufis, at Alexandria in 1244 or perhaps only as late as 1252. The success of his teaching and his prestige grew unceasingly, including in the eyes of the “ulama‘”, and numerous pupils came to Alexandria from distant parts of the Islamic world. So ran a spiritual and ascetic training from him. As a fervent observer of the duties of Islam, Abu ’l-Hasan al-Shadhili made the Pilgrimage as often as he could, and it was in the course of a journey to the Holy Places that in 656/1258 he died at al-Humayyibaha in the Upper Egyptian desert.

Al-Shadhili left behind no writings on doctrinal matters (deliberately thus, according to Luṭfī, 37-8). The only writings which we have from him are some letters, litanies and prayers. The essential core of his teachings was transmitted by his pupils (see above, in Bibl.) in the form of collections of “sayings”, words of wisdom and edifying and miraculous anec
dotes. In these he develops the themes of a moderate Sufism, attentive to the material life of his disciples and respectful of social cohesion. Basically, it is a question of a strict and unequivocal Sunni spirituality. The putting into practice of the Shari‘ah is here the indispensable framework of the faith, equally valid for Sufis and for ordinary believers; by the practice of the virtues, the Sufi purifies the mirror of his soul and becomes fit to undertake the mystical pilgrimage. The fakir who is a bad practitioner of these requirements is ipso facto severely blamed. In a more general way, the mystical should keep a deep humility in face of what has been provided by revelation. “If your mystical unveiling (kashf) diverges from the Kur‘ān and Sunna, hold fast to these last two and take no notice of your unveiling; tell yourself that the truth of the Kur‘ān and Sun
a is guaranteed by God Most High, which is not the case with unveiling inspiration and mystical percep
tions” (al-Sha‘rānī, al-Tabākāt al-kubrā, Cairo 1954, ii, 4; see also Dura, 34).

Al-Shadhili’s counsels on spiritual orientation likewise recall traditional Sufism. Recent works of themes of these words do so runnily concern the struggle against the carnal soul and acceptance of the fate which befalls one. These counsels are not directed at ascetics but at pious believers engaged in the social life; “the Way does not involve monastic life (rabbāniyya), nor living off barley or flour-siftings; the way involves patience in the accomplishing of the divine commands and the certainty of being well
guided” (al-Sha‘rānī, op. cit., ii, 6; Dura, 86). Numerous of the master’s locutions stress the necessity of a detachment essentially internal and without ostentation (see e.g. Dura, 138), at times displaying malāmāti overtones. Begging (Luṭfī, 143) and even wearing special clothing are condemned by al-Shadhili, who moreover himself chose to dress with a certain elegance. He showed himself circumspect in the use of sana‘‘ (q.v.) (Dura, 104) and did not take part in any of the so-called spiritual phenomena (walking on fire, piercing the flesh), as with the Rifa‘īyya (q.v.). The core of his Sufi practice was the constant remembrance of God by means of jaculatory prayers and litanies, plus spiritual firmness in the face of the material trials and hardships of the individual life.

The mystical experience towards which al-Shadhili endeavoured to guide his disciples was laid out in a practical way and not an abstractly doctrinal one. Although he himself had been trained in theology, he saw no spiritual value in the speculative and independ
dent exercise of reason (see e.g. Dura, 34, 91), and the hagiographical sources show us al-Shadhili combat
ting and converting Mu‘tazili disputants (ibid., 23). God is the original source of the conscience, not an object of knowledge; how could He be approached through concrete things, when it is only through Him that these things are known? (Luṭfī, 92). Al-Shadhili develops very little the doctrinal consequences of the experience of understanding: identification of the devotee with His Lord—but goes back to the ac
tual spiritual experience itself: “The Sufi sees his own existence as being like dust (hābā‘) floating in the air—neither as existence nor as annihilation, just as it is in the knowledge of God” (al-Sha‘rānī, Tabākāt, ii, 8; Dura, 90). He recommends to his disciples the greatest possible discretion concerning their spiritual conditions, so as not to become at the same time puff
ed up with pride or in regard to others and ultimately hurt the susceptibilities of ordinary believers: “If you wish to reach the irreproachable Way, speak like someone who is apart from God, at the same time keeping union with Him present in your secret heart” (al-Sha‘rānī, op. cit., ii, 7; see also Dura, 30).

Another aspect of the spiritual teaching of al-Shadhili is the number and the important function of prayers (al-‘iya) and litanies (asābā‘) which he left to his disciples. These prayers often relate to specific situa
tions, e.g. spiritual or material distress (cf. Dura, ch. iii; al-Sha‘rānī, op. cit., ii, 6, 9). The asābā‘ most often recited are the very popular hibz al-bahr (inspired directly by the Prophet, cf. Dura, 51), the h. al-kabīr (or hadījī asābīf), the h. al-mār, the h. al-
fath and the h. al-Shafī‘ Abī ‘l-Hasan. Their texts are given by Ibn al-Sabbagh, Ibn ‘Iyād and, more recent
y, ’A. H. Maḥmūd, al-Mudra al-shadhiliyya al-haditha wa-‘ināmāthu Abī ‘l-Hasan al-Shadhili, Cairo 1969). The boundary between the liturgical recitation of a prayer taught by the Pole and the magical usage of these texts is not always easy to trace; certain of these litanies in
clude formulae of a theurgical or talismanic nature, and numerous of the faithful attribute inherent virtues to these texts, independent of whatever understanding of it the one reciting it may have. But al-Shadhili is in any case blamed by some companies of Sufis for forms of superstition surrounding the cult of saints, which he condemned as a form of idolatry (al-Sha‘rānī, op. cit., ii, 10). If saints’ prayers are answered, it is because they are the theophanic locus of the divine mercy, and not because they themselves have any authority for intercession. In his own lifetime, al-Shadhili already ac
cquired a reputation as a miracle worker, marvellous happenings took place round his tomb and amongst his close disciples, for whom the Master remained, even after his death, the person for whom God answers prayers.

A more esoteric teaching of al-Shadhili’s concerns the concept of sainthood. It revolved round waša‘īya as a prophetic inheritance (see e.g. al-Sha‘rānī, op. cit., ii, 10; or Dura, 132-3), here again taking up an earlier Sufi doctrine. The fully-accomplished saint reaches the degree of knighthood (rusul), but he is inferior to them on two counts: on the one hand, his knowledge is, in the great majority of cases, less complete than theirs, and on the other, he is not sent to bring a more correct ver
ession of a ī‘rā‘ (Luṭfī, 59-60). Al-Shadhili’s teaching was nevertheless perceived by his followers as an ac
tual, living continuation of Muḥammad’s mission (cf.}
The vision of a hierarchy of saints, which is implied here, is fundamental. As we have seen, al-Shadhili was preoccupied since his youth by the Kingdom with the Pole of the universe. His disciples considered him fairly soon as being himself this kūbat (Lātā'īf, 139), and he personally openly strengthened them in this conviction (ibid., 141, 146, 165; Durra, 13-14, 111). He designated his main disciple Abu 'l-Abbas al-Mursi as his successor in this function, and Shadhili tradition confirms that the kūbat would be a member of their brotherhood, until the Judgement Day. This kūbatnīya is here to be understood in the absolute sense (or even in the bi-centric sense ibid., 9, 105-6) and not relative to a specific community; al-Shadhili himself enunciated the fifteen remarkable features or charisms which this office of the Pole involves (amongst these are the guarantee of inaccessibility to err, and knowledge of the past, present and future; cf. Lātā'īf, 163, and Durra, 71). But otherwise, it is a delicate task to isolate the original doctrine of al-Shadhili regarding the formulations of the Masters of the Sālihīyya. Nongenetic features, however, are the following: al-Shadhili related (Lātā'īf, 163-4) that Abu 'l-Hasan had received a visit from Sadr al-Dīn al-Kūnāwī [q.v.] at a time when his master Ibn 'Arabī was still alive. "[Sadr al-Dīn] expatiated on a multiplicity of sciences. The Shaykh kept his head bowed until Sadr al-Dīn had finished talking. Then he raised his head and said to him, Tell me who is at this moment the Pole of our age, who is me who is at this moment the Pole of our age, who is the acknowledgment to the Pole—whence al-Shadhilite, Beirut 1972, 26) sees in this tale no reply". P. Nwiya (Ibn 'Ata' Allāh et la naissance de l'ordre des siddik, Cairo 1934; idem, Husn al-tanka al-shadhiliyya, Hikam, dicta, the master's memory, it is perpetuated by the ancestor of the Pole—whence al-Kūnāwī's silence.

Even if al-Shadhili never envisaged the formation of a tarīqa in the strict sense of the term, his teaching nevertheless marks the evolution of Sūfism towards its manifestation in the brotherhoods and in maraboutism. There are several disciples of far-reaching influence—the Andalusian Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shadhili; numerous branches and sub-branches more or less attached to the Shadhiliyya saw the light in the strict sense of the term, his teaching codified the ritual of the dhikr, founded khānakāhs and in turn instructed disciples in the spirit of the school. This moderate form of Sūfism corresponded to a profound need in the Muslim society of the age; Shadhili khānakāhs spread and flourished in Egypt, Ifrīkiya, Morocco, as well as in Syria and the Hijāz. Numerous branches and sub-branches more or less attached to the Shadhiliyya saw the light in the course of succeeding centuries [see SHADHILIYYA]. As for the master's memory, it is perpetuated by the annual festivals on the very spot of his burial in the eastern desert of Upper Egypt, as well as in Ifrīkiya, at Tibāl Belhassen (in the outskirts of Tunis), Menzel Bouzefa (Cape Bon) and on the mount Zaghwan.

ban milieu (Alexandria, Cairo, Tunis), and counted within its ranks a good number of well-known intellectuals, such as the great 9th/15th-century polygraph Djalal al-Din al-Suyuti [q.v.]. It but also found a ready audience in rural areas, especially in the Maghrib. The affiliation to the order of the ecstatic popular saints of the 10th/16th-century ʿAlī al-Ṣanḥādji and his pupil ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Maṣḍīḥūb is characteristic in this regard (see A.L. de Premare, Sīdī ʿAbd-er-Rahmān el-Maṣḏīḥūb, Paris-Rabat 1985, ch. III). In the Maghrib properly speaking, but equally in the Nile valley, the Shadhillīyya accompanied the development of a Sūfism which tolerated—and even encouraged—culls around saints' tombs, in which the efficacy of the baraka of the master counted for more and more.

We shall not deal here with the Sūfī currents which sometimes attached themselves to the Shadhillī spirit in a purely mythical or lateral manner, such as the Badawiyā or Dāsuqīyya; nor with those which, despite being impregnated with the Shadhillī, developed into new and independent orders (the Tijāniyya and orders derived from the Idrīsīyya).

But one should mention, amongst the brotherhoods of the Shadhillī tradition which affirmed their personality during that time, that, in Egypt, the Wafāʾiyya, founded by the Idrīsīyya Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Wafāʾ al-Bakri (d. 760/1359) and his son ʿAlī (d. 807/1404; on him, see al-Shaʿrānī’s notice, in Ṭabakāt, ii, 22–65), enjoyed a solid implantation and an undoubted spiritual and intellectual diffusion. The Ḥanāfīyya were founded by Muhammad al-Ḥanafī (d. 847/1443), a highly charismatic personality who left a strong mark on his age (cf. ʿAlī b. Umar al-Battānūnī, K. Sīr al-safī fi manākib al-saltān al-Ḥanafī, Cairo 1306/1888). In Syria, the Shadhillīyya spread under the impulse of the Moroccan ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Fāṣi (d. 917/1311) and his disciples, affiliates of the Mādīnāyya branch.

In the Maghrib, the Shadhillī presence was even more widespread. One may mention, in particular, the Zarrūkīyya, which arose out of the teaching of Abu ʿIṣābās Ahmad al-Burnūsī, called al-Zarrūk (d. 899/1494). This Moroccan scholar had a stay in Egypt, where he became a disciple of the Wafāʾī master Ahmad al-Hadramī and probably of another Fāṭimid scholar, the Shadhillīyya of the Maghrib who travelled in various regions. He left behind an important body of written work (cf., especially, his Kawsīʿīd al-tasawwuf, Damascus 1968) and breathed fresh life into the Shadhili heritage there, raising up a fresh imp-ulse (see A.F. Khushaim, Zarrūqīy al-Sūfī, Tripoli 1976). Several Maghribi brotherhoods claimed connections with his teaching: the Darḵwāyīyya (see below), the Ḥarāšayyā Ḥarāšayyā and its own branches, the Shavkīyya, Karzāzīyya and Nāṣirīyya (on these groups, see Depont and Coppolani, Les confréries religieuses musulmanes, Algiers 1884, 457 ff.; G. Drague, Essai d’histoire religieuse du Maroc, Paris 1951, 183 ff.). Another dynamic movement of Shadhillī inspiration was stimulated by the figure of Abu ʿAbd Allāḥ Muhammad al-Dāṣūqī, a Sūfī master originally from southern Morocco. This last travelled to Egypt, where he spent a long stay (then in the years 916/1510? and finally returned to Morocco. After a period of hermitlike seclusion, he spread his teachings, which had such popular repercussions that he was persecuted by the political authorities and died—perhaps from poison—in 869/1465, the year of the fall of the Marinīd dynasty [see al-Dāṣūqī]. Later, his body was interred at Marrakech, and he became one of the seven patron saints of the city. This shaumaturge waʿl marks the origin of a new form of mass Sūfism. Membership was no longer conditional upon personal initiation rites (ṣubḥa, ṭalḥīn), and did not necessitate the taking place within a structured brotherhood, but resulted from a simple act of allegiance to a šaykh shown by a rite of transmission of baraka and devotional practice centred round reading a collection of litanies, the Daʿāʾī al-ḥayrāt. This last became extremely popular, notably because of the miraculous benefits which certain people connected with its recitation. Several later ṣaḥāʾīyya attached themselves to this way of the Dāṣūqī, including the Ārūsīyya, widespread in Ifrīqiyah (see Brunschvig, Ḥafsīyda, ii, 341 ff.), the Ḥanṣālīyya (see Depont and Coppolani, 492 ff.; Dragne, 163 ff.) or also the ʿĪsāwīyya. The latter, which owed its name to Muhammad b. ʿĪsā al-Mukhtar (d. 931/1524), added to the Shadhili-Dāṣūqī tradition shamanistic practices reminiscent of those of the Rifāʿīyya: initiates were endowed with a totem animal, practised spiritual healings and, in trance, devoured snakes or pierced their bodies with sword blades (see R. Brunel, Écouteur la conférence d’Aïssawas au Maroc, Paris 1926). Analogous practices are also found in the related Moroccan order of the Hamdushiyya (see V. Crapanzano, The Hamadsha—a study in Moroccan ethnopsychology, Berkeley, etc. 1973).

The historic success of the Shadhili Way probably depended on several factors of a historical nature. Within a North Africa engulfed in a permanent economic and political state of crisis, grouping in the bosom of a community based on initiational solidarity had a certain attraction. The political authorities, such as the Marinids in Morocco or the Hafsids in Idrīsīyya, often actively favoured the creating or expansion of the zauñāyā in their territories, and the integration of moderate Sūfism in the teaching of the madhānas—or conversely, of ṣīḥ in the zauiyā. It is true that these last also at times played the role of centres of dissidence against the central power, as with that of al-Dīlā in Morocco, which almost succeeded in seizing the sultanate power towards the middle of the 11th/17th century (see M. Hadidji, al-Zawiyah al-Dīlāyya, Rabat 1384/1964, and al-Dīlā in Suppl.). Nevertheless, they were more often regarded as centres of social stability by virtue of the allegiance given by its members to the šaykh. They were often organised on a “dynastic” manner of functioning, and to some extent regulated local and tribal particularisms. But the special success of the Shadhiliyya was due to the factors peculiar to itself. Its strictly orthodox Sunnism and the respect for all exoteric tradition which it professed, its social discreetness (absence of distinctive garb or of spectacular public festivals or of begging), all of these aroused confidence and fervour. Finally, the active role played by the brotherhoods in attempting to resist European encroachments in the Muslim lands—as e.g. that of the Shadhiliyya-Dāṣūqīyya in Morocco in the warfare against the Portuguese in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries—accelerated the process of cohesiveness of Sūfism and the social fabric in the Maghrib.

More recently, currents of revival attached to the Shadhili tradition have appeared. This is the case with the Darḵwāyīyya [see ṣaḥāʾīyya]. It goes back to Abu Ḥamīd al-ʿArabī al-Darḵawī (d. 1823), who is to be placed in the Zarrūkī tradition without there being any new elements added, except for a reforming zeal in combating the material and spiritual corruption of the surrounding maraboutic Sūfism. The great moral (and political) influence which he exercised from his
The Shadhiliyya order was founded in the region of Fez, in North Africa, and was closely associated with the Alawiyya, founded in 1914 in the Darkawiyya branch of the order. The Shadhiliyya order's origin can be traced back to the twelfth century, with the establishment of the Yasrutiyya by the master Abu 'l-Hasan Kuhin (d. 1220), who was associated with the Shadhiliyya order. The order's origins are also linked to the lineage of the Nasiriyya, founded by Abu l-Balagh al-qaddawi, who was a Shadhili master and a significant figure in the history of the order.

The Shadhiliyya order is characterized by its mystical teachings and practices, which are centered around the concept of dhikr (remembrance of God). The order has a strong emphasis on the devotional practices of dhikr, which involves the repetition of God's name or a particular phrase in a rhythmic and repetitive manner. This practice is intended to facilitate spiritual transformation and the development of a deeper relationship with God.

The Shadhiliyya order is also known for its distinctive dress code, with members of the order traditionally wearing white cloaks and head scarves. This dress code is symbolic of the order's commitment to simplicity and asceticism, and it reflects the order's emphasis on spiritual purity and detachment from worldly desires.

The Shadhiliyya order has had a significant impact on the development of Sufism in North Africa and beyond. It has spread to other parts of the Islamic world, including Turkey, Indonesia, and China. The order has been influential in the development of other Sufi orders, and its teachings have been disseminated through a variety of written and oral traditions.

The Shadhiliyya order has a rich history of publication and scholarship, with numerous works written in Arabic and other languages. These works include biographies of the order's masters, collections of their mystical teachings, and discussions of the order's spiritual practices. These publications have been instrumental in preserving the order's traditions and facilitating the spread of its teachings.

The Shadhiliyya order has also played a significant role in the cultural and religious life of North Africa and beyond. It has been involved in the development of educational institutions, such as the Madrasa al-Shadhiliyya al-haditha in Fes, which was founded in the late nineteenth century. The order has also been involved in the development of religious and cultural institutions, such as mosques and madrasas, which have played a significant role in the dissemination of the order's teachings.

The Shadhiliyya order continues to be an active and influential force in North Africa, and its teachings and practices are still widely practiced today. The order's emphasis on dhikr, spiritual purification, and the cultivation of a deep relationship with God continues to inspire and influence believers around the world.

The origin and first appearance of shadirwan or salsabil in Islamic architecture are not known. Nor is its place of appearance, although there are some indications that it might have been Samarra\(^2\) \[q.v.\], the transient and opulent Abbāsīd capital (221-79/836-1265), where a large number of palaces with gardens, fountains, and pools were constructed. Modern excavations and contemporary panegyric poetry describing these palaces suggest that the monumental water works in Samarra\(^2\) anticipated the later and more intimate shadirwan systems (Yasser Tabbaa, Towards an interpretation of the use of water in Islamic court-yards and courtyard gardens, in Journal of Garden History, viii/2 [July-Sept. 1987], 198-9). The earliest datable remains of a shadirwan, a marble slab (1.3 m by .37 m and .14 m thick), carved with a chevron pattern with a fish deep carving to a channel cut in the marble slab upon which water flows—perhaps in imitation of a small basin in the middle of a side hall via a shallow channel. The small basin is set under a wall recess with a spout attached to pipes in the wall from which most probably water ran over a no-longer-extant salsabil (K.A.C. Creswell, Muslim architecture of Egypt, Oxford 1952, i, 124-6, figs. 58, 61). Whether the salsabil had any mukarnas hood above it is impossible to know.

The next example of shadirwan comes from Damascus in the Madrasa al-Nuriyya (of Nūr al-Dīn, 567/1172), in the iwān \[q.v.\] facing the entrance and under a mukarnas hood, "water pours from a shadirwan into a pool, which opens into a long channel until it falls into a central pool in the courtyard" (Ibn Djuzbayt, Rhîba, Beirut 1964, 256). It was recently cut off and its channel paved over, but the 1920s plan made by Herfeld shows a typical shadirwan system (Creswell, ii, 109-10, fig. 56). The appearance of this shadirwan can be considered a novelty, since this is the first time we encounter it outside the realm of residential or palatial architecture. A little later in date is a series of Ayyūbīd and Artūkīd palaces built in the citadels of Syria and Dżazīra with elaborate water systems consisting of fountains, channels, and pools. At least three of them, the early 7th/13th-century Artūkīd palace at Dīyābākir, the Ayyūbīd palace in Aleppo (built between 617/1220 and 638/1240) and the Artūkīd al-Firdaws palace in Mārdīn (636-65/1239-60), have shadirwāns occupying the centre of an iwān’s back wall and flowing via a narrow channel into a large pool in the courtyard (Tabbaa, 208-11, figs. 11-17).

In Ayyūbīd and Mamlūk Cairo, shadirwan arrangements became a salient feature in reception halls, known as ka’āūs. Several Caieriine shadirwāns slabs with various patterns engraved on their surfaces are on display at the Islamic Art Museum in Cairo and the Dār al-Āthār al-Isliāmiyya in Kuwait, while few are still in situ. The most notable among them are the two shadirwāns in two opposite iwāns of the bīmāristān of Sultan Kālawūn (683/1284), which may have belonged to the four-iwān ka’āūs of the Fāṭimid Western Palace, or its Ayyūbīd replacement that was appropriated by Kālawūn to build his complex (Creswell, ii, 208-10, pl. 63). Wafq \[q.v.\] documents furnish a number of descriptions of Mamlūk shadirwāns which provide information on their various uses, composition, and terminology (Mona Zakarya, Deux palais du Caire médiéval, wafqūt et architecture, Marseilles 1983, 149). Thus, for example, we learn that the small receptacle in which water falls before flowing over the shadirwan had an onomatopoeic name, karkā (p. 113), the channel was called sīlāt (Ibrahim and Amin, 66). The bīmāristān of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (821-3/1420-8) repeated the arrangement of the bīmāristān of Kālawūn with two shadirwāns in two opposite iwāns (wafq of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh, Dār al-Waṭiḥik, no. 938 k, 7, 1-24.5). Caieriine sabils \[q.v.\] too had shadirwāns from which water collected into small basins (fasdki, pl. of fiskiyya) (wafq of Amīr Khāyir Bīk, Dār al-Waṭiḥāk, 1962, 48). This representation and a number of references to the shadirwan in contemporary Sicilian Arabic eulogistic poetry, addressed both to Norman and Muslim patrons, suggest that the type was widespread in palatial architecture all over the Maghrib (Tabbaa, 202). This is further confirmed by the remains of large houses excavated in al-Fustāt. The plans of at least two of them (nos. iii and vi), dated to the Fāṭimid period (4th-5th/10th-11th centuries), exhibit arrangements similar to the Zīza shadirwān. They each have a big basin in the centre of the courtyard connected with a small basin in the middle of a side hall via a shallow channel. The small basin is set under a wall recess with a spout attached to pipes in the wall from which most probably water ran over a no-longer-extant salsabil (K.A.C. Creswell, Muslim architecture of Egypt, Oxford 1952, i, 124-6, figs. 58, 61). Whether the salsabil had any mukarnas hood above it is impossible to know.

Architectural terms in Mamlūk documents, Amin (K.A.C. Creswell, Muslim architecture of Egypt, Oxford 1952, i, 124-6, figs. 58, 61). Whether the salsabil had any mukarnas hood above it is impossible to know.
SHADIRWÂN — SHADŪNA

SHADJAR AL-DURR, Wālidat KHALIL AL-SALİHIYYA, also called Umm Khalil, the famous sultana of Egypt (ruled 648/1250). Shadjar(at) al-Durr (the oldest sources prefer the former, modern Arab authors the latter), a strong-minded Turkish slave, started her career as al-Salih’s sultana on 30 Muharram 648/4 May 1250 with ʿizz al-Din Aybak al-Turkmānī as commander. Though women had exercised power as royal spouses and regents before, her formal recognition as ruler in her own right was unheard-of in the Muslim Near East, the only precedent being the sultanate of Radiyya, the Ayyubid daughter and Mamluk appointed her sultana on 30 May 1250. However, her formal abdication did not put an end to her predilection in ruling the country, as is attested by all available sources; in fact, she still signed royal decrees as late as 1255. Aybak married her either the day after her tentative promotion or sometime after he deposed the child al-Aṣḥaf Mūsā, of Yemenite Ayyubid descent, in 651/1254, who had replaced him as nominal sultan five days after his installation. Having dealt with the Syrian enemy and internal Bahri opposition, she thought to challenge his wife’s position by contracting a marriage with the Zangid prince of Damascus, Shadjar al-Durr heard of his plans and had him killed on 23 Rabī’I 655/10 April 1257. But her attempts to retain influence as kingmaker came to nothing. On 11 Rabī’I 65/28 April, her naked corpse was found lying outside the Citadel. She was buried in the tomb she had built for herself. The “dāhīyat al-dahr whom no woman rivalled in beauty and no man in determination” (Barhebraeus) had finally lost the struggle for power. Her posthumous career as historical and literary character exemplifies the transformation of fragmentary evidence into ever more readable stories, into history and her story.


SHADŪNA, the Arabic name of one of the kūras or provinces of al-Andalus. It stems from Latin Asido, a Roman and then Visigothic town also called Cl. Cahen and Ibrahim Chabhour, Le Testament d’al-Malik al-Mansur, in BZ. Or., xix (1977), 97-114; Cahen, Une source pour l’histoire des Croisades: les mémoires de Sa’id al-Din ibn Hamawiyya Djuwayni, in idem, Les peuples musulmans dans l’histoire médiévale, Damascus 1977, 457-82; Ibn al-Dawādārī, Kanz al-durr, viii, Cairo 1971; Yāfī, Mir‘āt al-Ǧāḥin, Haydarābād 1918-20.


porary authors, Shaduna was divided into numerous districts, including villages, towns and fortresses (husun). Amongst these last are mentioned in the Dhikhr bi-laid al-Andalus Tota, videos, Ibn Salim, Nablab, Sanlucar, Galyana, al-Kanâtir, al-Aksâw and Ka'ât Ward. Concerning the towns, this work distinguished especially Cadiz and Jerez. Algeciras, a major centre of al-Andalus all through its long history, formed part of this kûra at an early period but soon became the chief-fieu of an independent province. According to Ibn Ghâlib and Ibn-Himyar, Shaduna was bountifully endowed with the gifts of land and sea, and covered 25 square miles.

Ibn al-Shabbât relates that Târik [g.v.] disembarked in al-Andalus and marched on the Wâdi Laokko, where he confronted the troops of King Roderic. After defeating the Visigothic ruler, the Muslims besieged Madînât Shaduna. In 127/743, the gand of Filastîne (i.e. Palestine) settled in the province; this is the first reference to Shaduna as a kûra. Towards 127/745 the Franks rebelled at Jerez by 62/1220. The Muslims remained at the Kâibs of Abu l-Djâljâr. The Mâdjuş [g.v.] or Northmen landed on the coast of Shaduna in 229/844 and occupied the port of Cadiz, although the greater part of their fleet sailed up the Guadalquivir towards Seville. Being highly fertile and productive, as noted above, the district paid tribute of 50,600 dinârs in the mid of the Talâm I, and it furthermore furnished almost the whole 20,000 cavalry which could be mobilised in 'Abd al-Râhman II’s time.

The sources are sparse about the succeeding period up to the constituting of the taifas. It was at Shaduna that the Banû Dajurân, Berbers who had come over to reinforce al-Mašûr’s army in the Peninsula, overran a land in the grip of civil warfare. Set apart in the Kara of Shaduna, they formed a taïfa around the stronghold of Arcos, and their authority was recognised by Jerez and Cadiz. Shaduna had three rulers before being absorbed by the Abhâdis of Seville, al-Mu‘tajdî: Muhammad b. Dajurân (402-20/1011-29), 'Abdân b. Muhammad (420-45/1029-53) and Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Kâ‘îm (445-51/1053-9). It belonged to the taïfa of Seville until the Almoravids took over al-Andalus in 483/1090. In the middle of the 6th/13th century, 'Alî b. 'Isâ b. Maymûn led a rising in Cadiz, as part of the generalised Almoravid movement which split the country into fragments, which are called “the taïfas”. From 540/1145 onwards he proclaimed the Almohads, and the territory of the ancient kûra remained under the new dynasty’s aegis, although soon menaced by the Castilian armies of the Reconquista. Thus ca. 572/1176 Ferdinand II attacked Arcos and Jerez. It was there that the tentative movements for expansion of Ibn Hüd were halted, defeated by Castile at Jerez in 627/1220. The Muslims remained in the region, but once Seville fell in 646/1248, they found themselves defenceless. Then Castile seized Cadiz in 660/1262. Two years later came the Mudéjar rebellion against Alfonso X, supported from Granada, as a result of which the Castilians decreed the expulsion of the Mudéjars from this region, thus subduing the populations of Jerez, Medina Sidonia, Vejer, Sanlúcar, Arcos, etc. Shaduna became henceforward a royal lord and military frontier with the Nasrid kingdom of Granada [see NASRID].

Bibliography: Râzi, tr. Lévi-Provençal, La description de l’Espagne d’Ahmad al-Râzi, in And., xii (1953), 96-7; ‘Ughrî, Tarîkh al-Akhkhâr, ed. al-Ahvânî, Madrid 1965, 117-20; Yâkût, Buldan, index; Rushâh, Itibâs al-anwâr, ed. E. Molina and J. Bosch, Madrid 1992, 83; Ibn Ghâlib, Farhat al-


G. F. Roa-Castro
The angels are meant by the honoured servants. XL, 7 (cf. XLII, 5) is more definite: "Those who bear the blame of their and believe in Him and implore forgiveness for those who believe (saying), Our Lord; who embraces all things in mercy and knowledge; bestow forgiveness on them that repent and follow Thy path and keep them from the pains of Hell".

Such utterances paved the way for an unrestricted adoption by Islam of the principle of shafa'a. In the classical Ḥadīth which reflects the development of ideas to about 120 A.H., we already have ample material. Shafa'a is usually mentioned here in eschatological descriptions. But it should be noted that the Prophet, even in his lifetime, is said to have made intercession. ʿAyshah relates that he often slipped quietly from her side at night to go to the cemetery of Bāqī al-Ğharqad (q. e.) to beseech forgiveness of God for the dead (Muslim, Dīnāʾīz, 102; cf. al-Tirmīzhī, Dīnāʾīz, 59). Similarly, his istiqlāḥ is mentioned in the sūrat al-anbiyāʾ (e.g. Ibn Hanbal, iv, 170) and its efficacy explained (ibid., 388). The prayer for the forgiveness of sins then became or remained an integral part of this sūrat (e.g. Abū Ishāk al-Shīrāzī, Kībāt al-Tanbīh, ed. T.J.W. Juynboll, 48) to which a high degree of importance was attributed. Cf. Muslim, Dīnāʾīz, 58: "If a community of Muslims, a hundred strong, perform the sūrat al-ʿāfī over a Muslim and all pray for his sins to be forgiven him, this prayer will surely and surely attain the purpose of its prayers".

Muhammad’s intercession at the day of judgment is described in a tradition which frequently occurs (e.g. al-Bukhārī, Tawḥīd, 19; Muslim, Ḥaʾīm, 322, 326-9; al-Tirmīzhī, Tafsīr, sūra XVII, 19; Ibn Hanbal, i, 4), the main features of which are as follows. On the day of judgment, God will assemble the believers; in their need they turn to Adam for his intercession. He reminds them, however, that through him sin entered the world and refers them to Nūḥ. But he also mentions his sins and refers them to Ibrāhīm. In this way, they appeal in vain to the great apostles of God until ʿĪsā finally advises them to appeal to Muhammad for assistance. The latter will gird himself and with God’s permission throw himself before Him and say, intercession is granted thee. God will thereupon name him a definite number to be released and when he has led these into Paradise, he will again throw himself before his Lord and the same stages will again be repeated several times until finally Muhammad says, “O Lord, now there are only left in hell those who, according to the Kurʾān, are to remain there eternally”.

This tradition is in its different forms the locus classicus for the limitation of the power of intercession. In accordance with the Christian conception men- tioned above, only that shafa’a is valid for all those who do not associate anything with God (cf. al-Bukhārī, Tawḥīd, 19; al-Tirmīzhī, Ṣafāt al-kīyāma, 13), even if they have nevertheless been guilty of grave sins (of which they have not repented). A famous Ḥadīth makes the Prophet say, “My intercession will be for the grave sinners of my community (li-ādī al-kābaʾir min ʾummatī)” (Abū Dāwūd, Sunna, 21; al-Tirmīzhī, loc. cit., 11; Ibn Mājah, Zadāl, 37). Such is the position of the Sunni theologians (cf. al-Āsharī, Makālīt, Wiesbaden 1963, 474), including the Hanbalīs (cf. Laoust, La profession de foi d’Ibn Battāt, Damascus 1958, 100 ff.). For them, the Prophet’s intercession will concern all those believers who, because of their sins, would have incurred divine punishment, with God either admitting them to His Paradise immediately or else bringing them forth from Hell at the end of a period of time more or less protracted (see al-ʾRāzī, Tafsīr on Kurʾān, II, 48, beginning of the second masʿāla, ed. Tehran n.d., iii, 56). The Muʿtazila, on the other hand, as well as the Khārijījītes, reject this interpretation (see al-Baḥḍadī, Usul al-dīn, Istanbul 1928, 244; Ibn Hazm, Fisāl, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 63). For the Muʿtazila, prophetic intercession can only operate in favour of sinners who have already repented (see Mākīndī – Ps. ʿAbd al-Dāḏaršī, Sharḥ ʿal-ʾṣuūr al-ḥāʾima, Cairo 1967, 389-404). For the Muḥtarrī, however, the Muʿtazila’s position is discussed in the context of the Kurʾānic verses cited above, notably XL, 18, and XXI, 28 (cf. Mākīndī, 689; al-ʾRāzī, op. cit., iii, 56).

2. In popular piety.

Although the Throne Verse (surah II, 155) asks, "Who could intercede with Him except by His permission?" many Muslims believed that the Prophet was granted this permission, as XVII, 79 speaks of his "special rank". Another Kur'ānic verse that seems to allow intercession was XL, 7, where "those who carry the divine throne" are mentioned as constantly asking divine forgiveness. Thus the belief developed that even pious acts could serve as intercessors: the Kur'ān will intercede for those who have studied and recited it devoutly, and this hope is often expressed in prayers written at the end of manuscripts of it. Other religious works could be imagined as interceding, such as the profession of faith; even mosques were thought to be transformed into white camels or boats to carry to Paradise those who had regularly performed their prayers in them, just as Friday might appear as a beautiful youth to intercede for people who had honoured it by attending the Friday worship. It was also believed that martyrs could intercede on behalf of family and friends, and that children who had died in infancy would intercede for their parents to have them brought to Paradise, because otherwise they would feel lonely.

But the most important intercessor is Muhammad, and the numerous people in the Muslim world who are called "Muhammad Shafī" bear witness to this belief, which is based on the legend that at Doomsday, all prophets (including the sinless Jesus) will call out nafsī nafsī "I myself [want to be saved]" while Muhammad calls out ummatī ummatī "my community, my community [should be saved]". Innumerable folk-songs and also high-flown poetical descriptions tell how he will lead his community to Paradise carrying the green "banner of praise" (liwā' al-hamd), for his shafī'ī is meant, it is believed, for the grave sinners. Many prayers contain the request that God may grant His prophet the position of honour in which he can intercede for his community; typical is the prayer in al-Djazuli's Darātīr al-khayrāt, "O God, appoint our lord Muhammad as the most trusted of speakers and the most prevailing of requesters and the first of intercessors among the most favoured of those whose intercession is acceptable ... etc." There is barely a poet—"heretic, drug addict (bāngī) or wine-bibber" (as a Sindi bard sings in the 19th century)—who has not relied upon the Prophet's intercession, and to recite blessings over him was believed to attract his loving care for his community.

Many prayers request the contain the request that God may grant His prophet the position of honour in which he can intercede for his community; typical is the prayer in al-Djazuli's Darātīr al-khayrāt, "O God, appoint our lord Muhammad as the most trusted of speakers and the most prevailing of requesters and the first of intercessors among the most favoured of those whose intercession is acceptable ... etc." There is barely a poet—"heretic, drug addict (bāngī) or wine-bibber" (as a Sindi bard sings in the 19th century)—who has not relied upon the Prophet's intercession, and to recite blessings over him was believed to attract his loving care for his community. Many prayers request the contain the request that God may grant His prophet the position of honour in which he can intercede for his community; typical is the prayer in al-Djazuli's Darātīr al-khayrāt, "O God, appoint our lord Muhammad as the most trusted of speakers and the most prevailing of requesters and the first of intercessors among the most favoured of those whose intercession is acceptable ... etc." There is barely a poet—"heretic, drug addict (bāngī) or wine-bibber" (as a Sindi bard sings in the 19th century)—who has not relied upon the Prophet's intercession, and to recite blessings over him was believed to attract his loving care for his community.
7th/13th to the 13th/19th century, some of which go back to Ibn Yunus, 19° is used for morning and 17° for evening twilight. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Taṣfī (q.v.) assumed 18° for both phenomena, Ibn al-Marrakushf [q.v.] favoured 20° and 16°, but al-Khalīlī (ca. 760/1360), who otherwise relied heavily on him, used 19° and 17° in the corpus of tables that was used in Damascus from the 8th/14th to the 13th/19th century. The duration of twilight (ṣūrat al-shafāk) is a function of the solar longitude and terrestrial latitude and hence varies throughout the year as well as from one latitude to another. Its determination is a trivial extension of the general problem of determining time from solar altitude, a problem that was extremely popular amongst Muslim astronomers. The earliest table displaying this interval is due to Hābash and is based on an approximate Indian formula for time-keeping (as well as on the parameter 18°); the time is given in seasonal hours and the table serves all latitudes (up to ca. 45°). Later tables, based mainly on exact sūrat tabārān, were published as tables used for time-keeping in various localities [see Mīkhālī]. These corporuses sometimes contain in addition a table of the duration of total darkness (ṣūrat al-aylā and mā bahān al-shafāk wa ʿl-fadjr), simply determined by subtracting morning and evening twilight from the time between sunset and sunrise. The 10th/16th-century Cairene astronomer Muhammad b. Abī ʿl-Farābī (died 692/1293) [q.v.], and his official career ended when he was blinded by an arrow at the battle of Hims (680/1281) [q.v.], although he claimed to have

The sun's rays cast a shadow of the earth (aν, dian being cleverly substituted for the horizon). The depression at daybreak/nightfall below the horizon, with an astrolabe [see Astrolabe], whose markings represented the equinoxes and solstices for a series of latitudes.


(E. Wiedemann—[D.A. King])

SHAFĪʿ 8. ALI-ʿASKARĀNĪ, Naṣīr al-Dīn, historian of Mamlūk Egypt (born Dhu ʿl-Hijja 1405/February-March 1325, died 24 Shawwāl 730/12 June 1330). The son of a sister of the chancery clerk Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir [q.v.], he served as clerk first Baraka Khān b. Baybars, then Kalāwīn [q.v.]. His official career ended when he was blinded by an arrow at the battle of Hims (680/1281) [q.v.], although he claimed to have
played a significant part in the abrogation of the truce with the Latin kingdom (689/1290). He spent his long retirement as a litterateur, covered by the patronage of the last sultan and of his previous biographer, Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir (Kitab Husn al-mamdukh al-strisya al-muntaza'a min al-sira al-Zahiriyya, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khuwaytir, al-Riyadh 1396/1976); and also biographies of Kalâwûn and his two sons, al-Ashraf Khalîl and al-Nâṣir Muhammad. The first is probably al-Fadil al-marâghî min sirat al-Malik al-Mansur (Bodleian, ms. Marsh 424), which appears to be a compilation of pieces finally put together ca. 693/1293.


SHAIFI' YAZDÏ, Dânîghmand Kânî, a high noble in the Mughal Empire. A Persian by birth, he studied both rational and traditional sciences in the country of his birth. He came to India as a merchant and traded at Ahmadnagar. He entered imperial service in 1060/1650 to 1065/1654-5 he was given the rank of 1,000/100. In 1065/1654-5 he was given the title of Dânîghmand Kânî which suggested the Emperor's high opinion of his intellectual talents (dânîghmand, lit. "scholar, sage") and in 1068/1665-6 to 5,000/2,500. He was appointed Mir Bakhshi but he resigned the same year. In 1070/1659-60 Awrangzîb, the new Emperor's high opinion of his intellectual talents (dânîghmand, lit. "scholar, sage") and in 1068/1665-6 to 5,000/2,500. He was appointed Mir Bakhshi but he resigned the same year. In 1070/1659-60 Awrangzîb, the new Emperor, raised his rank to 4,000/2,000, and in 1076/1665-6 to 5,000/2,000. He was appointed Governor of Dihli, but soon afterwards, in 1078/1667-8, a central administration minister (Mir Bakhshi). He died in 1081/1670.

Dânîghmand Kânî is also known to us from the letters of François Bernier who had taken his service in the 1660s. Dânîghmand Kânî showed great interest in European sciences, and had Bernier exposed to him the discoveries of Harvey and Pacquet and the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes. The Italian traveller Manucci shares Bernier's high opinion of Dânîghmand Kânî's wisdom and learning.

Al-Shafi'î's genealogy was one of the most prestigious in that region, and are said to have been praised by al-Djahiz and others. Since, while being a Kurashi, he was a Muttalibi on his father's side, thus a distant relative of the Prophet—"The Imams are of Kuraysh", "Learn from the Kurashihs and do not seek to teach them anything", etc.—with the evident intention of stressing the fundamental superiority of al-Shafi'î, and thereby of the school which claims him, over the other Imams. Similarly, it is often considered that al-Shafi'î was the renewer (wustaddid) of religion (who, according to another hadith, is sent by God "at the beginning of each century") of the 2nd century A.H.

At the age of two (or ten according to the source which places his birth in the Yemans), orphaned of his father, al-Shafi'î was taken by his mother, who seems to have been totally without means, to Mecca where they had relatives. Living in humble style in the 2nd century A.H., al-Shafi'î seems to have become avidly interested in activities appropriate to his status as a member of the tribal aristocracy: poetry and, in particular, archery. His eloquence and his knowledge of the Arabic language—acquired, it is said (Ibn Farhûn, al-Dirbâd al-mudâthhâb, Cairo n.d., ii, 157), in the course of prolonged wanderings with Hudhayl (q.v.), a tribe of northern Arabia renowned for the beauty of its speech—have remained highly respected.

Another hypothesis, disputed by Fakhr al-Din al-’Aâmî, likewise in southern Palestine (also mentioned, less frequently, is Mina near Mecca).

His genealogy was one of the most prestigious since, while being a Quraqî, he was a Mu’talibî on his father’s side, thus a distant relative of the Prophet—"The Imams are of Kuraysh", "Learn from the Kurashihs and do not seek to teach them anything", etc.—with the evident intention of stressing the fundamental superiority of al-Shafi’î, and thereby of the school which claims him, over the other Imams. Similarly, it is often considered that al-Shafi’î was the renewer (wustaddid) of religion (who, according to another hadith, is sent by God "at the beginning of each century") of the 2nd century A.H.

At the age of two (or ten according to the source which places his birth in the Yemans), orphaned of his father, al-Shafi’î was taken by his mother, who seems to have been totally without means, to Mecca where they had relatives. Living in humble style in the 2nd century A.H., al-Shafi’î seems to have become avidly interested in activities appropriate to his status as a member of the tribal aristocracy: poetry and, in particular, archery. His eloquence and his knowledge of the Arabic language—acquired, it is said (Ibn Farhûn, al-Dirbâd al-mudâthhâb, Cairo n.d., ii, 157), in the course of prolonged wanderings with Hudhayl (q.v.), a tribe of northern Arabia renowned for the beauty of its speech—have remained highly respected.

Another hypothesis, disputed by Fakhr al-Din al-’Aâmî, likewise in southern Palestine (also mentioned, less frequently, is Mina near Mecca).
Shafi'i had demonstrated his talents as an archer, one of the spectators, 'Amr b. Sawwad, told him that he was a better scholar than an archer (anta fi 'l-ilm akbar mina fi 'l-raym); a compliment which apparently persuaded him to devote himself entirely to study (Ibn Abi Hātim, Ḍabāb, 22-3).

In Mecca, the principal masters of al-Shafi'i were Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī (d. 179/796), of whom little is known other than that he was the jurisconsult (muftī) of the city, and Sufyān b. 'Uyyāna (d. 198/813) who was also, later, the master, of Ibn Hambal. At fifteen (or eighteen) years old, al-Shafi'i is said to have received his master's permission to issue judicial decisions (fatwās) in his own right. At the same time, the reputation of a master of Medina, the Imām Mālik b. Anas (95-179/715-95 [q.v.]) was in the ascendant and it was to him that al-Shafi'i resolved to turn in order to complete his legal education.

According to Ibn Abi Hātim al-Rāzī, while still in Mecca al-Shafi'i obtained a copy of the Muwatta—the principal work of Mālik—and learned it by heart before introducing himself to Mālik in ca. 170/786, persistently asking his permission to recite it to him. After initial hesitation, Mālik agreed and was very pleasantly surprised by the eloquence of the other, who was to become one of his disciples (Ibn Abi Hātim, Ḍabāb, 27-8).

Al-Shafi'i remained in Medina as a pupil of Mālik until the latter's death, a period of about ten years (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Razī, Mandākib al-Imām al-Shafi'i, Cairo, 1986, 45). Al-Shafi'i was always to consider Mālik his supreme master but, being of a resolutely independent spirit, he was later to allow himself an extremely critical K. Ikhtilāfī Mālik wa'i Shafi'i, in fact a refutation of Mālik which, in the form in which it has survived, is the work of al-Rābī al-Murādī (d. 270-884), an Egyptian disciple of al-Shafi'i, a book for which the Mālikis, of Egypt especially, were not to forgive him (ed. with the K. al-Umm, vii, 177-249; see in this connection R. Brunschwig, Polémiques médiévales autour du rite de Malik, in Études d'Islamologie, ii, 65-101). In consequence, the Mālikī school was to issue a polemical literature aimed directly at al-Shafi'i himself (the K. al-Radd 'alā 'l-Shafi'i by Abū Bakr Muhammad b. al-Labbād al-Kayrawānī, d. 333/944, published Tunis 1986), which definitely deserves to be studied to the same degree as the better-known debates between Mālik and Ḥanāfī.

At Medina, al-Shafi'i had other masters including, in particular, a disturbing fact for his Sunnī biographers, Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yahyā (d. 184/800 or 191/807) of whom the heresiographers maintain that he was a follower of the Mu'tazila [q.v.]; but according to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Manākib, 44), this master is said to have taught him only Law (fiqh) and Tradition (hadīth) and nothing in relation to theology (irāla al-dīn).

On account of the contradictions presented by the biographers, it becomes difficult to trace with precision the life of al-Shafi'i after this first Hijāz period of his existence. Was he already in 'Irāk between 177/793 and 179/795, and did he compose there the K. al-Hadīgā (lost), as stated by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī? In which case, how can he also write that al-Shafi'i remained as a pupil of Mālik at Medina until the latter's death, i.e. until 179/795? According to al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), al-Shafi'i's first period of residence in 'Irāk dated from 195/811 to 197/813; which seems improbable since he is reckoned when there to have visited al-Shaybānī, who died in 189/805. The following events, widely attested, in the life of al-Shafi'i, may however be accepted as genuine, although they cannot be dated with precision (all dates given here, with the exception of that of the death of al-Shafi'i, are hypothetical).

It appears certain that it was shortly after having completed his education that al-Shafi'i was summoned to perform some official function at Ṣan'ā in the north of Yemen and that it was during this period that he compromised himself by joining the partisans of the Ḥasanid Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh (regarding him and the revolt which he led, see H. Laoust, Les schisms dans l'Islam, Paris 1983, 76-7). According to Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995 [q.v.]), al-Shafi'i was a fervent Shī'ī (see al-Shafi'i shadībī fi 'l-tabya'ayn: Fitrīt, Beirut 1978, 295); if this was genuinely the case, it can only be understood in a strictly political sense. This episode, which the biographers call the "teet" (mīhna) or the "crisis" (fitna) of al-Shafi'i, ended, at some point in the decade following 180, with his appearance before the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd at Raḳka. It was through the intervention of the eminent jurist Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī [q.v.]—a much favoured courtier who himself composed the first version of al-Mālik and of Abū Ḥanīfa—that al-Shafi'i was pardoned, perhaps after a spell in prison, by the caliph (although the other nine co-defendants were executed). According to the hagiographic version of this mīhna, al-Shafi'i's salvation was entirely his own achievement, obtained by his re-affirmation of loyalty to al-Rashīd and by "the strength of his argument" (ka'wat hadīgātih). Al-Shafi'i was not subsequently to occupy any official function, refusing the caliph's offer of the post of judge (kaḍī) of Yemen.

Al-Shafi'i took up a first period of residence (of two years?) in 'Irāk (either before, or just after his mīhna), during which he furthered his acquaintance with the school of fiqh which had developed there, at the initiative of Abū Ḥanīfa in particular, and which continued to flourish there largely through the efforts of his two disciples Abū Yūnus [q.v.] and al-Shaybānī (the text of the disputations (mandāzhātāt) between the latter and al-Shafi'i is preserved in the Mandākib of Fakhr al-Dīn). Al-Shafi'i was a regular frequenter of the latter's circle and was later to devote a refutation to him, the K. al-Radd 'alā Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan (K. al-Umm, vii, 277-303).

After this first period in 'Irāk, al-Shafi'i returned to Mecca where, moving gradually from the status of disciple to that of master, he stayed for some nine years. Ca. 195/811, he is again found in Baghdād for a period of approximately two years during which he composed the first version of the Risālā (lost) and various texts containing what the Shafi'is call "the ancient (doctrine)" (al-kadīm) of al-Shafi'i. In 198/813, probably after another visit to the Hijāz, he is once again in Baghdād, but for only a few months. It was during this period, probably in Mecca, that al-Shafi'i met Ibn Hambal (d. 241/855 [q.v.]), but despite the abundance in the biographies of anecdotes linking the two, it does not seem that they were well acquainted.

Little is known of the reasons which induced al-Shafi'i to emigrate and to settle definitively at Ḥiṣbāt in Egypt (according to certain sources he had already spent time there in 188/804). He was probably invited there by the governor al-ʿAbbās b. 'Abd Allāh (according to Yākūt) but it seems probable that it was in fact the isolation imposed on him, in the Hijāz, by the predominance of the disciples of Mālik and in Baghdād, by that of the disciples of al-Shaybānī, which persuaded him to attempt the foundation of a school elsewhere.

At Ḥiṣbāt, he was initially well received, regarded probably as a disciple of Mālik, by the major Mālikī
family of the Banū ʿAbd al-Hakam. Before writing a refutation of al-Shafīʿī and returning to the ranks of the Mālikīs, Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Hakam (d. 268/881) was one of his most fervent disciples. However, al-Shafīʿī very soon became a target for the criticism of the Egyptian Mālikīs, who sought without success to have him banished by the authorities. The life of al-Shafīʿī was clearly that of an undesirable.

It was however in Egypt—he lectured in the mosque of ʿAmr—that al-Shafīʿī’s teaching had its greatest impact; his principal disciples were Egyptians and subsequently Shafīʿīsm competed successfully with Mālikism for supremacy in Egypt [see miftahīyya]. It was here that al-Shafīʿī composed the new version of his Risāla (the one which has survived) and the majority of the texts collected in the K. al-Umm.

The circumstances of his death, at 54 years old, the last day of Rajab 204/20 January 820, remain uncertain: according to some, he died as a result of a violent assault at the hands of a fanatical Mālikī while others regard the cause of death as sickness. He was buried in the tomb of the Banū ʿAbd al-Hakam at the foot of the Mukattam Hills. The architectural complex, frequently altered and restored, which surrounds his mausoleum, was erected under the Ayyubids. His tomb is today the object of particular veneration (along with the nearby Zāhirīs, which give the impression that his thinking was largely influenced by the Muʿtazila) (numerous editions since 1894, of which the best is that of A.M. Shakir, Cairo 1940 with numerous re-issues; Eng. tr. M. Khadduri, repr. Cambridge 1987; partial Fr. tr. Ph. Rancillac, in MIDEO, xi [1972], 127-328) and thus inculcated the science of usul al-fiqh, the primary purpose of which was to oppose the development of so-called “rationalist” theology (G. Makdisi, in IS, lixiv [1984], 5-47).

b. ʿUyālī al-fikr. It was, allegedly, at the request of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī, a traditionalist of Bara'a who died in 198/813, that al-Shafīʿī composed the Risāla (numerous editions since 1894, of which the best is that of A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1940 with numerous re-issues; Eng. tr. M. Khadduri, repr. Cambridge 1987; partial Fr. tr. Ph. Rancillac, in MIDEO, xi [1972], 127-328) and thus inculcated the science of usul al-fiqh which was later to be elevated to a privileged position in the classical canon of Islamic legal thought. The Risāla (mukaddima) there corresponds a statute (hadīth) for having founded this science should be regarded as strictly polemical. The text which is currently available, in the form of two manuscripts, was very likely composed in Egypt and reflects the final stage in the legal thinking of al-Shafīʿī, who had composed a substantially different version (al-risāla al-kadima) while resident in ʿIrāk.

As a result of the works of I. Goldziher, who had no knowledge of the Risāla (Die Zahirienn. Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte, Leipzig 1884, Eng. tr. The Zāhiris, Leiden 1971) and of J. Schacht (Origins, and An introduction to Islamic law, Oxford 1964, Fr. tr. Introduction au droit musulman, Paris 1983), the contribution of al-Shafīʿī to Islamic legal thought—which he raised to the status of a science—is customarily regarded as a synthesis between the two major directions hitherto followed in terms of the elaboration of fiqh, with which he was thoroughly familiar: on the one hand, that of his master Mālik and on the other that of Abū Ḥanīfa, as represented by al-Shaybānī. In the depth of its inspiration, the Shafīʿīan synthesis would nevertheless be more faithful to the spirit of the former and could be placed under the rubric of traditionalism.

The fundamental idea around which the entire legal thought of al-Shafīʿī is developed in the Risāla is that, to every act performed by a believer who is subject to the Law (maḳāla) there corresponds a statute (hadīth) belonging to the revealed Law (ṣaḥīḥa). This legal statute is either presented as such in the scriptural sources (the Kurʾān and the Sunna), which al-Shafīʿī calls “the foundation” (al-aṣl), or is it possible, by means of analogical reasoning (kiyāḥ) to infer it from the aṣl, the latter being the bearer of a latent “rationally deducible content”, the maṣḥaf al-aṣl.

All the efforts of al-Shafīʿī—and herein lies his originality in comparison with his predecessors—were subsequently to be applied to defining with precision, establishing critically and ranking in order of priority these different sources (aṣl and maṣḥaf al-aṣl) and to determining the modalities of their usage. It is no doubt the critical effort characterising Shafīʿīan legal thought which explains to a large extent the open hostility or the indifference with which the Risāla was initially received among ʿudhūdīs of all persuasions. Furthermore, the fact that al-Shafīʿī had chosen to write a treatise on this subject entailed a systematisation, a codification and, up to a point, a rationalisation of understanding the Law, the fiqh, which were soon to provoke tensions which would not be resolved until much later.

The principal attainments of the legal thought of al-
Shafici consist in (1) the definition of the Sunna [q. v.], and (2) the systematisation of analogical reasoning. As regards the Sunna, it is appropriate, according to Malik and his disciples, who tended to assimilate the practice (sunnah) of Medina to that of the Prophet for the reason, theoretically indefensible, that the Medinans had directly inherited the tradition of the Prophet because he had lived there.

As for analogical reasoning, identified with idqththd [q.v.], the function of which is to fill gaps left by the Kur'an and the Sunna, al-Shafi'i distinguishes between two types: "analogy by cause (kiyds al-ma'na)—the kiyds al-filal of the post-Shafi'ian theologians—is applicable to determine "analogy by resemblance" (kiyds al-tdhabah). Common to both of them is the imperative obligation to rely upon a legal proof (daili ymara), which may sometimes be difficult for the jurist to trace but of which, through postulating, the existence is certain. The argument, this time, is directed rather against Abu Hanifa and his partisans who were reputed to rely on ra'y and istislah [q. v.], i.e. on freer forms of reasoning, less closely tied to the revealed datum. In using such reasoning, al-Shafi'i was to claim that man introduces arbitrariness (tahakkum) into the comprehension of the Law and that in so doing he substitutes himself for God and the Prophet (al-Ghazali attributes to him the maxim man istahsana fa-kud ymara'a), the only legitimate legislators of the community.

It is evident that al-Shafi'i maintains his distance from Malik, as from Abu Hanifa and his successor al-Shaybani, and that in fact he has placed the two parties side-by-side in formally addressing to them the same message "Return to the proof". Considering his work from this perspective, al-Shafi'i was anything but a traditionalist, since he profoundly modified the notion, hitherto predominant among jurists, that the community was still in direct and immediate contact with the Revelation. After the passing of al-Shafi'i, on the other hand, the role of Medina to the extent of interpreting the reception of the revealed Law by referring to a legal theory which became ever more complex.

It should be noted that the Risalah remained a dead letter for more than a century and that the science of the usul al-fikr, inherited from al-Shafi'i, was not really developed until after the 4th/10th century. But it is not certain, on the other hand, that this means that the importance traditionally accorded to this work is exaggerated (a thesis recently propounded by W.B. Hallaq in UMES, xxv [1995], 587-605, in reply to N.J. Coulson, A history of Islamic law, Edinburgh 1964, 53-61, Fr. tr. Histoire du droit islamique, Paris 1995, 52-60).

In addition to the Risalah, two other texts of al-Shafi'i's legal theory have been preserved, and these have yet to receive the attention that they deserve: the K. Ibad al-istislah (published with the K. al-Umm, vii, 267-77), and the K. Dima'a al-tulm (in ibid, 250-62, see also by A.M. Shakir, Cairo 1956). c. Fikr. In the absence of any monograph devoted to the practical law elaborated by al-Shafi'i, the present writer is obliged to confine himself to indicating the texts which could serve as a basis for such a study (the later Shafi'i texts of fikr, some of which have been translated, are the work of the major mudhahhid and do not necessarily reflect the fikr of al-Shafi'i).

Great confusion prevails among the biographers in regard to the works of fikr of al-Shafi'i (see, in this connection, the attempt at clarification of the Shafi'i bibliography by Muhammad Abû Zahra, al-Shafi'i, Cairo n.d., 134-49). Just as in the field of legal theory, two distinct periods in the activity of al-Shafi'i are to be identified here. The first took place in the Hijâz and in 'Irak and led to the production of a book intitulé K. al-Hudaij, probably a compilation, of which the transmitter reputed to be the most reliable was Abû 'Ali al-Hassan al-Za'farâni (d. 260/874), a Baghdad disciple of al-Shafi'i. This work has not survived.

The "new (doctrine)" (al-jadid) was elaborated in Egypt during the last years of al-Shafi'i's life and is to be found recorded in the monumental K. al-Umm, the edition of which cited above also contains, in vol. vii, numerous other texts of al-Shafi'i, some, according to J. Schacht (cf. Origins, 330), dating from the 'Irak period. In the current state of knowledge it is impossible to determine the nature of the text mentioned by al-Bayhakî in particular as belonging among the works of al-Shafi'i, is, as seems probable, the same book as the K. al-Umm.

Also available is an Akhâm al-Kur'an (ed. al-Kawthari, 2 vols., n.d.), a treatise dealing with the legal statutes present in the Kur'an which is not the one now lost, composed by al-Shafi'i himself. It is in fact a work of compilation undertaken by the great Shafi'i al-Bayhakî (d. 450/1066) on the basis of different texts of al-Shafi'i. d. Hadith. A promoter of the introduction of the critique of traditions into the legal sciences (J. Schacht, Introduction, 36), inasmuch as, for him, prophetic traditions are the only means of access to knowledge of the Sunna, al-Shafi'i, as a traditionist (muhaddith), is the author of a Mumad and of a K. Isla'dâl al-bâdîh (ed. with the K. al-Umm, respectively, vi, in the margins, 2-277, and vii, in the margins, 2-414).

In this domain, al-Shafi'i was the object of numerous criticisms both on the part of the Malikis and, subsequently, of the disciples of Ibn Hanbal. He was reproached in particular for having been an unreliable transmitter (nâ'ûr) (neither al-Âkhârî, nor Muslim accepted traditions transmitted by him), for having argued certain points of doctrine on the basis of the opinion of a.doubtful authority, and for having made his trust in unacceptable transmitters such as Ibrâhîm b. Abî Yahyâ. The Bayân khâta' ma akha'a a'sâli' al-Shâfi'i's "Revelation of the error of those who tax al-Shafi'i with error" (Beirut 1986) of al-Bayhakî seeks to exonerate al-Shafi'i from these accusations.

A list, incomplete, of the mawâni on whose authority al-Shafi'i transmitted hadîth and of those who relied upon his authority for transmission in their turn, is supplied by Ibn Farhân (al-Dîbâqî, ii, 157). e. Others. The biographers make frequent mention of al-Shafi'i's extensive knowledge in the fields of medicine (tibb), of physiology (fîinâs), also stating that, before turning away from it, he was interested in astrology (al-nûdûm). Bibliography (in addition to the works and articles cited in the text): 1. Biography. Arabic sources: 1. All Tabakât works: al-Âkhârî (Tabakât al-fukahâh, al-Âkhârî's own, Leiden 1964, 67-7), al-Shâfi'i (Tabakât al-fukahâh, Beitr. n.d., 60-2), etc., include a brief notice concerning al-Shafi'i; 2. Among the hagiographies, the ones most often cited, with those of Ibn Abî Hâtim and of Fâhir al-Dîn al-Râzi, are those of al-Bayhakî (Manâkib al-Shâfi'i, Cairo 1970)


3. The issue of the institution of the Shâfi'i madhhab remains poorly understood, and it poses a series of problems, fundamental as well as chronological, which are not confined to this school alone, applying in an identical manner to the emergence of other legal schools within the Islamic legal system. In reference to the Shâfi'i school, the fundamental problem is essentially the following: the Imam al-Shâfi'i is the author of a radical criticism of judicial conformism (taklîd [q. v.]), developed in his celebrated Risâla (ed. Shâkir, Cairo 1940; numerous re-editions in Cairo and in Beirut), which sought, on the one hand, to discredit the living local traditions as a source of religious law, and on the other, to insist that the doctrines of the Imams could no longer be invoked in legal issues without additional proof of the authority attributed to these great masters. Furthermore, the biographers credit al-Shâfi'i with a series of solemn declarations strictly forbidding others to claim him as a teacher or to make his doctrine, after his death, the object of a new conformism. If reference is to be made to Shâfi'i thought, the very existence of a school thus appears contradictory from the outset. There can be no doubt that this fundamental anomaly at the very heart of the institution of judicial schools was very soon perceived by Muslim jurists, who sought to resolve it in various manners (ranging from the refusal, rare and soon inadmissible, to belong to any school whatsoever, to the most blind acceptance of the undisputed superiority of the Imams, with various intermediate solutions seeking to legitimise the existence of the schools while avoiding the danger of taklîd). Unfortunately, this issue has yet to be examined in depth.

As a general rule, the question of adherence to one madhhab or to another should be further subdivided according to the nature of the adherent: whether the case of a scholar-jurist ('ilmî, or of one who is secular in religious matters ('âmmî). Every secular person is obliged to refer himself to a recognised scholar (recognition depending on a number of criteria, some of them controversial) of his choice when a question relating to the 'ilmâ'î [q. v.] is put to him and it behoves him to act in conformity with the opinion which he has solicited. For him, the only means of access to the knowledge of legal statutes is taklîd. Theoretically, the adherence of a secular Muslim to a specific judicial school is thus consequent upon the choice to act in conformity with one scholar rather than with another: he will be called a "Shâfi'i" if he appeals to the authority of a jurist claiming the legacy of Shâfi'i and the only personal effort which is (sometimes) required of him is to decide upon the relative worth of the Imams and subsequently to choose, in a logical and sincere manner, the school to which he will belong (hence the existence, in each school, of a literature, yet to be studied, directed towards a public which is educated, but insufficiently, or not at all, versed in legal matters, which seeks to prove the superiority of such an Imam over such another; thus there is, among the Shâfi'i's, the unedited Mu'âlâh al-Shâfi'i fi bâsîn al-shâfi'î al-Duwwânî). However, the adherence of a secular person to a madhhab is not necessarily definitive or strict; he may, on the one hand, change his school, and on the other, according to certain authors, he has the right, in a particular matter, to refer in an exceptional fashion to a scholar belonging to a school other than that whose doctrine he normally follows.

The question is of course whether the emergence of the madhhab(s), and in particular of the Shâfi'i one, is likewise imperfectly resolved. According to J. Schacht (Introduction to Islamic law, Oxford 1964, 58), the inception of a school laying claim to al-Shâfi'i and seeking to propagate his doctrine ("doctrine" is, alongside "way", one of the senses of the word madhhab), is to be credited to the very first generation of disciples of al-Shâfi'i and, more specifically, to al-Muzanî (see below), who, in compiling a "summary" (mukhtasar) of the doctrines of al-Shâfi'i (text edited in the margins of the K. al-Umm of al-Shâfi'i, Cairo n.d., i-vi) would allegedly have laid the foundations of the institutionalisation of this doctrine. This hypothesis is confirmed by the history of judicial science (fikh [q. v.]) in the Islamic community presented by a Shâfi'i author of the very first rank, Abû 'Îsâh al-Shârîzâ (d. 479/1083 [q. v.]). In his "list of jurists", the latter classifies the first Muslim jurists according to geographical criteria (jurists of Mecca, Medina, of Yemen, of Syria, Egypt, etc.). On the other hand, the geographic criterion is not retained for the immediate disciples of the Imams al-Shâfi'i, Abû Hanîfa (d. 150/767 [q. v.]). Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/854 [q. v.]), Mâlik (d. 179/795 [q. v.]) and Dâwûd b. 'Ali b. Khafif
level, this influence remained limited; it was to some extent a process of identification—more or less efficacious according to the times—with the activity of the jurists of a certain school, without, however, conferring secondary status on others (in relation to the interaction between political régime and judicial scholarship, see K.S. Salibi, The Banû Jamâša. A dynas-
ty of ShaficT jurists in the Mamlûk period, in SJ, IX (1958),
97-109 or idem, art. banû Jamâša in this Enc-
cyclopaedia).

The first ShaficT.

Although the career of al-Shâfi'î also included phases in the Hidjâz and in Baghdad, it was principally
towards the end of his life, at Fustâţ in Egypt, that
his teaching was most favourably accepted, and
that he had the greatest number of disciples, who played a
significant role in the diffusion of his doctrine.

It is furthermore appropriate to recall that there are
two distinct bodies of doctrine in the work of al-
Shâfi'î: the first, known as "the ancient" (al-kadîm)
having been developed before his arrival in Egypt (in 199/814, according to al-Maqrîzî, KBd, Cairo n.d.,ii, 334) and the second, known as "the new" (al-
dâdÎţî), during his residence at Fustâţ. Now the Shafi's madhhab has definitively retained only the
"new" ShaficT doctrine (with considerable modifications
over the course of the centuries), in such a way
that its diffusion could only be accomplished by these
Egyptian disciples.

The first 'Irâkî Shafi's transmitters of the ancient doctrine.

Two direct disciples of al-Shâfi'î are renowned for
having transmitted his early doctrine: Abu 'Ali al-
Hasan al-Za'farâni (d. 260/874; on him, see al-Subki,
Tabakât al-shafi'iyya al-kubra ( = T Sk K.), Cairo n.d.,ii, 114-17) and Abû 'Ali al-Husayn al-Karâbîsî (d. 249/863 or 248/862), see ibid., ii, 117-26, the
former being reckoned the more reliable. A late biographer,Dâmûl al-Dîn al-Assawî (d. 772/1370), claimed that
he still had in his possession a copy of the book transmitted by al-Karâbîsî after al-Shâfi'î (al-Assawî,
Tabakât al-shafi'iyya, Beirut 1987, i, 26). According
to various authors, including Ibn Khâşîr (d. 774/1373)
(Tabakât al-fukhâra al-shafi'iyyîn, Cairo 1994, i, 39), Ibn Hanbal [q.v.] was also an assiduous disciple of al-
Shâfi'î during the latter's second period in Baghdad
in the years following 95/811. The "new" doctrine of al-Shâfi'î was only introduced into 'Irâk by Abu 'l-
Kâsim 'Uthmân al-Annârî (d. 208/821) who was the
pupil of one of the Egyptian Shafi's disciples, al-Muzanî
and al-Râbî (see below).

The first Egyptian Shafi's transmitters of the new doctrine.

Three names stand out among the direct disciples of al-Shâfi'î in Egypt: Abû Ya'qûb Yusûf al-Bawwâyi (d.
231/846), Abu Ibrahim Ismâîl al-Muzanî (d. 264/877) and Abu Muhammad al-Râbî al-Murâdî (d.
270/883). Of the first, al-Shâfi'î said that he was
"[his] tongue" (îsâm), of the second that he was "the
one who made [his] doctrine triumph (nûsîr madhhab) and of the third that he was "the transmitter of [his] books" (rûwat kutub).

Al-Bawwâyi, a native of Buwâtî in Upper Egypt,
was, evidently, al-Shâfi'î's favourite disciple; it is he
whom the latter is said expressly to have appointed his
successor. Having contributed significantly to the dif-
fusion of his master's madhhab, al-Bawwâyi suffered
persecution at the time of the so-called "milhâ [q.v.]
of the Kurîan". He was arrested and imprisoned in
Baghdad, where he died in detention. He is the
author of a "summary of the books of al-Shâfi'î"
(Mukhtasar min kutub al-Shâfi'i), praised by the ShaficT
biographers (see al-'Abdîbî, Tabakât al-fukhâra al-
shafi'iyya, Leiden 1964, 8; the work is preserved in
manuscript form, see F. Sezgin, GAS, i, 491). Historically, the importance of al-Buwayti and of his work seems, however, to be of rather secondary importance (unless Abu 'l-Walid Al-Makki (d. 386/996) is correct in his assertion, repeated by 676/1276, as one of the masters of reference of the school, and by others, e.g. al-Rafi'i (d. 628/1230), as diverging too often from the teachings of al-Shafi'i, to such an extent that the "singularities" (tafarrud) of his fikr could no longer be counted, according to him, among the doctrines of the school. His "strange points of view and [his] numerous positions which are contrary to the madhab" (al-Shaf'iyin, usul al-fikh), have significant influence on the Malikism of North Africa are to be observed in establishing itself and, from the 4th/10th century on-

Khitat, ii, 331-44). In Egypt, see al-Makrizi, (Tabakat al-Shaf'iyin, Beirut 1981). The major Shafi'i was the kadi Abu 'l-'Abbas Ibn Surayj (d. 306/918 [q.v.]), whose activity was probably even more important for the diffusion of the madhab. He had a considerable number of disciples who are still renowned: Abu Is hak al-Marwazi (d. 340/951), Ibn Abu Hurayra (d. 345/956), al-Kaffal al-Shafi'i (d. 336/947), etc. It is also in the line of Ibn Surayj that it is appropriate to locate the works of other important authors, such as Abu Hāmid al-Isfahānī (d. 406/1015), Abu l-'Tayyib al-Farabi (d. 450/1058 [q.v.]), Abu Is hak al-Shirazi (d. 476/1083 [q.v.]), etc. The extraordinary development of Shafi'i literature in Baghdad, for as long as this city retained its full importance, should no doubt be attributed to the fact that in the city numerous madhhabs remained well represented, thus creating a climate of competition which was a catalyst for, in the best case, the fine intellectual creativity to which Shafiism and Shafi'i madhhab from which serious violence sometimes resulted.

In Kūra and, more particularly at Nisābiz and at Marw, the Shafi'is were so numerous that they constituted, according to al-Subki, "half of the madhab" (T. Sh. K., i, 326). It is with the Kūrasanī branch of Shafiism, as a general rule more speculative than that of its 'Iraki branch, that are associated the names of Abu Is hak al-Isfahānī (d. 418/1027), of Abu l-'Ma'ālī al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) or indeed of the illustrious Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [q.v.]). As a result of serious political-religious disorders, the 6th/12th century saw the demise of the Shafi'i presence in Kūra in favour of the Hanafi madhab, and an exodus of Shafi'i scholars towards the west, especially towards Syria, is observable at this time (see J. Sublet, in Arabia, xii/2 [1964], 188-95; for more details regarding the diffusion of the Shafi'i madhab in the rest of the Muslim world, see H. Halm, Die Ausbreitung der šafi'īschen Rechtsschule..., Wiesbaden 1974; A. Taymou, Nasrī tarih-i ilahiyye: al-madhib-i al-shafi'iyye al-arba'a, Beirut 1990, 70-80; M. Abu Zahra, Tarīkh al-madhab al-shafi'iyya, Cairo n.d., 472-8 and T. Sh. K., i, 324-9; for the geographical distribution of Shafi'i fikhris in the contemporary period, see M. Massignon, Annuaire du monde musulman, Paris 1955). An author of the 8th/14th century, al-Subki (T. Sh. K., i, 199-202), gives the following list, which cannot be considered canonical on account of the

and Andalusia, through the intermediary of Mālik scholars who travelled to the East, and were sometimes taught there by Shafi'i masters; such was the case of Abu l-'Walid al-Bādī (d. 477/1082), whose usul al-fikh, Tabakat fukrah, is transmitted from those of Abu Is hak al-Shirazi, his Shafi'i teacher in Baghdad. In the Hidjaz, Mecca and Medina included, the Shafi'is were broadly in the majority, while the Yemen was shared between Shafiism and the Zaydiyya; tensions between representatives of the two tendencies have persisted into the present day (for a history of Shafiism in the Yemen, see al-Daj'di (d. 586/1190), T. T. Sh. K., 57-82). The role of the Shafi'is, whether in the field of political-religious power or in the legal domain, has certainly been considerable, in particular in Egypt, where the Fatimid period, from 358-567/969-1171. How-
c

the Fatimid period, from 358-567/969-1171). How-
c

and an exodus of Shafi'i scholars towards the west, especially towards Syria, is observable at this time (see J. Sublet, in Arabia, xii/2 [1964], 188-95; for more details regarding the diffusion of the Shafi'i madhab in the rest of the Muslim world, see H. Halm, Die Ausbreitung der šafi'īschen Rechtsschule..., Wiesbaden 1974; A. Taymou, Nasrī tarih-i ilahiyye: al-madhib-i al-shafi'iyye al-arba'a, Beirut 1990, 70-80; M. Abu Zahra, Tarīkh al-madhab al-shafi'iyya, Cairo n.d., 472-8 and T. Sh. K., i, 324-9; for the geographical distribution of Shafi'i fikhris in the contemporary period, see M. Massignon, Annuaire du monde musulman, Paris 1955). An author of the 8th/14th century, al-Subki (T. Sh. K., i, 199-202), gives the following list, which cannot be considered canonical on account of the
Theological views of its author, the Shafi'i who, according to him, are the most important in the history of the madhhab, each of them being the "renewer (mudżaddid) of religion, whose coming each century is prophesied by a statement of the imam : the Shafi'i, Ibn Suryāy, Abū Hāmid al-Isfārāyīnī, Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) and Taḵī al-Dīn Ibn Dākiḵ al-Ṭīd (d. 702/1302). (Regarding the major al-Shafi'īs, see also M.H. Hitū, al-Idāhīh wa-tabākāt muḏjaddīdī al-Shafi'iyya, Beirut 1988 and F. Wüstenfeld, Der Imām al-Shafā'i, seine Schüler und Anhänger bis zum j. 300 d. H., Göttingen 1890.)

The principal works of reference of the Shafi’ī school are: al-Usul al-fikhn [q.v.]. Although Shafi'īs often took pride in the fact that their Imam, the al-Shafi’ī, was the founder of the science of the usul-al-fikhn, this science was, in fact, hardly practised at all during the first two centuries of the existence of the madhhab; even if it was not totally neglected (on this point, see W. B. Hallak in JMES, xxv [1993], 587-605). On the other hand, during the 4th/10th century and, subsequently, throughout the classical period, the science of usul al-fikhn experienced an extraordinary development. It is only in the last few years that a close interest has been taken in this literature and that it has been published. In regard to the Shafi’ī usul al-fikhn, the paucity of works dealing with them demands a very schematic approach. As a general rule, all the Shafi’ī usul claim their adherence to the Risāla of the al-Shafi’ī, but this claim is very formal; it impinges upon various currents of legal thought.

The first is characterised by its very strictly legal nature and its representatives were in fact "pure" jurists; most often, they were renowned also for the quality of the treatises on fikhn, as correctly defined, which they composed. This current is principally represented by Abu Iṣhāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) whose books al-Lumāḍ fi usul al-fikhn (numerous editions since Cairo 1326/1907) and Sharḥ al-Lumāḍ (ed. A.-M. Turki, Beirut 1983) served for a long time as models and were the subjects of frequent commentaries (see. M.H. Hitū, al-Imām al-Shīrāzī, Damascus 1989, 209).

This current, today once again highly valued, was supplanted by the works of usulīs who were definitively Shafi’īs, but who were often not jurists but theologians of generally Ash'arī allegiance. The central works of reference of this ideological-legal thought are: al-Burhdn fi usul al-fikhn by Ibn Hamīd al-Haramayn al-Djuwayni (ed. al-Dīb, Cairo 1980) and, by the same, the short and much commercialised Sharḥ al-wadjīz (numerous editions; French tr. by L.W.C. van den Berg, Le Guide des zélés croyants, Leiden 1895), constituted works of criticism tr. by L.W.C. van den Berg, Le Guide des zélés croyants, Leiden 1895), constituted works of criticism (al-Karīm al-Rāfī (d. 623/1226) (cf. al-Nawawī, Tahdhīb al-aṣma' wa l-lughāt, Beirut n.d., i, 3). It will be noted that none of the works of al-Shaфиī himself feature in this list and, judging by the number of commentaries which they engendered, it is doubtless no exaggeration to say that the Madhhab of al-Muẓam has definitively gained more importance than the al-Kāmil of al-Shafi’ī himself in the development of the Shafi’ī doctrine (concerning the divergence between the fikhn of al-Shafi’ī himself and classical Shafi’ī fikhn, see Schacht, Sur la transmission de la doctrine..., in ALEO Alger, x [1952], 401-19).

The works of al-Shīrāzī are associated with the ‘Irākī element of the Shafi’ī school: al-Tanbīh takes its inspiration from the commentary, al-Ta’līk, by Abū Hamīd al-Isfārāynī on the Madhhab of al-Muẓam, while in al-Muḥaddhab, al-Šīrāzī devised his fikhn around another commentary on the same Madhhab, also intitled al-Ta’līk but the work of his master, the Kāfī Abū Tāyib al-Tābarī (d. 450/1058). On the other hand, the work of al-Ghazālī is associated with the Khurāṣānīan element of the school; al-Wadžīz is a summary of al-Wazīl, which is itself a summary of al-Baṣīl by the same al-Ghazālī, in which he derived inspiration from the Nihāya al-maṭlaḥ of his master Abu ’l-Maṣfī al-Djuwaynī. Of somewhat later date is al-Ta’līk (ed. T. Keijzer, Leiden 1859, Fr. tr. G.H. Bousquet, Abrégé de la loi..., in R. Afr., 1935), another summary of the Nihāya al-Djuwaynī, by Ahmad b. al-Hasan Abū Shudji (still living in 500/1106 [q.v.]) which was the object of glosses and commentaries until the 13th/19th century.

In the Faith al-ṣaṣī fi ṣhār al-wad zgī, a commentary on al-Wad zgī of al-Ghazālī, Abu ’l-Kāsim al-Rāfī (628/1230) is reputed to have made the connection between one of the schools of the style and, after him, there is barely any distinction between the two. Al-Raṭfī is also the author of al-Muḥarrar, likewise inspired by al-Wad zgī, which was to be critically commercialised by Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Nawawī in his Minhāj al-tālibīn (much-criticised tr. by L.W.C. van den Berg, Le Guide des zélés croyants, Batavia 1882). which was in its turn highly regarded in the madhhab. The same al-Nawawī composed two important works based on the Sharḥ al-wad zgī of al-Raṭfī, the Rasaẓd al-tālibīn and the Zawād’ al-rasāda.

Two commentaries on the Minhāj al-tālibīn of al-Nawawī, the Tibṣ d al-muḥādībī by Ibn Ḥadaj al-Haytāmī (d. 975/1567) and the Nihāyāt al-muḥādībī by Shams al-Dīn al-Ranūf (d. 1006/1596), as well as a commentary on al-Ta’līk of Abū Shudja, the Faith al-ṭar r by al-Ghazālī (d. 918/1512) (again, a much-criticised tr. by L.W.C. van den Berg, La Révolution de l’Omniprésent, Leiden 1895), constituted works of reference for the teaching of Shafi’ism in later periods. A gloss (ṣāḥībā) on the last-named text by Ibrahim al-Bāgzīrī (d. 1276/1850) has been partially commercialised by E. Sachau (Muḥamedanisches Recht
Shafi'i, theology and Sufism

Throughout its long history, the Shafi'i school generally maintained good relations, in terms of theology (‘ilm al-kalâm [q.v.]), with Ash’arism (q.v.) and, in regard to Sufism, with its reputedly “moderate” tendency. Scholars such as Abu l-Kāsim al-Kūshayrī (d. 465/1072 [q.v.]), renowned Khurāsānī author of the Risdla fī l-taṣawwuf, who comprised the theological backbone of Ash’arī theology and of Sufī, are plentiful among the Shafi’ī ranks; Abū Hamīd al-Ghazālī remains the most eminent representative of this trend, although he is neither the most original nor the most interesting.

In regard to Sufism, envisaged as an interior struggle (maudhāda) towards the comprehension and realisation of the injunctions of the Law addressed to the consciousness of the believer (fikhr bātin al-shari‘a), Shafi’ī scholars, today, have strictly nothing to do with dispute; the contrary is the case, insofar as, on the one hand, Sufism does not eliminate the importance of fikhr as such by seeking to act as a substitute for it, and, on the other hand, it does not engender practices, “spiritual exercises”, which, from the viewpoint of fikhr, could be seen as reprehensible. But, as a more general rule and in a more essential manner, the majority of the spiritual and moral virtues—the spirit of scrupulousness (al-wans), asceticism (al-zuhd), etc.—which fikhr refuses, on principle, to take into consideration in its work of demonstration and application of legal statutes and which have been codified in the framework of Sufism, are highly valued by, in particular, the majority of biographers who do not hesitate, when the occasion arises, to attribute them to such-and-such a fakhr. Among renowned Sufis who were Shafi’īs (or at least, whom Shafi’ism claims), the most significant names are: al-Hārīrī b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857 [q.v.]) whose few biographers state that he was a friend of al-Shafi’ī; Abu l-Kāsim al-Dināyān (d. 297/910 [q.v.]), although al-Kūshayrī asserts that he adhered rather to the madhhab of Abu Thawr; the ḥāfīz Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Khāṣfī (d. 391/1001); etc.

The history of relations between Shafi’ism and Ash’arism (or see: Ash’arīyya) is, however, more problematical and has for a long time been the object of debate in Islamic studies. With regard to theology, it is appropriate first to distinguish between two tendencies among Shafi’ī jurists. The first—represented by scholars such as Abū Hātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/939), al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), Ibn al-Sa‘d (d. 643/1245), al-Dhahābī (d. 748/1348) or indeed Ibn Khūṭīr (d. 774/1370)—was, for various reasons and to differing degrees, hostile to the exercise of this discipline as such. This tendency is often described as “traditionalist”, although there is doubt as to whether this adjective is well-chosen.

The second tendency was for its part enthusiastically in favour of the development of the ‘ilm al-kalâm in the Muslim community and it is represented by Shafi’īs—Abū Isḥāk al-Isfārāyīnī, Ibn Fūrāk (d. 406/1015), al-Dīnārī, Fāyḥīl b. al-Rāzī, al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), etc.—who can include some of the best Muslim theologians. It is asserted that more than a large majority of the Shafi’īs favouring the exercise of speculative theology supported Ash’arism (with a few exceptions, including, famously, the Kātīr Abū al-Dabbāb (d. 415/1024 [q.v.]) who was a Shafi’ī in legal matters and a Mu’tazilī in theology). It seems to be accepted furthermore, among the majority of Shafi’ī biographers (see, for example, Ibn al-Salām, al-Nawawī and al-Mīzāzī, Tabātabāī al-shafī‘īyya, Beirut 1992, ii, 604-6), that the theologian al-Ash’arī (d. 324/935-6 [q.v.]) was himself a Shafi’ī. It is, however, impossible to state this categorically (see D. Gimearet, La doctrine d’al-Ash’arī, Paris 1990, 517-9; on the question of relations between Shafi’ism and Ash’arism, see, with regard to Abū Isḥāk al-Shirāzī, C. Gilliot in S.I, bxvii (1968), 170-86, and, in reply to the latter, E. Chaumont in S.I, bxix (1991), 168-77, and with regard to al-Ṭawāfi, T. Nagel, Die Festung des Glaubens (Munich 1998). It is not, however, appropriate to speak of a special relationship between Shafi’ism and Ash’arism since, on the one hand, as has been observed, numerous Shafi’īs were opposed to any speculative theology, and on the other hand, not all Ash’arīs were Shafi’īs, indeed, far from it. Furthermore, bearing in mind the fact that, over the centuries, Ash’arism tended to be regarded as the theological doctrine of Sunni Islam—at the expense of Mu’tazilism and, to a lesser degree, of creeds of the Hanbalī type—the presence of a majority of Ash’arīs among the Shafi’īs is hardly surprising (on this point, see T.S.K., iii, 377-8, where al-Subki draws up a contemporary table of the theological allegiances represented in the madhhab and stresses the fact that, while Ash’arīs constitute the majority in all the schools, with the exception of Hanbalism, it is only the Mālikīs who are exclusively Ash’arī). It is apparent, therefore, that the question of relations between Shafi’ism and Ash’arism is subordinate, by comparison with a more general enquiry, not yet undertaken, which would seek to determine the precise nature of the causes capable of explaining why and how Ash’arism was implanted in the Islamic legal system and its institutions with greater ease than other theological doctrines.

Bibliography

The majority of important references are indicated in the text. For a more extensive bibl., recourse may be had to the exhaustive and thematically classified compilation given by Schacht in his Introduction to Islamic law, 215-85. See also ASH’ARIYYA, HANABILA, HANAFIYYA, MALIKIYYA, MU’ATZILA. (E. CHAUMONT)

SHAFSHAWAN (dialect, Shāwan, usual Fr. rendering Shovain, Span. Xauen), a town of Morocco on the country of the same name. The term is said to mean “horn or horns” in Tamazight, referring to the mountain peaks (over 2,000 m/6,500 feet) which surround the town. Situated at an altitude of 600 m/2,000 feet, Shafshawan is rich in springs of water, the best-known being that of Ra’s al-Mā‘. Equally situated between Oazzane and Tetuan, with which it has always been in close contact, the town occupies a strategic position 40 km/25 miles from the coast, and in the past played the role of a crossroads for the Dībāla region.

It was founded in 876/1471-2 on the right bank of the wadi of the same name by Hasan b. Muhammad b. Rāḥīd, a descendant of the Idrīsīd saint Abū al-Salām Ibn Mashāhī [q.v.]. It was moved to the right bank by ‘Ali b. Rāḥīd. It sheltered waves of Moriscos, Muslims and Jews, expelled from al-Andalus, and still bears the imprint of this history, seen in the choice of space and its architecture, as well as the customs and patronymics testing this Andalusian grafting. The town’s history is linked with that of the founding Banū Rāḥīd, the most famous of whom being Mawlay İbrāhīm (895-946/1490-1539). The family cultivated matrimonial alliances with the powerful caids of the region;
Mawlāy Ibrahim's sister, Sayyida al-Hurra, married the kādī of Tetuan al-Mandān and, after becoming a widow, became the wife of the Wāṭṭāṣīd sultan Aḥmad. She played a leading role in the politics of the region, and Mawlāy Ibrahim himself safeguarded himself in warfare against the Portuguese of Āsīla before succeeding his father as kādī of Shafshāwan. As a splendid and faithful warrior, Sidī Brāhīm/ Mawlāy Ibrahim compelled the admiration of his enemies, who did not cease to heap praise on his great deeds and generosity (Bernardo Rodrigues, Analís de Arzīla, ed. D. Lopes, Lisbon 1915–20; R. Ricard, Moulay Ibrahim, calif de Chfèshāwan, in Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, Portugal, Paris 1948, iii, 146–57, and the same article in in And. [1941]). But his family fell victim to the conflicts between the last Wāṭṭāṣīds and the Saʿdīs. After Abū Hāssid's capture of Fās in 961/1554, Shafshāwan was besieged by the minister Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad ʿAbd al-Kādīr in the name of the sultan of Āsīla, and the Banū Rāṣīḥ fled in Safār 969/October 1562 and disappeared from the political scene. The kādī's essential role in the fight against the Portuguese installed at Cētūt, Tāngīrs and Āsīla, and Leo Africanus states that its citizens were "freed from taxes because they serve as cavalrymen and infantrymen in the fight against the Portuguese". The 9th/15th century was its most brilliant one, when it produced several renowned scholars, such as Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥabīr (d. 963/1556) and Ibn ʿAskar, the author of the Dauḥāt al-nāṣīḥ, banished by the Banū Rāṣīḥ. Once occupied by the Saʿdīs, the town lost its importance and, henceforth, is hardly even mentioned. Mawlāy ʿIsmāʿīl built a kāsba there. It was in turn held by al-Raysūnī, al-Khāḍīr Ghaylān and then by the pasha Ahmad al-Rifī (d. 1146/1734), and in October 1920 was occupied by Spain. During 1922–6 ʿAbd al-Krīm made it a base of operations for the war in the Rif [g. e.].

The surrounding region, despite its steep slopes, is fertile and well-watered and produces cereals and fruit (grapes, figs, pomegranates etc.), but the water-mills and the presses which gave the town its fame survive only vestigially. The activity recorded by G. Colin in the earlier decades of this century (Ep. art. s. c.) is only a memory, and Shafshāwan lives essentially off tourism, with many tourists attracted by the climate and beauty of its site and with handicrafts: textiles (drāż), pottery, leatherwork and copper ware. The fortified town has walls pierced by eleven gates. Its clearly individual quarters, its numerous mosques, its kāsba and the shrine of Sidī ʿAli Ben Rāṣīḥ, bear witness to a past era now completed, for the town now suffers from its cramped site. It remains a modest place, and its eccentric position and the poverty of the region have not encouraged the growth of population; the population reached 16,850 in 1969, but did not go beyond 24,000 in 1982.

**Bibliography:** Muhammad al-ʿArbi Ibn Yūsuf al-Ṭāsi, Mirāʾ al-maḥāsin, lith. Fās 1324/1906; Ibn ʿAskar, the author of the Dauḥāt al-nāṣīḥ, banished by the Banū Rāṣīḥ. It is thought to have had between 3,000 and 7,000 inhabitants before 1918. In 1953 the census counted 11,500 Muslims, 2,500 Spanish and 15 Jews. The population reached 16,850 in 1969, but did not go beyond 24,000 in 1982.
SHÂH — SHAH ʿABBâD AL-ʿAZîM AL-ḤASÂNÎ

191
tual unit with it (Mahmūd-šâh). The latter usage is the most common and, though found already in early texts (such as Firdawši’s Šâh-nâmâ), is anomalous in Neo-Persian. It might be likely that it is an isolated relic from Middle Persian or else an imitation of Turkish constructions with titles such as ḵān. Compounds with šâh (as the first or last element) or indeed šâh on its own occur quite frequently as proper names of kings, but also of commoners; the given name of the famous Šâlûdji rûlîr Malik Šâh, for example, is formed simply by combining the Arabic and Persian words for “king”. As a common noun, however (without a title) šâh is widely used in poetry and non-official prose of all periods to designate potentates who, in their official protocol, styled themselves malîk, sultan, amîr, pâddâh or whatever. It is also used with reference to the kings of pre-Islamic Persia and in works of fiction. Sometimes it is applied to princes (as already in Middle Persian; many references in F. Wolff, Glossar zu Firdosî’s Schahname, Berlin 1935, 549, 583). Its uses and others found in official or set phrases šâh means “pre-eminent, principal”, e.g. in masjîd-ı šâh “congregational mosque” (not “king’s mosque”), or šâh-râh “principal road, highway”. In the Indian subcontinent, šâh is appended to the names of persons claiming descent from the Prophet and has today become a surname.

As for the title šâhān šâh, this naturally fell into disuse with the collapse of the Šâṣîânid empire, but it remained in popular memory in its Neo-Persian form šâhānšâh (the vowels in the first and last syllables can be shortened when required by the metre; modern Western Persian has also the vulgar form šâhānšâh). This is an inseparable compound (from which is derived an adjective šâhānšâhî) and in the context of Neo-Persian it can no longer be analysed morphologically, though there has never been any doubt that its meaning is indeed “king of kings”. It was adopted as his official title by the Bûyîd ʿAdud al-Dawla (338-72/949-83) and continued to be used by his successors on their coins and in court documents, sometimes in conjunction with its Arabic equivalent malîk al-mulûk; despite the objections raised by religious authorities (for details, see Lakhân and the literature cited there), but after the fall of the Bûyîd it does not seem to have figured in official protocol until the 20th century, when it was adopted by the self-styled “Pâddâh-Shâh” of the Jâhâlî dynasty in Persia. It has, however, always been used quite freely by poets. Thus the Ghaznavid Masʿûd I, who would hardly have tolerated such a sacrilegious title in his official documents, had evidently no scruples about his court poet Manûšchîr addressing him as şâhānšâh-ı dîwân, şâh-ı malîkân and the like, and similar expressions are used by the panegyrists of the Šâlûdji rûlîr ʿAdud and others after them.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F.C. DE BLOIS)

SHÄH ʿABBÄD AL-ʿAZîM AL-ḤASÂNÎ, Abu ʿI.-Kâsîm b. ʿAbbâd b. ʿAbbâd al-Ḥasân b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasân b. Abu-Ḥâdî Tâlîb, Şiʿî ascetic and traditionist, well-known under the name of Imâm-żâde (Šâh) ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm. He is buried in the principal sanctuary of Rayy [see RAYY].

1. The holy man.

Only sparse biographical data are available on ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm, who must have been born in Medina before 200/815 and who was a companion of the ninth and tenth Imams, Muhammad al-Ḍâjwâd al-Ṭâkî (d. 220/835) and ʿAbbâd al-Ḥâdî al-Ḥâlî (d. 254/868) [see also ASKÂRÎ]. When the latter, at the order of caliph al-Mutawakkil, was forced to go to Sâmârrawât in 233/848, ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm followed him there. He is said to have been ordained by al-Nâkî, apparently under the caliphate of al-Muṭawâz, to go to Persia in exile. He stayed in Tabûz and, then in Rayy, where he lived in the sikkat al-mawâlî in the quarter of Sarbânân, hidden in the house of a Šîʿî. He passed his time in prayers, ascetic practices, study and teaching, and visited the tomb of an ʿAlîd which was later reputed to be that of Hamza b. Mûsâ al-Ḵâzîm (see below). He died perhaps before al-Nâkî (towards 250/864), as Karîmîn, i, 384 ff. (though, according to some Šîʿî sources (Šârîf al-Mûrådâ, al-Ṭûsî, see Madelung, quoted in the Bibl.), he also was a companion of the eleventh Imam, Ḥasan al-ʾAskârî (d. 260/874 [q.v.]).

In the small Šâmîm community of Rayy, ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm occupied an important position as sayyid, companion of the Imâms, traditionist and teacher. His works, now lost, were used and quoted until the 10th/11th century: Kitâb Yâsam wa-l-layla (on the daily rituals), Risûq-ye ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm; Kitâb Ḵâšûs Amîr al-šâhânsâh-i Ḥasan b. Ḫâdî I, who would hardly have tolerated such a sacrilegious title in his official protocol, styled themselves malîk, sultan, ʾAbbâd al-ʿAzîm al-Ḥasânî. Under the patronage of Tahmâsî I, who in part continued ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm’s efforts, devoted a now lost biography to him, Abkâr ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm al-Ḥasânî.

2. The sanctuary.

ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm was buried in a garden under an apple-tree (bağ-ye taʃfâʃ), opposite the tomb of Ḥamza b. Mûsâ which was situated outside the walls, to the west of al-Rayy, in the partly Sunni quarter of Bâṭân (see Karîmîn, i, 264 ff.). The garden belonged to a certain ʿAbbâd al-Djâbûr b. Muhammad and was praised by Ibn Ṣâlih al-ʿĀkîr, the Bûyîd vizier in Rayy. The Imâmi traditionist Ibn Bâbûyû Bâbâwâyû (q.v.), who in part continued ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm’s efforts, devoted a now lost biography to him, Abkâr ʿAbbâd al-ʿAzîm al-Ḥasânî.

3. The mausoleum.

The holy man was buried in a garden under an apple-tree opposite the tomb of Ḥamza b. Mûsâ (see below). When Shah ʿAbbâd went to attack the Obezghs in 996/1587-8, fell ill, he recovered his health after a pilgrimage to the sanctuary (Karîmîn, i, 382). Notwithstanding the interest shown to the sanc-
tuary by notables or rulers up to the Safawids, it is quite difficult to form a picture of its importance in former days. Since it was called Mashhad or Masqijd al-Šahdžāra, and its cemetery, according to some sources, Ḫūrist ān-Šahdžāra (Karimān, 1, 328 ff.), it might have remained in use even in conjunction with the neighbouring Imāmzāda [q.v.] dedicated to Hamza b. Mūsā al-Šāhīm. The Šafawīds pretended to descend from this sayyid ḥusaynī-mudāwi, whose supposed burial place is also located at Turǧīz or in a village near Šahrāz. It is at this last site, and not at Rayy, that they caused a richly endowed mausoleum to be built (ibid., 395 ff.). Until the beginning of the 19th century, the tombs of Abd al-ʿAzīz, of Hamza and other holy men were situated comparably the km to the south (ibid., 392 ff.). The sanctuary must have included a rather important garden. On his way to Māzandārān, ʿAbbās II (1463-66) camped there with his suite for nine days in 1070/1659-60 (Muḥammad Ṭāhir Wahid Ḫaṣwīn, ʿAbbās-ndma, ed. ʿĪbrāhīm Dihgān, Arāk 1329, 263 ff.).

The administrator of the sanctuary (muṣawāʾīl) was designated and appointed by the central government. This practice continued in ʿAbbād al-Šaḥīm Zanjūkī-Zanj (see J. R. Petry, Karim Khan Zand. A history of Iran, 1747-1779, Chicago 1979, 220) and after that by the Kāḏājār. Fāṭḥ ʿAlī Šāh [q.v.], who was an assiduous guardian of the sanctuary, had it embellished (Karimān, 1, 392; Algar, 48). The same was the case with Nāṣir al-Dīn Šāh [q.v.], who in 1270/1853-4 had the cupola covered with gold and the ʿībm decorated with stalactites consisting of mirrors; the latter initiative was due, at least to a certain extent, to his vizier Mīrzā ʿAkā Ḵān Nūrī (1851-8) (Karimān, i, 391 ff.; Algar, 159).

Like other Šāhī sanctuaries, Šāh Abd al-ʿAzīz was a place of asylum repute to be inviolable for persons (or animals), lawbreakers or others, who are menaced by people in power [see natt; and J. Calmard, art. Bast (sanctuary, asylum), in EIr]. When the neighbouring town of Tehran was promoted to be the capital by Aḥṣād Muḥammad Ḵān in 1786, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary and its use for politico-religious protests, in particular against foreign influence, developed considerably. The project of constructing a railway line between Tehran and the sanctuary made people fear, erroneously, that the extension of the line to Kum would mean the end of this town. The line was indeed constructed and explored about the km to the west (ibid., 188-88) notwithstanding the fact that it was ransacked by a furious crowd in December 1888 (see Algar, 175 ff., 182). Under Nāṣir al-Dīn Šāh, the sanctuary formed the most important place of bast, criminals or debtors, as well as political opponents, finding there protection in several degrees (see E.G. Browne, A year among the Persians, London 1893, 174). The most ominous violation of the right of bast occurred in January 1891 when the Muslim reformist ʿḎámāl al-Dīn Asāḥbād-ʿAlī Ghāzā (see Calmard, loc. cit.) Nāṣir al-Dīn was murdered in the courtyard of the mausoleum on the eve of his jubilee (fifty lunar years) on 1 May 1896 by Mīrzā Ṭāḥā Kirmānī, a partisan of the Afšārī. During the events of the Constitutional Revolution (1905-11), about 20,000 ʿulamāʾ (mullahs, muḥaddīs, tāllāḥs), opposed to the authoritarian measures of the vizier ʿAfīn al-Dawla and financially supported by 500 partisans of Karim Khan Zanjūkī-Zanj, as well as political opponents, finding there protection in several places, many notables, dignitaries, ʿulamāʾ, members of the Kāḏājār family, etc., are buried at Šāh Abd al-ʿAzīz. The most renowned royal tomb is that of Nāṣir al-Dīn Šāh, situated at the western corner at a place known under the name of Masqijd-i Hūlaḡā. An imposing mausoleum dedicated to Rīdā Šāh Pahlawī [q.v.] was erected on the site of the ancient quarter of Bāḏān, south-east of the sanctuary (Karimān, i, 395). It was destroyed during the events of the Islamic Revolution.


**Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz** [see ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī].

**Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḵādīr** [see ʿAbd al-Ḵādīr Dihlawī].

**Shāh ʿĀlam II** (1142-1220/1729-1806, r. 1173-1202/1759-88, 1203-21/1788-1806), later Muḥgal emperor, son of the Muḥgal Emperor ʿAlamgīr II. His original name was Mīrzā ʿAbī Ḵāliq, the title ʿAlī Ghawhar was conferred in 1168/1754, and that of ʿĀlam in 1170/1756. As a prince, he led an unsuccessful raid into Bihar in Djamādī II 1172/February 1759, and claimed the throne in 1175/1759. He was, however, unable to rule from Dihlī. Becoming an ally of Shuḥdājāl-ḏawla and Mīr Kāsim [q.v.], he shared in their defeat at Baksar (Buxar) in 1178/1764 at the hands of the British. In 1179/1765 he granted the diwānī of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company, receiving in return ʿAlāhābād (as his seat) and an annual pension of 2.6 million rupees. Under ʿĀlam the Marālīs sought an alliance with the Marālīs, and through it, received by them into his capital Dihlī in Ramadān 1185/January 1772. He thereupon lost
both Allâhâbâd and his annual pension from the British. Mahdâjjî Sindicâ, who was now responsible for the safety of the Emperor, was constantly faced by local malcontents. The Rohilla chief Ghûmân Kâdir held Dîhîl from 202/1218-19 to 228/1234-5. He blinded Shâh 4Alâm, but was himself captured and put to death. In 1203/1789 Mahdâjjî Sindicâ provided Shâh 4Alâm with a daily cash pension of 300 rupees; later territories were assigned to him yielding nearly 1.7 million a year. In 1217/1803 Dîhîl provided Shâh cAlâm with a daily cash pension of 300 rupees; later territories were assigned to him yielding 335-336, 338-9, xii, 40-1, 67, 167-92; idem, T. da- Dâlwa al-âtakhâyîâ, ed. A. Tâlymâr, CAI 426, 319, 330, 364, 367, 391; Abuse 'l-Fîdâ', Mughal chron., in RHC, v, 5, 11, 17, 63, 64, 71, 8; Matthew of Edessa, tr. Doulaurier, Paris 1858, 275-285, 318, 361- 2; Michael the Syrian, tr. Chabot, Paris 1899-1914, 216; al-Mâkkîn, Chronique des Ayoubides, tr. A. M. Eddé et F. Micheau, Paris 1948, 18-19.


(Carole Hillenbrand)

SHAH BANDAR (r.), literally ‘harbour, port master’. The term was used before the Ottoman period to denote the chief of the merchants, and sometimes the representative of foreign mer- chant companies in the port cities of the Mughal Empire.

1. In the Arab world.

Here, he was not known in Mamlûk times, when there is mentioned the ra'îs or kâbî al-tudjâdîr. The frequent use of the term in the Thousand and one nights confirms the comparatively late redaction of a certain number of its stories. After the Ottoman conquest, shâh bandar is attested in all the Arab countries of the Near East in the sense of provost or overseer of the merchants, notably, at Cairo, Aleppo, Mecca and Baghûdât, and likewise at Bâbîrî which was called the port where the consis- sion bazîrîn bukhî was also used, ‘merchants of the Black Sea and of the Mediterranean’ (also found at Cairo and Aleppo). On the other hand, the term was unknown in the Mughârîb; at Tunis, the amîn al-tudjâdîr was an Andalusian, the trade organisation...
there, it appears, having been formed by these immigrants.

We are best informed about the shah bandar in the great centres of Cairo and Aleppo, where there existed an important international trade, which enriched powerful communities of merchants. In Cairo, the shah bandar was at the head of a group of around 500-600 merchants who specialised in the large-scale traffic in coffee, spices and textiles. He was a person of considerable status; in official ceremonies, he had precedence over the muhtasib. He was probably appointed by the community with ultimate control by the authorities. The office was usually for life, and in some cases, was hereditary (cf. the Sharâ'ibls in the 18th century). The shah bandar seems to have been chosen from amongst the richest tudjdjdr, which is the case for the greater part of the shah bandars whom we know, the best-known being Aḥmad al-Ruwâtī, Ismâ'īl Ābū Tâikiyya (d. 1624), Qâsim al-Dîn al-Ḍāhâbî (alive in 1630), Dāḍâ (d. 1724) and then Kásim al-ṣārâ'îbî (d. 1734), Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salâm (d. 1791), Mâhmûd Mubarrâm (d. 1793) and Aḥmad al-Mâhrûkî (d. 1804). The shah bandar arbitrated in disputes between merchants and was their intermediary vis-à-vis the authorities. Normally, the community of merchants lay outside the jurisdiction of the muhtasib and even outside that of the Aḡā of the Janissaries. But the shah bandar's power resided largely in his own, personal prestige; thus the Sharâ'ibls clearly exerted political influence and had links with the ruling classes. The "house of the chief of the merchants" mentioned on the plan of Cairo in the Description de l'Égypte (VII arrondissement, 85 I 4) had been the personal residence of 'Abd al-Salâm and then of al-Mâhrûkî, but does not appear to have played any "administrative" role.

The mahkâma or legal tribunal documents which have been studied for Aleppo bring some details on the functions of this dignitary, in all cases analogous to those of his counterpart at Cairo. He apparently had his seat in the khan of the custom officials (gumruk), according to the information of Thévenot (1664). He regulated disputes between the merchants. He gave expert witness in the courts where legal cases involved commercial matters, and represented the merchants vis-à-vis the administration. The position was held by local notables. Two cases are known where the holder of the office was deprived of it by the authorities at the request of the merchants, on grounds of senility (1645) or incapacity (1689). Alexander Russell (The natural history..., London 1794, i. 329) gives the specific information that he was a member of the Pasha's council (diwan) ca. 1760.

Everything leads us to believe that the importance which the shah bandar Muhammad al-Mâhrûkî assumed in Cairo during the decade beginning in 1810 (going as far as jurisdiction over the whole body of artisans and merchants in 1813), and his conflict with an especially energetic muhtasib in 1817, was linked to this person's influence with Muhammad ʿAlî, rather than to a growth in the powers of the office. However, Lane, enumerating the councils set up by Muhammad ʿAlî, mentions a "Court of the Merchants" (diwan at-tudjdjdr) presided over by the shah bandar (Manners and customs, ch. iv). In reality, the deep changes in the economy and in society in both Egypt and Syria, led in the 19th century to a new control of the traditional corporate structures, and also of the group of great merchants who had dominated international trade. Although the term itself, and the functions of the shah bandar, are still mentioned for a long time after this in Egypt (ʿAlî Pasha Mubârâk records a "Muhammad Bâshâ al-Suyûfî who is at present shah bandar al-tudjdjdr bi-Misr"), the institution had lost all importance and was considered on its way out, just like the whole of the corporate organisation.


2. In South-East Asia

This title, modern spelling in South-East Asia, sahabbandar has a long history in the Islamic lands east of India, and refers primarily to the official who directed trade in the maritime cities of Malaysia and Indonesia [q.v.]. Within this broad definition, three distinct but related uses of the term can be traced.

(1) As a member of a "Royal Council". Taking the royal court of Melaka (ca. 14th-15th centuries) [see MELAKA] as a paradigm, we find a number of named officials with specific functions and duties, such as the Bendahara (treasurer), Temenggong (in charge of public order), Laksamana (commander of warships), etc. The Šāh Bandar was intimately involved with trade at the ports (this trade being a royal monopoly), and was part of the inner circle of government, though to what exact extent is not clear. Much depended on his own personality. Some were apparently quite wealthy; it seems that the holder of the office was entitled to a proportion of the duty levied on trade goods, calculated either on place of origin of the goods or on the type of goods concerned.

(2) Administration of trade. At the apogee of the Melaka sultanate (late 15th century), the Šāh Bandar's rights and obligations were clearly defined. The laws of Melaka (Undang-Undang Melaka, see Bibl.) have various specific references. Thus he is described as the "Father and Mother" of foreign merchants. He generally determined weights and measures. He could order various punishments, up to death, for theft and murder at sea. He was responsible for public order in the ports (hence his title is sometimes translated as "harbourmaster") and for giving succour to and supervising shipwrecked sailors.

(3) Controller of trade groups. The entrepôt trade in Malaysia and Indonesia involved many different nationalities, and each had its own Šāh Bandar (thus for the Čām, the Siamese, the Javanese, the Kling (Indians), the Arabs, etc.). The function of each of these officials was to organise trade and finance within his own community, and between its members and the wider port community.

In addition to the above, there are minor references to the office, and the term is still used as a general honourific. It appears in Lingga [see BAY] in the first half of the 19th century. In the Negri Sembilan, in Malaysia, it appears as a clan title in the form "Dato Bandar", although there is no trade connection here.

SHAH BANDAR — SHAH MANSUR SHIRAZI


(M. B. Hooker)

SHAH DIAHAN (1000-76/1592-1666, r. 1037-68/1628-57). Mughal emperor, son of the Emperor Diahangir [q.v.] and his Radjit wife Manmati; his personal name was Khurram, the title of Shah Diahhan being granted to him by his father in 1025/1616.

His first responsible assignment came with his appointment to the Mewar campaign in 1022/1614. He was subsequently appointed shahadar of the Deccan in 1025/1616 and again in 1030/1621. In 1031/1622 he procured the murder of his elder brother Khusrav and afterwards rebelled in 1032/1623; driven out of the Deccan, he made his way to Bengal, but was defeated there, too, hence returned to the Deccan, where he submitted to his father (1035/1626). On Diahangir's death in 1036/1627, through the machinations of Asaf Khan, he ascended the throne in 1036/1627. He is the first Mughal emperor to have been almost continuously engaged in wars against the rival tribes of the Deccan.

He fell ill in Dhu 'l-Hijja 1067/September 1657, and his four sons Dara Shukoh, Shah Shujah, Awrangzib and Murad Baksh started making preparations to contest the throne. Awrangzib emerged victorious, and deposed and imprisoned his father in 1068/1658. In his imprisonment in the Agra fort, he was looked after by his loyal and talented eldest daughter Diahhan Arù. He died in 1076/1666, and lies buried by the side of his wife Mumtaz Mahall in the Taj Mahall.


(M. Athar Ali)

SHAH MALIK b. Ali Yabghu, the Oghuz Turkish [see OGUZ] ruler in the town of Dind [q.v. in Suppl.] on the lower Syr Darya in Transoxiana during the second quarter of the 11th century A.D.

Shah Malik, who is given by Ibn Funduk the kunya of Abu 'l-Fawārīs and the name of Husān al-Dawla and Nizām al-Milla, was the son and successor of the Oghuz Yabghu, head of a section of that Turkish tribe in rivalry with that one led by the Saljuk family of chiefs [see SALJUKS. ii]. It was this hostility that made Shāh Malik ally with the Ghaznavid Mas'ūd b. Mahmūd [q.v.] against his kinsmen the Saljūqs, and in 429/1043 the sultan appointed him as his governor over Khārazm [q.v.]. Shāh Malik successfully overran Khārazm, but with the triumph at Dandānkān [q.v. in Suppl.] in Khurasan of Toghril and Cagān Begs, et. al., was driven out of Khārazm by 435/1043-4. He fled southwards through Persia to Mātrakān and was eventually killed there, his short line being thus extinguished; by the time of his flight from Khārazm, Dind had probably already fallen into the hands of the Kıpçak [q.v.] Turks.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. These comprise mainly Bāyākī's Tā'īrī-i Mas'ūdī, Ibn Funduk's Ta'īrī, q.v. and the Malika-nāma as preserved in Ibn al-Ādhr and Mirkhwān.


(M. C. E. Bosworth)

SHAH MANSUR SHIRAZI, finance minister of the Mughal emperor Akbar (963-1014/1576-1605). Of Indian origin, he held an appointment as muṣīrīf (accountant) of the Royal khūṣkha-phānuma (perfume department), but incurred the hostility of powerful
noble and, dismissed from that post, became diwan (finance superintendent) at Djanwpur. After Khan Zaman’s rebellion and death (973/1566) he served as Mun’tim Khan’s diwan and the next bakhshi (court sergeant of troops). After Mun’tim Khan’s death (984/1576), he was again in personal difficulty, but won Akbar’s approval and was appointed uzair, sharing the control of finance ministry with Muṣaffar Khan and Tōḏar Mall. However, the latter two were soon assigned other duties, and Muṣair was mainly responsible for the new system of land revenue collection and payment of cash salaries to nobles according to their ranks or mansāb. In 986/1578 he prepared a new record of estimated revenues (girāv) based on the preceding ten years’ collections. He was himself raised to 1,000 dārī, a high rank at the time. But his rigour made him many enemies, and the rebellion of 988/1580 in Djanwpur, Bihār and Bengal was attributed to this cause. In 989/1581 later, the charge was found to be based on a forgery; but since some very high nobles (Man Singh [q.v.] and Shāhībāz Khan) were involved in it, Akbar seems to have decided to close the case. 


SHĀH MUHAMMAD B. ‘ABD AHMAD, popularly known as Mulla Shāh, a distinguished saint of the Kādirī silsila in India (992-1072/1584-1661). According to Djahān Arā, the name of his father was Mawlānā ʿAbdī, but Mulla Shāh refers to him in his mathnawī Risāla-yi niṣbat as ‘Abd Ahmad. Born in 992/1584, in Arkasa, a village of Badakhshan, he lived there for about 21 years. Later he visited Bāḥkū, Kābul and other places in search of a spiritual teacher. He was received by Bāḥkū, who made him his disciple. In 1023/1614-15 and felt close to his master, he settled in Lahore. He breathed his last in Lahore in 1072/1661, at the distance from the mausoleum of Miyan Mir. Dara Shukoh and Djalān Arā to his ward to stand surety for him, he was executed in 989/1581.

Bibliography: Tawkulluk Beg Kulali, Nuzka-i ʿabwāl-i ṣāḥebī, B. L. Or. 3203 (the author had lived in the company of Mullā Shāh for forty years; French summary; Molla Shāh et le spiritualisme oriental, par M. A. de Kremer, in JA, 6e série, tome xiii [1869], 105-59); Dārā Shukoh, Saknīt al-ʿawājīd, ms. author’s personal collection; idem, Ṣafwat al-bayyān, ms. the author’s personal collection; Dārā Shukoh, Javan-i ṣulāh, ms. author’s personal collection; Ṣafwat al-bayyān, ms. author’s personal collection; Muḥammad Shāḥ Kanbōh, Ṣamīl-i sabā, ed. Ghulām Yazdani, Calcutta 1899, iii, 370-2; Siddīk Hasan, Nirgārīstān-i sūkhan, Bhopal 1296, 44; Shāh ʿAli Lōdī, Tadhkira mirāt al-bayyān, Bombay 1326, 127; Mūḥsin Fānū, Dabistān-i maqābli, Lucknow 1881, 367; Gūlām Sarwar, Khānīnat al-sajjīd, i, Lucknow 1873, 172-4; Aī Dārā Kull Dāghstānī, Ṣidīr al-ṣawār, ms. B. L. Add. 16, 729; M. Aslam, Farab al-nāzīrin, in Oriental College Magazine, Lahore (May 1928), iv/3, 95-6; Rīdī Kull Kāhān, Ṣidīr al-ṣawār, in Jadhprī Dīri, Tehran 1305, 161-2; Khān (see MAHATHIR AL-DJAHAN)-, ʿAbīdī, Mathnawīyyat-i Mullā Shāh, in Gūrūsā, Srinagar (November 1962), 15-33. (K. A. Nizami)

SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN [see MAʿĀTHIR AL-UṢMAWA].

SHĀH NĪʿĀMAT AL-LĀH [see NĪʿĀMAT-AL-LĀHĪYAH].

SHĀH RŪD, a hydronym and toponym of Persia.

1. A river of the Elburz Mountains region of northwestern Persia. It runs from the south-east northwestwards from a source in the mountains west of Tehran and joins the Kīzī Uzen [q.v.] at Mangīl, the combined waters then making up the Safīd Rūd [q.v.], which flows into the Caspian Sea. The upper reaches of the Shāh Rūd are known as the Shāh Rūd-i Tālākān, to distinguish it from its right-bank affluent the Shāh Rūd-i Alamūt. This last rises near the Taḵt-e Sulaymān peak and is hemmed in by high mountains; its flanks are dominated by the ruins of a series of Assassin fortes- ceres from mediaeval Islamic times, the most famous of which is Alamūt [q.v.]. In the wider, more fertile parts of the Shāh Rūd valleys rice and corn are grown.

The Shāh Rūd is not navigable and is little noted in mediaeval sources. The first notice seems to be that of the 8th century Armenian geography, which describes it as a river of Daylam rising in the mountains of Tālākān (see Marquart, Erdnäscher, 126). In the 19th century, it became known through the travels of W. Montel (1832) and H. Rawlinson (1838), the first to identify the ruins of the Assassins on the time of Hasan-i Sabbāh [q.v.] (see A. Gabriel, Die Er- forschung Persiens, Vienna 1952, 147, 155, 217-18).

2. A district, mentioned by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, Nuṣaḥ, 82, tr. 85, as adjoining the districts
of Tālīsh [q.v.] (the Tawalish) in the north of Gilan; he states that its people were nominally Shafiʿ.

3. A town of western Khurāsān, lying just to the south of Bistām [q.v.] in lat. 36° 25' N. and long. 55° 58' E, altitude 1,360 m/4,460 feet. The town is

mentioned in unmediated social sources, but has become important since the 19th century from its position on the high road from Tehran to Khurāsān and now on the railway; there is also a road from it across the Elburz to Astārabād–Gurgān and the Caspian coastlands, which is normally passable all through winter. After the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the town was renamed Imamrud but has now reverted to the old name of Shahrud; it comes within the Sīmān province. The population in 1991 was 92,195 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Bibliography: For older references and the 19th century travellers, see the El art. Also Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 220-1, 366; Ad-
miralty handbooks. Persia, London 1945, index; Research (Ed.), Pictorial and descriptive Iran, iii, 171-3; Camb. hist. of Iran, i, 42-4.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SHAH RUKH b. TIMŪR, fourth son and suc-
cessor of Timūr (Tamerlane), was born on 14 Rabiʾ I 779/20 August 1377 of one of Timūr’s concubines, Taghāy Tarkān Aghā. In 794/1392 Timur appointed him to the new fortress of Shahrudkiyā north of the Jaxartes, and in 799/1397 made him governor of Khurāsān, Sīstān, and Māzandarān. Shah Rukh was married to two prestigious women, Gawharshād b. Ghiyāḥ al-Dīn Tarkān and Malikat Agha, the Cinggisid widow of his eldest brother Ṣamarkand in late 811/Spring 1409 and installed his

Umar Shaykh’s other sons continued to be troublesome; in the autumn of 818/1415, Shah Rukh attacked them and installed his son Ibrahim Sultān as governor of Fars. In the next two years he undertook campaigns to Kandahār and Kirmān, and dismissed the rebellious governor of An-

diwān, Ahmad b. Ṣamarkand. By 821/1418 Shah Rukh had removed his nephews from all major

SHAH RUD — SHAH RUKH

197

province. Kara Yusuf Kara Koyunlu had taken Adhar-

Adharbaydān had not been strongly held by Timūr, and Shah Rukh was content with nominal overlord-

ship and the possession of Kazwīn and Sulṭāniyya. After a year pacifying the region he installed ʿAli b. Kara ʿUthmān Ak Koyunlu as governor, and put an amir with an army in Sulṭāniyya.

The rule of Shah Rukh

Shah Rukh was quite willing to use violence; he exec-

uted both insubordinate followers and religious

figures, and wrought deliberate destruction in Sīstān and Adharbaydān. He was at the same time a cautious ruler, who rarely undertook campaigns with-

out provision of his rebellion and military

superiority and of local alliances. Most of his reign he

spent in Khurāsān, going in spring to hunt in Sarakhs and to visit the Mashhad shrine. Many military ex-

peditions were entrusted to his sons and amirs. Ulugh Beg campaigned aggressively against the Moghuls and the Doqids, and Ibrahim Sulṭān campaigned in Khuzistān and southern Persia. The balance of power in the north shifted after 830/1426-7 when the Uzbekks

defeated Ulugh Beg and Muhammad Djuki b. Shah Rukh; after this Ulugh Beg stopped campaigning in person. The Moghuls became aggressive and took Kashghar in 1435, while the Uzbekks under Abu ’l-Khayr Khān raided Transoxiana for the rest of Shah Rukh’s reign. Abu ’l-Khayr invaded Khūzestān and in 834/1430-1 and 839/1435; Shah Rukh quelled a winter army in Māzandarān to protect the frontier. In the west, Shah Rukh defended his political claims. On 5 Rajab 832/10 April 1429 he set out against Iskan-
dar b. Kara Yusuf Kara Koyunlu, who had seized Sulṭāniyya. He defeated Iskandar near Salmās on 18 Dhu ’l-Hijja 832/18 September 1429, and ap-

pointed Iskandar’s brother Abu Saʿīd governor. In spring 838/1433 Shah Rukh set out again against Adharbaydān, which had fallen to Iskandar. Iskan-
dar fled and local rulers submitted with little resistance. Shah Rukh made Djiḥānshāh b. Kara Yusuf governor of the region; this arrangement lasted until Shah Rukh’s death.

Shah Rukh exchanged embassies with a large number of powers. He received homage from many

neighbouring rulers: the Ak Koyunlu, the Dīhil Sultān, the rulers of Hormuz and, at least at the begin-
ing of his reign, the Ottoman sultāns. Shah Rukh’s attempts to assert superiority over the Mamlāk sultāns evoked increasing hostility up to the accession of Čaṅkū in 842/1438; after which rela-
tions werecordial though equal. Until the death of the Yung-lo emperor in 1424, Shah Rukh exchanged fre-
cquent embassies with China (a total of 20), and estab-
lished a rare level of formal equality with the emperor (M. Rossabi, Two Ming envoys to Inner Asia, in Young Pao, ix/i-1, 1-34).

Shah Rukh governed by balancing the power of his

subordinates, allowing them to hold office for long periods. The power of his two most eminent amirs—ʿAlikā Kūkelītān and Djalāl al-Dīn Frūzghān—was kept in check by overlapping responsibilities and the administrative authority of Shah Rukh’s son Bāyānshūr. In his dīwān the two pre-
eminent viziers—Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Ahmad up to 819/1416-17 and Khudābād Ghiyāḥ al-Dīn Pir Ahmad thereafter—shared authority with partners, and suf-
fered periodic demotions. Shah Rukh initiated the fiscal de-centralisation of the Timurid realm by distributing numerous sayyarahs, grants of land with tax immunity. The magnificence of provincial courts suggests that not all revenues were forwarded to the centre. Nonetheless, Shah Rukh retained sufficient funds to field a large army and to undertake major
restoration works in Balkh, Marw and Harat. Provincial governors enjoyed considerable autonomy but required permission for important campaigns. Shah Rukh, more over, appropriated the revenues of the nearby cities, and interfered occasionally in provincial affairs. From 820/1417-18 until near the end of his life, he suffered little insubordination.

Shah Rukh was presented as a ruler of exceptional piety, even as a renewer of the Islamic order. In the beginning of his reign he apparently proclaimed the restoration of the Shari'a and abrogation of the yasa (Djalal al-Din Abu '1-Fawaris, Ms. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Ms. A.F. 112, fol. lb-2b; Hafiz-i Abru, Zubdat at-ta'arruk i Baysungh, ms. Istanbul, Fatih 4371/1, fol. 486b, letter to China). He avoided drinking and twice publicly poured away wine. He was conspicuous in his involvement with religious affairs and his patronage of shrines, but harsh towards a'lamaz whose he questioned and popular religious movements such as the Nürbakhštštviya [q.v.] movement among the Kubrawiyya. On 23 Rabi' I 830/22 January 1247, a race was held in the Harūfiyya [q.v.] sect and Shah-i Shudja was appointed as the assassināte Shah Rukh. This led to executions and the exile of the Sufi poet Kāsim al-Anwār [q.v.], whom Shah Rukh linked to this event.

Shah Rukh did not fully abandon Mongol tradition. Mongol taxes remained in force, as did the Turco-Mongolian yarghū court, and Shah Rukh claimed to punish infringements against Mongol custom. He presented his dynasty as successor to the Il-Khans; his government was styled “Il-Khānī,” and he used Il-Khānī titles earlier applied to Timūr’s Cinggisid puppet khans, with whom he no longer maintained. (Nawā't, 163, 165, 171, etc.) His major act of literary patronage was the copying and continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn’s works.

Shah Rukh’s reign initiated an upsurge of Persian and Turkic cultural activity. There was a brief revival of the Uyghur alphabet, and the beginnings of Caghatay Turkic literature. He reconstructed the city walls and bazaar of Harat and built a magnificent shrine for ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī [q.v.] at Gāzurgāh. Gahwarshād built and endowed a shrine mosque at Mashhad, and a large mosque, madrasa and mausoleum complex outside Harat. Numerous other buildings were endowed by Shah Rukh’s amirs. His son Baysunghur [q.v.] was a major patron of book production. Provincial courts also flourished, under Ulugh Beg in Samarkand and Ibrāhīm Sultān in Shirāz, and under major amirs in Yazd and Khirāzam.

Near the end of Shah Rukh’s life, the death of several sons and amirs upset the balance of power in government. After Baysunghur died in 837/1433, and Amīr ʿAlikī in 544/1440, Firuzshāh was without equal in army and administration. His subsequent abuses led to an investigation by Shah Rukh, during which Firuzshāh died. Further financial scandals followed as well as a number of local rebellions, and increasing dissension within the dynasty. When Shah Rukh became ill in 848/1444-5, disorder broke out, particularly in Khurāsān. Gahwarshād tried to engineer the succession of her favourite grandson ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla b. Baysungh. These events encouraged Sultān Muhammad b. Baysunghur to rebel. Shah Rukh went against him, and executed several of his supporters. Shah Rukh died during a campaign, on 25 Dhu ‘l-Hijjah 850/13 March 1447.

The ensuing succession struggle ravaged Khurāsān and opened western Persia to the Kara Koyunlu. Within fifteen years, Shah Rukh’s line had largely destroyed itself, and Abū Saʿīd [q.v.], a descendant of Mirānshāh, succeeded in taking power.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article):

SHAH-i SHUDJA, Djalāl al-Dīn Abu l-Fawāris (d. 786/1384), a prince of the Muẓaffarīd [q.v.] dynasty in Persia (for the correct form of his name, see J. Aubin, La fin de l'État sarbadar du Khurasan, in JA, celsii [1974], 101-2 n. 32). Born on 22 Dju‘ādā’ī 1335/10 March 1333, he was the son of the dynasty’s founder, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muhammad, who gave him Kirmān as his appanage in 745/1343 and recognised him as his heir. In the division of the Muẓaffarīd territories following Mubāriz al-Dīn’s deposition and blinding by his sons in 760/1359, Shah-i Shudja, the son of ‘Abbās al-Dīn Fasā Khwāfī, was made governor of the eastern territories following Mubariz al-Din’s deposition and blinding by his sons in 760/1359.

Near the end of Shah Rukh’s life, the death of several sons and amirs upset the balance of power in government. After Baysunghur died in 837/1433, and Amīr ʿAlikī in 544/1440, Firuzshāh was without equal in army and administration. His subsequent abuses led to an investigation by Shah Rukh, during which Firuzshāh died. Further financial scandals followed as well as a number of local rebellions, and increasing dissension within the dynasty. When Shah Rukh became ill in 848/1444-5, disorder broke out, particularly in Khurāsān. Gahwarshād tried to engineer the succession of her favourite grandson ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla b. Baysunghur. These events encouraged Sultān Muhammad b. Baysunghur to rebel. Shah Rukh went against him, and executed several of his supporters. Shah Rukh died during a campaign, on 25 Dhu ‘l-Hijjah 850/13 March 1447.

The ensuing succession struggle ravaged Khurāsān and opened western Persia to the Kara Koyunlu. Within fifteen years, Shah Rukh’s line had largely destroyed itself, and Abū Saʿīd [q.v.], a descendant of Mirānshāh, succeeded in taking power.
Abarkuh. Here he built up a power-base, taking Kirman from a rebel who had seized possession of it. Together with his nephew Shah Yabgh, who had submitted to him, and the latter's brother Shah Mansur, he advanced on Shiraz and routed Shah Mahmud's forces. Sultan Ahmad in turn went over to Shah-i Shudja, and Shah Mahmud abandoned the city in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 776/July 1376. The recovery of his capital, however, did not mean that Shah-i Shudja enjoyed undisturbed rule. Although in 768/1366-7 Shah Mahmud again acknowledged his overlordship, the two rulers continued to engage in periodic conflict; at one point Shah-i Shudja's eldest son Sultan Uways rebelled and took refuge with Shah Mahmud. Following the latter's death on 9 Shawwal 776/13 March 1375, however, Shah-i Shudja was able to take over Isfahan despite a faction within the city which supported Uways.

Shaykh Uways having also died in 776/1375, Shah-i Shudja sought to avenge himself on the Djalayirids. He invaded Adharbaydjan, defeated the Djalayirid army on 6 Dzumal fitr 777/3 October 1375 (Mandhid, fol. 660a), and occupied Tabriz, Karabagh and Nakchivan, but was shortly obliged to withdraw. Peace was made with Uways's son and successor, Sultan Husayn, and cemented by the marriage of Husayn's sister to Shah-i Shudja's son Zayn al-'Abidin, on whom his father now conferred Isfahan. A subsequent campaign against Yazd brought to heel Shah Yabgh, who had again rebelled, but the prince's brother Shah Mansur fled to Mardin andarun and later to Baghdad. Over the next few years Shah-i Shudja intervened once more in the upheavals afflicting the Djalayirid principality, where the governor of Sultaniyya, Sariq 'Adil, rebelled and Husayn was embroiled with his brothers. Sariq 'Adil was obliged to accept Musaffarid overlordship in 781/1379-80; and when in 784/1382 Husayn was overthrown and killed by his brother Ahmad, Shah-i Shudja encouraged another dissident Djalayirid commander to occupy Shushtar and Baghdad and to strike coins and make the khutba in his name. Although Ahmad occupied Baghdad and sent the Musaffarid prince Shah Mansur to seize Shushtar, he was soon confronted with a bid by Sariq 'Adil at Sultaniyya to seize the throne on behalf of a third brother, Bayazid, and appealed to the Shah-i Shudja for assistance. In order to attend to Shushtar, Shah-i Shudja effected a reconciliation between the Djalayirid brothers; but he was unable to make any headway against Shah Mansur, with whom he made peace.

Soon after this campaign Shah-i Shudja died on 22 Shawwal 786/9 October 1384. His son Uways had predeceased him, and he was succeeded at Shiraz by his son Zayn al-'Abidin, who proved unable to enforce his authority over his kinsmen. One of Shah-i Shudja's last actions had been to write a letter interceding with Timur-i Lang on behalf of his family (Kutubi, 104-8), but this did not prevent the conqueror invading the Musaffarid territories and eventually destroying the dynasty. The chroniclers praise Shah-i Shudja's cultural accomplishments (Kutubi, 63). Although he himself wrote indifferent verse, he studied grammar and is celebrated as the patron and friend of the famous poet Hafiz (q.v.), who hailed his accession as the dawn of a more liberal era. Yet Shah-i Shudja was not without his faults: he was so preoccupied with his blinding both of his father and, in 785/1383, of his son Sultan Shibli, whom he suspected, groundlessly, of plotting against him (Kutubi, 99-100).


(P. Jackson)
originally been established as meydis. In two fermands dated 962/1555 and 970/1562-3 Könum Süleyman accored Şah Sultan permission to upgrade these two foundations into Friday mosques. The Davutoğlu mosque today is located in the garden of the Djerrah Paşa hospital; when it was restored in 1953, the original dome was supplanted by a tiled roof. The Eyüp foundation remained in the hands of the Khalwet-T Sunbul dervishes until the tekkes were closed in 1925. After the earthquake of 1180/1766, the foundations into Friday mosques. The Davutoğlu mosque and the zdwiye had built a mosque and mausoleum in Eyüp, whose architect was Miḥārvm Sinān. According to one source, the mosque and mausoleum were Zal Mahmud Paşa’s foundations, while Şah Sultan contributed a zāwiye. The exact date of construction remains unknown, but since in 987/1579 a muqaddas was appointed to the medrese, it must have been complete or else close to completion. While both mosque and mausoleum appear in two lists of Sinan’s works, the medrese is only mentioned in a single one. During this period, Miḥārm Sinān must have spent most of his energy on Sultan Selim II’s mosque in Edirne. Therefore the medrese, built on two levels linked by a staircase, may well be at least partly the work of another architect. Both Şah Sultan and her spouse died in 988/1580 and were buried in their common mausoleum.


SURAIYA FAROQHI

ŞAH TĀHIR AL-ḤUSAYN AL-DĀKKĀNI, son of the Imām Rādi al-Dīn II, the most famous imām of the Muhammad-šahī line of post-Alamut [q.v.].

He was a theologian, a poet, a stylist, and an accomplished diplomat who gave valuable services to the Niẓām-šahī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar in southern India, hence the surname al-Dakkāni because of this affiliation. He was born and brought up in Khund near Kāzwīn, where his ancestors had settled after the fall of Alamut and had acquired a large following. He was a gifted man and attained a high reputation for his learning and piety. However, he was invited by the Sultanlar Şah Ismai‘īl I [q.v.] to join other scholars at his court; however, Şah Tāhir’s religious following aroused Şah Ismai‘īl’s suspicious mind, and only after the intercession of Mīrza Ḥusayn Isfahānī (who was an influential dignitary and might have been a secret convert and a follower of the imām)
was Shah Tahir allowed to settle down in Kashan, where he became a religious teacher. Soon his influence over the people and his popularity among them aroused the hostility of the local officials and the Twelver Shi'a scholars, who maliciously reported to the Shah, accusing Shah Tahir of heretical teaching. Hence, in 926/1520 the Imam was obliged to flee with his family.

He first went to Fars and then sailed to India. After landing in Goa he went to the court of Isma'il 5th Adil Shah in Bijapur. Disappointed with his reception, he decided to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and to the Shi'i shrines of Najaf and Karbala, which were located in the Safavid territories in the east of Persia. However, on his way to the seaport he met some high dignitaries of Burhan Nizam Shah, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and was invited there: In 928/1522 the Imam arrived in the capital of Nizam-Shahi state and soon became the most trusted adviser of the Shah and attained a highly privileged position at his court. The Indian historian Firigha, who has given the most detailed account of his life, relates an interesting story of his miraculous healing of Burhan Nizam Shah's young son, which brought about the latter's conversion from Sunnism to Shi'ism. Shortly after his own conversion, Burhan Nizam Shah proclaimed Twelver Shi'ism as the official religion of the state. Our sources state that the form of Shi'ism propagated by Shah Tahir, himself a Nizari Imam, was Twelver Shi'ism, which may seem strange. However, one must bear in mind that Shah Tahir and his predecessors were obliged to observe takyia [q.v.], so that they propagated Nizari Isma'ilism in the guise of Twelver Shi'ism and Sufism. This explains why he wrote several commentaries on the theological and jurisprudential works of the well-known Twelver scholars and a commentary on the famous Sufi treatise Guldhan-i raza. Except for some of his poetry and excerpts of his correspondence, nothing seems to have survived. He died at Ahmadnagar between 952/1545-6, the year mentioned by the contemporary Safavid prince Sâm Mirza, and 956/1549, the date recorded by Firigha. His remains were later transferred to Karbalâ.

Bibliography: For a detailed description of his works and sources, see I. Poonawala, Bibliography of Isma'ilî literature, Malibu 1977, 271-5; F. Daffary, The Isma'ilîs: their history and doctrines, Cambridge 1972, 471, 487-90. (I. Poonawala, however, makes the town his capital and died and was buried there in 956/1549, the date recorded by Firigha. His remains were later transferred to Karbalâ.)

SHAH WALI ALLAH [see AL-TEHRAWI, SHAIKH WÂLI ALLAH].

SHAHADA (A.), the verbal noun from shahida, a verb which means successively (1) to be present (somewhere), as opposed to ghâfa “be absent”; whence (2) see with one's own eyes, be witness (of an event); whence (3) attest, certify s. th. sultân. Shahâda can thus mean in the first place “that which is there”, whence “that which can be seen”, as in the Kur'anic formula in which God is described as 'âlim al-ghayb wa 'l-shahdda “He who knows what is invisible and visible” (VI, 73; IX, 94; 105; XIII, 9; etc.). Another sense, more commonly used, is that of witnessing, the declaration by means of which the witness to an event testifies to the reality of what he has seen (or claims to have seen); this is the sense in Kur'an, II, 282-3 (in regard to a debt), V, 106-8 (in regard to a bequest), XXIV, 4, 6 (concerning adultery), LXV, 2 (at the time of a divorce), and, from this point of departure, in legal language [see SHAHIDA]. A third usage (not directly Kur'anic but implicit in III, 19, VI, 19 and LXIII, 1) is the religious sense, in which shahâda denotes the Islamic profession of faith, the act of declaring “There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God”. Sometimes, one speaks in this case of al-shahâdadun ‘ilâ ‘l-halâla ‘l-kabir “the two shahâdas” [see TAMAHHUN]. Finally, by extension of this third sense, shahâda can refer to the supreme manner of affirming the Islamic faith, that of the martyr in the cause of Islam [see MAZHAD and SHAHAD].

Bibliography: See the Ishk books and the Bibl. to SHARID.

(D. GIMARET)

SHAHANSHAH [see SHAH].

SHAHARA, also commonly Shuhara, the name of a large mountain town, also known as Tamamum, in the district (nahiyah) al-Ashar in the Yemen, placed by Werdecker (Contribution, 138) at 16° 14' lat. N. and 43° 40' long. E., i.e. approximately 90 km due east of the Red Sea coast and 110 km north, slightly west, of San'ât [q.v.]. Al-Ahnâm was originally of Hāshid, one of the two divisions of Hamdân. Today, however, the majority of its tribal groups are of Bakîl, the other division, and it is counted as Bakîl territory.

The town was always a centre of learning and produced a number of famous poets and poets. Although her poetry was never assembled into a collection, it finds a respected place in Yemeni literature; she also wrote some prose.

SHAHARIDJA (much less frequently shahandj_; sing. shaharidj), Arabised form of the Persian shahrīji shahrīgan, and the name given to some local notables in provincial administration. However, the material testimony is conspicuously silent when it comes to the Shaharidja (as opposed to the shahrats), and Gyselen has argued that the Shaharidja of the Sasanid period were representatives of the dihāns, rather than administrative officials; insofar as the later evidence from northern Mesopotamia sheds any light on the Sasanid period, the Shaharidja should certainly be interpreted as local notables, but how they related to the dihāns is less clear.

The earliest attestation of the Shaharidja in the Islamic sources comes in Abu Mikhnāf’s account of the conquest of Takrit (here put in year 16/637), where they join a Byzantine force and local Arab tribes in defence of the town; al-Baladhurī also mentions the toponym Tall al-Shaharidja in his account of the conquest of Mawsil, which, if we admit it as authentic, indicates their presence in the north before Islam (for a possible parallel, see Nödeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber, 446, on Theophylactus Simocatta). Local Nestorian sources of the 9th century portray the Shaharidja as local headmen and wealthy notables, who lived in several towns and villages in the province of Mawsil; according to Thomas of Marga, they levied onerous taxes on the dihāns. But Thomas also accuses them of holding the aberrant view that “Christ was a mere man” (barnāšī ʾishāma), and it is therefore hard to know how much of his information is polemical. Although an e x e n t u s prophecy recorded by Thomas suggests that their role in local taxation began to fade at the end of the 2nd Islamic century, they were known in the north as late as Ibn Hawkal’s time. The evidence for their presence in Irāk (as opposed to Mawsil) during the Islamic period is so thin and stereotypical that firm conclusions are impossible. 

SHAHDAÑADÍ (also shahdānād, ʒeːhɑːdːənɑːd, ʃeːhɑːdːənɑːd, ʃeːhɔrɑːdɑːnɑːd) hempseed. In Greek pharmacology and throughout the Arab counterpart, it was known as a minor simple, useful for drying out fluid in the ear by dripping its oil into it, harmful in that it caused headache and sexual dysfunction when eaten in large quantities, and the like. The word was commonly accepted as the Persian equivalent of Greek cannabis, ̬κάνναβος, and hence served as an other term for braskh (q.v.); this may explain why so many different forms were in use. 


SHĀHDJAHĀNĀBAD (see deed II)

AL-SHAHHAM, ʿABD YAʾSUM YŪNUS b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIshaq, Muʿazzil the theologian of the Baṣrān school (3rd/9th century). His exact dates are unknown. His biographers only say that he was the youngest, or among the youngest, of the disciples of Abu ʿl-Hudhayl (d. 227/841 [q.v.]), that he died aged 80 and that his death was after 257/871, when he was for a while prisoner of the Zanj, until these last overran Baṣra.

As his name implies, he was a seller of fat, and under al-Wāḥibī held administrative posts in the taxation office or diwān al-ḥarāq. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (cited in Ibn Ḥaḍrāt, Liṣān, vi, 325), he is said to have even headed this department. According to other sources, he was reportedly simply charged as a “religious figure”, and in the general framework of the suppression of abuses, to oversee in this regard the conduct of al-Fadl b. Marwān [q.v.]. He was a disciple both of Abu ʿl-Hudhayl and, it seems, of Muʿammar [q.v.] (thus according to al-Khayyāt, Intiṣār, ed. Nader, 45, ii, 15-17), and eventually became head of the Muʿtazilī school in Baṣra. He was the chief master of ʿAbū ʿAlī al-Dīabhār [q.v.]. A trenchant polemist, he is said to have written numerous refutations, as well as, notably, a Kurān commentary (for all biographical details, see ʿAbd al-Dīabhār, Faḍl al-ṭalāṣā, Tunis 1974, 280-1; al-Ḥakim al-Diḥānī, Ṣabīr ʿayn al-maṣāliḥī, ms. Sanʿā’, Great Mosque, ʿilm al-kalām, no. 212, fol. 59a; Ibn al-Muṭafād, Taḥkāt al-muṭāṣilī, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1961, 71-2; and on the episode of the Zanj, ʿAbd al-Dīabhār, Ṭaḥkīt dalaʾl al-nuḥwa wa, Beirut 1966, 341).

He is characterised by two main theses:

(1) Concerning the science of God on the question whether God has knowledge from all eternity (lam yaqūl śīlim mī ṣīyāt)—a question debated at length in al-Ashʿarī, Makālīt, Wiesbaden 1963, 158-63—he was amongst those answering affirmatively (see ibid., 162, ii, 8-17). This means that he admitted that, given the fact that the universe is created, “things are things even before they come into existence”; in other words, that “what is not yet in existence is a thing” (al-μuṭāṣil šīla), a thesis which the majority of later Muʿtazīs, Baṣrans as well as Baghdādīs, made their own. A relatively late tradition holds that, within the Muʿtazī school, al-Shahhām was the first to uphold such a principle (see al-Dīwānī, Shīml, Alexandria 1969, 124, ii, 6-7; al-Shahrastānī, Niḥāya, Oxford 1934, 151, ii, 2-5).

In reality, his contemporaries and compatriot ʿAbbāb b. Sulaymān [q.v.] held the same view (see Makālīt, 158, ii, 16 ff. and 493, ii, 9 ff.). Al-Shahhām simply went further, saying that bodies even are bodies before they come into being, a viewpoint which was later taken up by the Baghdādī al-Khayyāt [q.v.] (in his Farāk, ed. ʿAbd al-Hamīd, Cairo n.d., 179, ii, 15 ff., al-Baghdādī attributes to al-Khayyāt the reasoning that, in Makālīt, 162, ii, 12-16, 504, ii, 16 ff., al-ʿAshīrī attributes to al-Shahhām).

(2) Regarding God’s power, considered in its
connection with human acts, al-Shahham upheld, against all the other Muctazills (thus in... and seals of the Shahs of Iran, Oxford 1951. (R.E. DARLEY-DORAN)

**SHAHID (A., lit. “witness”, pi. shuhadda), a word**

in 792/1390 at 5.38 gr, half the weight of the

yi nukra

Makdldt, Majmud, 549, 11. 2-3; this common possibility ap-

pares, whether it is God who produces it and it is then an act of God alone, or whether it is man, and in this case it is exclusively an act of man (see Makdldt, 199, ii. 8-9, 549, ii. 13 ff.; Majdmd, I, 379, ii. 11-12, 15-16; ‘Abd al-Djabbar, Mughni, Cairo 1963, viii, 275, ii. 16-18).

**Bibliography:** Given in the article, to which should be added Agha’ari, Makdldt, 277, ii. 3-13; 415, ii. 6-8; ‘Abd al-Djabbar, Fadl, 256, ii. 1-10; Abu ‘l-Mu‘tin al-Nasafi, Tahsmdn, Damascus 1993, ii, 548, ii. 8-10, 724, ii. 9-11; Ibn Abi ‘l-Hadld, Shahg Majdld-halagha, Cairo 1959, i, 7, ii. 6-10; J. van Ess, Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hicdrza, iv, § 4.1.3. (D. GIMARET)

**SHAHID (r.), lit. “royal, kingly”**. In numismatics, the name of a silver coin denomination in Safavid and post-Safavid Persia until inflation gradually drove it out of circulation. The name originated in Persia after Timur introduced his tanga-yi nukra in 792/1390 at 5.38 gr, half the weight of the Dihl Sultanate tanga, 10.76 gr. Under Shah Rukh the tanga-yi nukra’s weight was reduced to that of the mithkd, 4.72 gr, and received the popular name gharakhi. Between Shah Rukh’s death in 853/1449 and the accession of Shah Isma’1 II Safavid in 907/1501 the coinage of Persia underwent a rapid and continuing debasement. Shah Isma’il then stabilised the coinage and issued three main silver denominations during the period of his first coinage standard, 908-23/1502-17 weighing one, two and four mithkdl. On the basis of the one mithkd coin weighed the same as the gharakhi, Fragner concluded that this was the shahi which valued at 50 dinars, but Rabino and Farahbakhsh assigned the same name and dinar value of the shahi to the two mithkd weight denominations. This appears to be no contemporary historical evidence to decide this issue, although the Persian numismatic tradition may be favoured. After a series of steep devaluations in 923, 928, 938 and 945 A.H., all authorities are in agreement that the shahi of Tahmasb I was peared to be a contemporary historical evidence to decide this issue, although the Persian numismatic tradition may be favoured. After a series of steep devaluations in 923, 928, 938 and 945 A.H., all authorities are in agreement that the shahi of Tahmasb I was

weighed a half-mithkd (12 nukhd), about 2.30 gr, and continued to be valued at 50 dinars, with 200 shahi being equal to one tumdn.

A new set of denominations in which one of his new rivd was valued at 25 shahi or 1,250 dinars, 8 riydl were worth one tumdn, while the smallest circulating coin, the shahi safid, the white shahi to distinguish it from the copper, or black shahi, actually had a real value of 3.125 shahi. When the kirán standard was intro-

duced in 1214/1825, 10 kirán were valued at one tumdn, one kirán at 20 shahi or 1,000 dinars, while the circulating silver coins were issued at the value of one, half, quarter and eighth-kiran.

In 1305 the first decimal coinage was introduced at the central government mint at Tehran. Copper coins were then issued with the value of 200, 100, 50, 25 and 12 dinars, but in the year 1305 the 100 dinar coin was actually named the riydl shahi and the 50-dinar one the shahi. Between 1296/1879 and 1342/1924, the smallest silver coin was the shahi safid weighing 3.25 nukhd or 0.7 gr. These small coins, while named shahi, had an actual value of three copper shahi, and were struck for special distribution at the Na’uruz [g. v.] celebrations. Three varieties are known. One bore the shahs’ names and titles on the obverse, and the Persian lion and sun emblem and date on the reverse, and was presumably given as presents to and amongst the secular administration. The second carries the rulers’ names and titles as before, with the legend “O Master of the Age! To Thee be Greetings!” referring to the Twelfth Imam, and the third bears the same invocation to the Twelfth Imam with the Persian lion and sun and the date on the reverse. These, presumably, were intended for distribution within the religious community. With the coming of the Pahlawis, the striking of the shahi safid ceased, and privately struck tokens took its place as Na’uruz gifts.

In 1309 A.H./1930, Ridä Sháh Pahlawí [g. v.] introduced a new coin standard, valuing the tumdan at ten riydl, the roydl at 100 dinars, and the shahi at five dinars. The last appearance of the shahi denomination in the Persian coinage was in 1314 A.H./1935 when the half-riydl (50 dinars) was given the name of 10 shahi. The final fractional riydl, a 50-dinar coin, which was the last vestige of the shahi, appeared only once after the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Iran when it was issued as part of the first republican coinage dated 1338 A.H./1959.

Elsewhere, there is evidence that the name shahi as a shortened form of gharakhi was colloquially applied to those silver coins influenced by the Persian coinage system which circulated in pre- and early Mughal India, weighing around a half-tanga or one mithkd.


**SHAHID (a., lit. “witness”, pl. shahidat), a word**
often used in the sense of “martyr”. In the Kur'ān it is attested in its primary meaning (e.g. II. 282, XXIV, 4) and also occurs as one of the divine names (e.g. V. 117). Muslims scholars maintain that in a number of verses, 

šahīd or šahīda means “martyrs”, as in III, 140 (“So that God may know those who believe and may take ṣūhādat from among you”), IV, 69 (“Whoever obeys God and the messenger—they are with those whom God has blessed, prophets, just men, šuhādat and the righteous”), XXXIX, 69 and LVII, 19; and they explain in various ways how this meaning derives from the verb ṣūhāda (see Lane, s.v.). God willing, in contrast, those who remain alive are “martyrs”. 

ṣūhāda was post-Kur'ānic and reflected the use among Christians of the Greek martyrs and Syriac sāhāda (Muslim studies, ii, 350-1; cf. Wensinck, The oriental doctrine, 1, 9; šahīdī in EP [W. Björkman]). What is not in doubt is that the Kur'ān refers to the reward for those slain in the way of God (fī sabīl Allāh) (II, 154, III, 157, 169, IV, 74, IX, 111, XLVII, 4-6).

A large body of traditions describes the bliss awaiting the saints that they have forgiven; he will be protected from the torments of the grave; a crown of glory will be placed on his head; he will be married to seventy-two houris and his intercession will be accepted for up to seventy of his relations. When the martyrs behold the delights awaiting them, they will ask to be brought back to life and killed again; but this is one request which even they will be denied. The Kur'ānic statement that the ṣūhādat are alive (āhīd) is often (but not always) interpreted literally (see D. Gimaret, Une lecture muḥāzilite du Korān, Louvain-Paris 1994, 120, 202-3). According to some traditions, the spirits of the martyrs will ascend directly to Paradise, there to reside in the craws of green birds near God's throne. During the Resurrection these spirits will be returned to the martyr's earthly bodies and the martyrs will then be given their abode in Paradise (dār al-ṣūhādat).

There are two main types of martyr, the difference between them being marked by the fact that martyrs of the first type have special burial rites while those of the second do not. The first type are ṣūhādat al-ma'raka, “battlefield martyrs”. They are referred to as “martyrs both in this world and the next” (ṣūhādat al-dunya wa l-ākhiri), meaning that they are treated as martyrs both in this world (in that they undergo the special burial rites) and in the world to come. The burial rites accorded to battlefield martyrs differ from those accorded to other Muslims in the following ways:

(i) Qaṣīl [q.v.]. There is widespread agreement among Sunni and non-Sunnī jurists that the martyr's body should not as a rule be washed. This position is based on the precedent of the Prophet's actions at Uḥud and elsewhere and on the belief that martyrdom removes the impurity which adheres to a person's body at death. A minority view was held by some early authorities, including Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (d. ca. 94/713), al-Ḥasan al-Asbārī [q.v.] and the Baṣraī 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Anbarī (d. 168/785). Their view is that the Prophet acted in extraordinary circumstances and that his actions should therefore not serve as a precedent; in addition, they hold that martyrs are subject to the same laws of impurity as others. A special case is the martyr who dies without having performed the qaṣīl following sexual intercourse, and it is held that his body should be washed. This view is also held by abū Hanīfā, Ibn Ḥanbal and the Isbādis. These jurists cite the precedent of the Anṣārī Ḥanāzāl b. Abī ʿAmir: he was with his wife when called upon to fight at Uḥud and was killed before he could perform the qaṣīl; the angels washed his body, and he is therefore known as ṣūhātī al-malātīka. A further point, allegedly made by Abū Ḥanīfā, is that martyrdom does not cancel an impurity which adhered to a person at the time of martyrdom; while he was killed, his body should be treated like any other battlefield martyr by not being washed include Abū Yūsuf, al-Shāybānī and some later Hanafis. Conflicting views on this point are also found among Mālikīs, Shāfīʿīs, Zaydis and Imāmīs. 

(ii) Clothes. The belief that the martyr's blood-stained clothes will constitute proof of his status on the Day of Judgment is the main reason for holding that he should be buried in the garments in which he was killed. But items of clothing which cannot normally serve as shrouds (e.g. headgear, footwear, fur or skin clothes) may not be buried with him; nor should his weapons accompany him to the grave, as this was a Dāhili custom. The Shāfīʿīs, Mālikīs and Hanbalīs maintain that if the martyr's next of kin (ādliyya) do not wish to bury him in his garments, they may use shrouds instead. 

(3) Prayers. There are conflicting accounts of the Prophet's behaviour at Uḥud: according to some he prayed over the martyrs, according to others he did not. Those who hold that the former should serve as a precedent include the Hanafis, Zaydis and Imāmīs. Opponents of prayers over the martyrs include the Shāfīʿīs and Mālikīs, as well as many of the older Meccan and Medinan authorities. Ibn Ḥazm argues that both accounts are equally reliable and that either practice may therefore be followed, while the Hanbalīs are split over the issue, depending on which of two ru'ūya's from Ibn Hanbal they choose to follow. One argument (attributed to al-Shāfīʿī) against prayers over the martyrs is that the martyrs are alive, while prayers are held only for the dead. Another argument is based on the notion that the aim of such prayers is to intercede on the dead person's behalf, as the martyr has been cleansed of all sins, he is in no need of such intercession. In contrast, supporters of such prayers claim that no-one can dispense with a request to God for His mercy and forgiveness, and that the martyrs, more than anyone else, deserve to have this request made on their behalf.

There is some difference of opinion as to who is included in the category of battlefield martyrs. While it is agreed that those who die before the battle is over are those who are killed in battle, there are divergent views as to whether a martyr in battle in order to further God's religion and in anticipation of His reward (iḥtiṣāb), there are some jurists who add that they must have died in a battle against unbelievers, whereas others maintain that their death in battle should have been caused by an act of injustice (zulm). Again, some jurists insist that these martyrs must have been killed by an army soldier, while others do not make this stipulation. All agree that death must be a direct and immediate result of the wounds received, but the interpretation of this rule varies; it is often taken to mean that the warrior must die before he has had a chance either to eat, drink, sleep, receive medical treatment, be moved away, or dictate his last will and testament. The Shāfīʿīs stipulate only that he should not have eaten during the time between his injury and his death, and that his death should have occurred either before or shortly after the battle ended. 

Tradition has recorded the names of numerous battlefield martyrs who died during the Prophet's lifetime; they include members of his immediate family, such as his paternal uncle Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (known as sayyid al-ṣūhādat) and his cousin Djaʿfar b. Abī Tālib [q.v.] Far greater numbers fell...
during the conquests which followed the Prophet's death. Most died on land, some at sea; the latter are said to receive the reward of two martyrs who die on land. Many fought against heavy odds and their behaviour is cited as an example of the "wish for martyrdom" (talab al-shahīdā). Such zeal was also common among various Kharids groups. The number of martyrs of this kind declined with the end of the first great wave of conquests, although it rose again whenever particular historical circumstances (such as the Crusades) revived calls for dhikād (cf. E. Sivan, L'Islam et la croisade, Paris 1968, 50-2, 110, 134 and passim). At the same time, the increasing importance attached to the defence of the border areas led to the elevation of fallen murābiṭun to the rank of martyrs [see Kharid groups]. In eschatological times, martyrs will fight on the side of the Mahdī [q.v.], just as the early martyrs fought alongside the Prophet.

Battlefield martyrdom has captured the imagination of Muslims throughout the ages. A martyr's death in combat is the apotheosis of the believer's aspirations; it is the noblest way to depart this life (hence the motif of the old man who rushes forth to battle) and is a guarantee of God's approval and reward. In his willingness to lay down his life for a higher cause, the believer overcomes that most basic of instincts, fear of death. Nor is the reaction to his death necessarily one of grief: there are accounts in medieval Sunni sources of mothers who express gratitude at the news of their sons' martyrdom and forbid any mourning over them; and similar reports have appeared in modern times, most spectacularly on the Iranian side during the Iran-Iraq war (1980-8). It is the behaviour of these mothers which is so striking, regardless of whether it reflects their true feelings. The significance of the martyr's death transcends the individual; in the eyes of ordinary Muslims, he endows his entire community with purity and grace, and his immediate family are the object of admiration and support.

The second major type of martyr are the "martyrs in the next world only" (ghufradī al-ahlakhīr); they are not accorded distinctive burial rites. Among them are the murathalīhin, lit. "those who are worn out", i.e. warriors who in other respects qualify as battlefield martyrs, but whose death is not a direct and immediate result of their wounds. The question whether a person should be accorded the status of a martyr only in the next world is, however, a unique position. He has traditionally been regarded as a battlefield martyr to be emulated for his willingness to lay down his life for a higher cause. The tombs of Husayn and the other Imamis are the most important shrines in the Shi'i world; many non-Shi'i martyrs are also accorded a cult, and their burial places became centres of pilgrimage [see Mashhad].

(1) Persons who die violently or prematurely. Martyrs of this type include:

(a) Those murdered while in the service of God. Foremost among them are the caliphs 'Umar, 'Uthmān (who is sometimes regarded as a battlefield martyr) and 'Ali. The Prophet himself was occasionally described as a shahīd, since his death was supposedly precipitated by his tasting a piece of poisoned mutton offered him by Zaynab b. al-Harith at the time of the Khaybar expedition.

(b) Those killed for their beliefs. Pre-Islamic figures include various prophets, most prominently Yahyā (John the Baptist) (for whom see e.g. Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, Man 'ṣaḥba b'ld-maṣūl, Cairo 1352/1934, 17-8), and righteous persons such as Ḥābīb al-Nadī’dār [q.v.]. During the early years of Muhammad's mission, Sumayya, the mother of 'Ammār b. 'Yāsir [q.v.] (who himself fell at Siffin), is said in some reports to have been stabbed to death by Abū Zaid after she had openly embraced Islam; some say that she was the very first martyr in Islam. An example from the time of the mihna [q.v.] is that of Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuza'ī, who refused to acknowledge that the Kur'an was created and was beheaded in 231/846 by order of the caliph al-Wathik. Such zeal was also common among various Kharids groups. The number of martyrs of this kind declined with the end of the first great wave of conquests, although it rose again whenever particular historical circumstances (such as the Crusades) revived calls for dhikād (cf. E. Sivan, L'Islam et la croisade, Paris 1968, 50-2, 110, 134 and passim). At the same time, the increasing importance attached to the defence of the border areas led to the elevation of fallen murābiṭun to the rank of martyrs [see Kharid groups]. In eschatological times, martyrs will fight on the side of the Mahdī [q.v.], just as the early martyrs fought alongside the Prophet.

Battlefield martyrdom has captured the imagination of Muslims throughout the ages. A martyr's death in combat is the apotheosis of the believer's aspirations; it is the noblest way to depart this life (hence the motif of the old man who rushes forth to battle) and is a guarantee of God's approval and reward. In his willingness to lay down his life for a higher cause, the believer overcomes that most basic of instincts, fear of death. Nor is the reaction to his death necessarily one of grief: there are accounts in medieval Sunni sources of mothers who express gratitude at the news of their sons' martyrdom and forbid any mourning over them; and similar reports have appeared in modern times, most spectacularly on the Iranian side during the Iran-Iraq war (1980-8). It is the behaviour of these mothers which is so striking, regardless of whether it reflects their true feelings. The significance of the martyr's death transcends the individual; in the eyes of ordinary Muslims, he endows his entire community with purity and grace, and his immediate family are the object of admiration and support.

The second major type of martyr are the "martyrs in the next world only" (ghufradī al-ahlakhīr); they are not accorded distinctive burial rites. Among them are the murathalīhin, lit. "those who are worn out", i.e. warriors who in other respects qualify as battlefield martyrs, but whose death is not a direct and immediate result of their wounds. The question whether a person should be accorded the status of a martyr only in the next world is, however, a unique position. He has traditionally been regarded as a battlefield martyr to be emulated for his willingness to lay down his life for a higher cause. The tombs of Husayn and the other Imamis are the most important shrines in the Shi'i world; many non-Shi'i martyrs are also accorded a cult, and their burial places became centres of pilgrimage [see Mashhad].

(c) Those who die through disease or accident. Early collections of Hadith specifically mention victims of the plague (ṣūrān [q.v.]), of puerperal or of an abdominal disease (diarrhoea or colic), those who drown, die in a fire or are struck by a falling house or wall, and
women who die in childbirth; other forms of death were added at a later date. According to al-Badji [q.v.], the elevation of these persons to the rank of martyrs is divine compensation for the painful deaths which they suffer.

(d) The "martyrs of love" (shahadāt al-bubb) and the "martyrs who died far from home" (shahadāt al-glurba) may also belong here. The former are, according to a Prophetic tradition, those who love, remain chaste, conceal their secret and die (Ibn Dawud, K. al-Zahra al-Isfahani, Cairo 1368-9, 106-7; L.A. Giffen, Theory of profane love among the Arabs, New York and London 1971, 99-115). The latter are those who leave their homes (e.g. in order to preserve their faith in times of persecution) and who die in a foreign land.

(2) Persons who die a natural death, either (a) while engaged in a meritorious act such as a pilgrimage, a journey in search of knowledge (fi talab al-trīm) or a prayer (including a prayer for death on the battlefield) (b) after leading a virtuous life. In ascetic circles, those who die after spending their lives waging war against their appetite soul (nafs) were regarded as martyrs in the "greater ḍhīḥād" [see gūtnā]; and according to some Imāmī traditions, every believer (i.e. every Imāmī Shīʿī), even if he dies in his own bed, is a ḍhīḥādī who will be treated as if he had been killed fighting alongside the Prophet. Other Imāmī traditions declare as martyrs those who in their lifetime practised mudārāt, i.e. who treated others in a friendly manner while concealing their true attitude towards them. It has been suggested that the extension of the term ḍhīḥādī to cover cases of non-violent death was a reaction against what was deemed a fanatical enthusiasm for self-sacrifice (Goldziher, Muslim studies, ii, 352).

(3) Living martyrs. They include those who, having joined the "greater ḍhīḥād" (shīhādah), successfully fight their nafs. The Sūfi author Abū ʿAbd al-Rāhmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) [q.v.] declares that the battlefield martyr is a ḍhīḥādī only externally (fi ḍhīḥādī), the true martyr (fi ḍhīḥādī khābīsa) is he whose nafs has been slain while he continues to live in accordance with the Sūfī rules (Manābīd al-sīra, ed. E. Kohlberg, in JASA, i [1979], 30).

A number of questions relating to ḍhīḥādī (particularly of the military kind) were debated in theological circles. For example, a majority of Muʿtazillīs are said to have held that "no one is allowed to wish for martyrdom... A Muslim is only obliged to wish for fortitude (ṣabr) to bear the pain of wounds, should he be afflicted with them". The argument put forward was that the Muslim's wish for martyrdom could only be fulfilled by his being killed; and since killing a Muslim is an act of unbelief, it follows that the Muslim would be wishing for such an act to take place. A related question concerns God's attitude to the death of His servants as martyrs. This question was already addressed by the Ibnādī ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd (fl. second half of the 2nd/8th century): he argued that since martyrdom could only come about through death at the hands of a sinner, it followed that God wants (ahabba) the sinner to perform the sin which God knows he will perform. In his refutation of this view, the Ẓayyīdī Imam Ahmad al-Nāṣir (d. 922/1519) maintained that God does not want sinners to kill believers, nor does He determine that this should happen; only after a Muslim has been killed does God refer to him as a ḍhīḥādī (al-Nāṣir, K. al-Naqdī, ed. W. Madelung, Wiesbaden 1405/1985, 127-39). For ʿAbd al-Ḍhāibār [q.v.], God's wish that martyrdom should occur does not mean that He wishes His servants to die: one may wish for something without wishing for the prerequisites for its attainment. Ibn ʿAzīzī exeges, in line with their belief that God does not command evil, interpret the permission (iddīn) of Kurān, III, 166 ("And what happened to you on the day on which the two armies clashed happened with God's permission"), as meaning that God allowed the unbelievers freedom of action (takhliya) by removing any obstacles from their way; it does not mean that God decreed the death of the believers.

A general battlefield martyrry is one whose actions proceed from the right intention (niyya) [q.v.]. But people's intentions are only known to God; in this world people are treated according to their apparent state. This means that even those who went into battle for the wrong reasons (for instance, to show off their prowess or to partake of the spoils) or without true belief in their hearts (as in the case of the munākhīn) are nevertheless accorded the burial rites of the battlefield martyr (provided of course that they meet the other necessary conditions). They are known as "martyrs in this world only" (shuhada al-dunya), and will not enjoy the rewards of martyrs in the next world; indeed, some reports say that they will suffer the torments of hell. The right intention is also required of certain kinds of shuhada al-akhirā (though not, say, of victims of disease or accident); but there is no specific term to designate the pseudomartyrs among them.


[ii] Taʾṣif: interpretations of the Kurʿānic shāhīdah as martyrs are to be found in commentaries on the relevant verses, e.g. ʿAbū ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāsimī, al-Mugny, Cairo 1368/1988, iv, 106-7 (to III, 140).


References:
In Islamic law, testimony (`ashadah) is the paramount medium of legal evidence (baya'nah [p. v.]), the other means being acknowledgement (ikrdr [q.v.]) and the oath (yamin [q.v.]). Testimony is "a statement in court based on observation, introduced by the words 'I testify (`ashahda), concerning the rights of others." Giving testimony in court on what one has seen or heard is a collective obligation (fard `ala `l-kiyfsa), which becomes an individual one in case someone will lose his right if a specific person does not testify to it. This is based on Kur'ân, II, 282, "The witnesses must not refuse whenever they are summoned."

However, with regard to exceptions, it is better not to give testimony, since the Prophet said to a man who testified to such an offence: "It would have been better for you if you would have covered [the offence] under your cloak." (Abû Dâwûd, Sunan, Hudud, 7; Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, V, 217.)

In principle, testimony can only be given by a sane, adult, free, male Muslim of good morals (`adl, ph. `addl [q.v.]), i.e., capable of proving his claim by corresponding evidence. The testimonies of women are accepted e.g. with regard to facts of which in general only women are cognisant, such as menstruation, childbirth, virginity and defects of the female sexual organs, or in combination with a male witness (see below). All schools except the Hanbalis agree that slaves cannot bear witness. Nor can non-Muslims. The Hanafis, however, accept their testimony against other non-Muslims. There is some difference of opinion with regard to whether adherents of Islamic sects are accepted as witnesses. The Hanafis take the most inclusive position and allow the testimonies of practically all `ahl al-kibla. In Twelver Shî'î law, only the testimony of Twelver Shî'îs (mu`minun) is admitted.

Being `adl (of good morals) is defined as not having committed great sins or persevered in small sins and not displaying unbecoming behaviour, such as playing backgammon, walking around bareheaded, or eating or urinating in public. According to the Hanafis, unbecoming behaviour does not affect the status of being `adl but may cause the `âdî to reject someone's testimony. Before a witness is allowed to testify, the `âdî has to establish his good morals by secret and public inquiry (tazkiya, ta'dil).

Witneses must be beyond suspicion of bias. Therefore, one cannot validly testify against one's enemy. Further, testimony in favour of close relatives and, according to most legal schools, one's wife, is not admitted. The various schools differ somewhat as to who must be regarded as close relatives, but all of them include one's ascendants and descendants. Most schools do not admit a witness who would profit from his testimony. For the Twelver Shî'îs, this is the only criterion and they allow in principle testimonies in favour of relatives.

As a rule, the `âdî must find for the plaintiff if the latter can prove his claim by corresponding testimonies given by two male witnesses. In financial matters, the testimony of one man and two women is also admitted as legal evidence. The Hanafis, but not the other schools, allow such evidence also with regard to the status of persons (marriage, divorce, manumission, bequest). All schools except the Hanafis regard the testimony of one male witness corroborated by an oath of the plaintiff also as sufficient evidence in financial matters. In the trial of `âdîs issues or of manslaughter or willful grievous bodily harm where retribution is at stake, only the testimony of male witnesses is admitted. The Malikis, however, exclude here willful grievous bodily harm and allow in these cases the testimony of one man and two women. For proof of illicit sexual relations, four male witnesses are required (cf. Kur'ân, IV, 15, and XXIV, 4). The Twelver Shî'îs allow here also the testimonies of three men and two women or even two men and four women, but only if the punishment at stake is flogging, not if it is lapidation [see further, g. MAH]. The schools differ with regard to the minimum number of female witnesses testifying to facts usually known only
to women; the Hanafis and Hanballis consider one woman sufficient, the Malikis require two and the Shafiis four.

An interesting development took place in North Africa during the 16th and 17th centuries, when the practice ('anuds) came into existence of admitting as legal evidence the shahadat al-lqfif, i.e. the testimony of a group of at least twelve men, who need not be 'udil. This practice was justified by necessity (darura) deriving from the absence of 'udil, especially in rural communities. If such testimony would not be recognised, it was argued, people would not be able to enforce their rights (Sayyid Abul 'Arif Djasir, al-Tarikh al-mardinayn fe l-fishara 'ala madhab al-Malikis, Tunis n.d., 171-8).

One can only testify to what one has heard or seen. However, with regard to certain facts one can give evidence on the strength of public knowledge, without having witnessed the event or the legal act that is at the basis of it (al-shahada bi l-lisadmnah). Thus one may give evidence concerning e.g. a person's descent, martial status or death, without actually having been present at the time of his birth, his marriage contract or his decease. If a witness has a legal excuse for not attending the court session, his testimony may be transmitted by two other witnesses (al-shahada 'ala l-shahada), except in cases of 'hadl offences or retribution.

Once a testimony has been given, it can be withdrawn only before a kadi. If this occurs before the end of the proceedings, the kadi cannot give judgment. If withdrawal takes place after the verdict has been pronounced, the sentence remains valid but the witness is liable for blood-money (diya). According to the shahids, he can even be brought to death if he had wilfully borne false witness.

Already at a very early period, testimonies of legal acts were recorded in deeds in order to preserve the exact wording of the act. However, since under Islamic law documentary evidence is not admitted, the deed itself does not furnish proof, but, in cases of litigation, the testimonies given in court by the witnesses who have signed the deed. In order to avoid the risk that such testimonies might be rejected because the witnesses were not 'udil, professional witnesses, whose 'udail had been established by the court, and who were called shahid 'udal (or, briefly, shahid or 'udil), were employed for recording important transactions. They first appear in Egypt at the beginning of the 8th century A.D. These witnesses, who had a legal training, were appointed and dismissed by the kadi's authorisation, even as judges, and heard minor cases independently. The office of shahida was often regarded as a training period for future judges.

Strictly speaking, the profession of drafting deeds (muwadddih, sharif) and that of testifying to it could be separated. In practice, however, they were not, and the notary would put his signature under the deed as a witness, together with those of the other witnesses. Although the signatures of two witnesses would technically be sufficient, for greater security many more were placed in the document, sometimes up to 48. Often these testimonies were added years after the original drafting.

Nowadays, with regard to those domains of the law where the shari'a is applied, most countries have modernised the law of evidence e.g. by admitting documentary evidence. With regard to the testimony of witnesses, however, some of the classical rules are often maintained, such as the rule that the testimony of one witness does not count. In Morocco, the classical system of appointed 'udil still exists. Some of the countries that have recently expanded the application of the shari'a to fields such as criminal law, have also enacted legislation to reintroduce to some extent the classical rules of evidence (cf. the Sudanese Kana'an al-Ishlif of 1983 and the Pakistani Kana'an-e-Shahidat of 1984).


SHAHID (or perhaps better, Shuhayd) b. al-Husayn al-Baliki al-Warrak al-Mutakallim, Abu 'I-Hasan, a philosopher and a poet in Persian and Arabic, died (according to Yaktu, followed by al-Safa'di) in 319/927.

He was a contemporary and close friend of the polymath Abu Zayd al-Balkhi and of the Mu'tazili theologian Abu 'l-Kasim al-Balkhi (see Al-Balkhi), the three Balkhis were the subject of a joint biography, used by Yaktu) and a bitter rival of the famous philosopher Abu Bakr al-Razi (q.v.); the latter wrote a polemic against Shahid on the subject of pleasure (al-khuda) and another on eschatology (al-awlid), both now lost. The epitome of al-Sidgjari's Siwin al-alb appears in the former contains a short extract from a work by Shahid on the "superiority of the pleasures of the soul over those of the body", perhaps the object of al-Razi's attack.

Shahid was a professional scribe and had a reputation as a meticulous copyist. His Arabic poetry, which is quoted by al-Marghinani, Yaktu and 'Awni, includes two kif's mocking Ahmad b. Abi Rabi'a, who was the uncle of the Sa'did Amr b. al-As (q.v.) between 278/891 and 287/900. Yaktu tells us that he also satirised Ahmad b. Sahi, the famous governor of Khurasan, and had to flee his anger, but returned to Balkh after Ahmad's execution (i.e. in 307/920).

Shahid is mainly remembered as one of the earliest poets in Persian. His famous contemporary Roudaki (q.v.) wrote an elegy on his death, and he is mentioned with respect by other Persian poets of the 4th/10th to 6th/12th centuries, but afterwards his poems fell into oblivion, apart from the hundred-end verses preserved by the anthologists and lexicographers. These include an amatory poem of eight lines quoted by Djalarni, an extract from a kif's which 'Awni says he dedicated to the Sambil Nasr II (301-31/914-43), a poem with alternating Persian and Arabic verses and some couplets from a narrative poem, apparently
of romantic content. Not surprisingly, several of the stray verses cited in the dictionaries have a philo-

b. Muhammad al-Amili, known like his father as Ibn

different branches of knowledge. The Kadi 'Askar,

Djuba' on Tuesday, 13 Shawwal 911/9 March 1506,

Ma' ruf of Sayda), addressed to the

been the

ard)

for him to produce a petition

madrasa.

and jurist. He was born in the Lebanese town of

which took him to Mays and

of travels

Ji talab al-

al-Hudjdja (or al-Hadjdja), Twelver Sh'I author

28) and also (in 937/1530-1 and 942/1535) to Damas-

203, tr. Bosworth, 135; al-Marghinni, al-Madkhan

fi 'ilm adhhdn, ed. G.J. van der Toorn, Istanbul

1987, 77; Muhammab b. 'Umar al-Radiyi, Tardgumun al-baldgjia, ed. A. Ate, Istanbul 1949, 63,

83, 107 (and editor's notes, 134-9); Yaktf, Udalb,

i, 143, 149 (and ed. Isan 'Abbas, Beirut 1993,

275, 279-80, 1421-2, the last passage containing the entry on Shahid from a hitherto unpublished

mukhtar, idem, Bakdtn, ii, 167-8 (read, twice, Abut <I-Hasan> Shahid); 'Afwd, Lbhd, ii, 3-5; idem,

al-Ma'jdn fi mu'atfis al-sagr fi al-adgm, ed. M.M. Kazwini,

London, 1909, 204; Muhammad b. Badr al-

Djadjarml, Mu'nis al-ahtr fir dikdik al-sagr, ed. 

S. Tabibf, Tehran 1337-50 gh./1956-71, ii, 952-3;

S. Safadi, al-Wift, xvi, 197-8 (no. 229); M. Kazwini's

note in his edition of Ni'mat ar Rud'c Samarkandl,

Cahar makalfa, London-LEiden 1910, 127-8 (and those

by M. Mu'in in his ed. Tehran 1351 gh./1932-3,

udhd, at 80-3); P. Kraus, in his ed. of al-Razi's

Rasi'il fahdryfa, Cairo 1939, 145-7; G. Lazard, Les

premiere potes persans (IX-XII siecles), Tehran-Paris

1964, i, 20-1, 62-9, ii, 23-39 (contains an ed. and

tr. of the surviving fragments in Persian).

(F.C. DE Blois)

AL-SHAHID AL-AWVAL [see Muhammab b. 

MARK"

AL-SHAHID AL-THANI, ZAYN AL-DIN B. 'ALI (in some sources, erroneously, Zayn al-Din 'Ali) b. Ahmad

b. Muhammad al-'Amil, known like his father as Ibn

al-Hujjida (or al-Hadida), Twelver Shi'i author and jurist. He was born in the Lebanese town of

Djuba' on Tuesday, 13 Shawwal 911/9 March 1506,

and studied with his father until the latter's death in

Radjdb 925/July 1519. He then embarked on a series

of travels ft talab al-udm which took him to Mays and

Karaj Nib in his native Djabal 'Amil (925-34/1519-

28) and also (in 937/1530-1 and 942/1535) to Damas-

cus. In mid-Ra'd 942/September 1555 he left the

Syrian capital for an 18-month sojourn in Egypt,

where he studied with a number of Sunni scholars.

He returned to Djuba' after performing the pilgrim-

age to Mecca and Medina, but left it again to visit

the shrines of the Imams in 'Iraq (946/1539-40) and,

later, to visit Jerusalem (Dhu 'l-Hijdja 948/March-

April 1542).

On 17 Ra'di 952/29 May 1545 the Shahid arrived in Istanbul, where he stayed for three-and-a-half months. His purpose was to obtain a licence to teach in a madrasa. The normal procedure would have been for him to produce a petition ('ard) from his local judge (in the case of the Shahid, this would have been the kadi Ma'ruf of Sayda), addressed to the Kadi 'Askar [q.e.] of Anadolu and requesting that the bearer be given the licence in question. But instead, the Shahid presented an epistle that he himself had composed and that showed his command of ten differ-

ent branches of knowledge. The Kadi 'Askar, Muhammad b. Kuft al-Din Muhammad, known as

Mirim Kosesi (d. 957/1550) (cf. R.C. Repp, The Muf-

ti of Istanbul: a study in the development of the Ottoman learned hierarchy, Oxford 1986, 256, n. 177), was so impressed that he offered him a choice of any teaching position in Damascus or Aleppo; the Shahid opted for the Madrasa Nuriyya in Ba'tabak. Sultan

Sulayman the Magnificent (r. 926-74/1520-66) issued the necessary documents and provided a stipend for him. After a second visit to Irak, the Shahid took

up his new post in 953/1546. He held it for a number of years (five, according to some reports, two

according to others). In addition to teaching, he also issued responsa to Shi'is and to Sunnis of the four

schools, each responsum being in accordance with the

petitioner's legal affiliation. His last years were spent

in his home town, where his son, the author Djamal

d-Al-Din al-Hasan Shahid al-Ma'ali'm, was born (17

Ramadan 959/6 September 1552; he died at the

beginning of Muharram 1011/June 1602). This was

the first son to survive into adulthood, others having
died in their infancy; the Shahid's Mushtak al-fu'id

'indu/fi fa'id al-ushuna wa-Fu'idat was written follow-

ing the death in Rajab 954/August-September 1547

of one of his infant sons. The Shahid's disciples

included Husayn b. 'Abd al-Samad al-Harshd (d. 984/

1576), the father of Shaykh Bah'at [see 'AL-AMIL];

Husayn accompanied him to both Cairo and Istanbul.

The Shahid is said to have often lived in fear,

though whether of local enemies or of the Ottoman

authorities is not stated; his death, however, is attrib-

uted to the latter. According to one version, this fol-

lowed a complaint by a disgruntled litigant to the

kadi Ma'ruf. The latter wrote to Sultan Sulayman

accusing the Shahid of heresy, whereupon the Sultan

ordered that he be brought before him for interroga-

tion (al-Hurr al-'Amil, Amal al-'amil, i, 90-1). Elsewhere, it is the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha [q.e.

who is said to have ordered the Shahid's arrest after

being told that he was actively propagating Shi'ism

(Hasan-I Rumihi, Ahsan al-tawdrikh, ed. and tr. C.N.

Seddon, Baroda 1931-4, i, 406). The Shahid, who

had escaped to Mecca, was detained there and was

kept in prison for 40 days. One account has it that

he was then sent by ship to Istanbul, where he was

killed without being brought before the sultan, and

his body thrown into the sea. According to a second

account, the Shahid's captor killed him shortly after

the two of them had landed in Anadolu. This account

adds that the Shahid was buried at the spot where

he had died and that a shrine (kaba) was erected

over his grave. The date of his death is given by:

965/1557-8 or 966/1558-9. In Ramadan 975/March

1568 he was already being referred to as al-Shahid

al-Thani (al-Madjlis, Bihav al-anwar, cvii, 181).

The Shahid is credited with over 70 works. They
deal with a variety of topics, including tafsir, hadith,

grammar and kalam; but his main contribution to

Sh'i literature was in the realm of fikr. His major

works are in the form of commentaries, particularly

on the writings of the MuhaKki', the 'Allama (see

AL-HILLI] and al-Shahid al-Awwal [see MUHAMMAB B. 

MARK]). These works are noted for the clarity of their

exposition and argument, as well as for their use of

al-ghar al-mazjadi, a method of interweaving the text

with its commentary in such a way that the two

together form a smooth and coherent whole. This

method is employed in some of his best-known works:

the early Rascl al-qinân ft ghar irgdâd al-adhdh, a

commentary on a work of the 'Allama which the

Shahid did not complete; the Muhakk, the 'Allama (see

AL-HILLI] and al-Shahid al-Awwal (see MUHAMMAB B. 

MARK). These works are noted for the clarity of their

expression and argument, as well as for their use of

al-ghar al-mazjadi, a method of interweaving the text

with its commentary in such a way that the two

together form a smooth and coherent whole. This

method is employed in some of his best-known works:

the early Rasal al-qinân ft ghar irgdâd al-adhdh, a

commentary on a work of the 'Allama which the

Shahid did not complete; the Muhakk, the 'Allama (see

AL-HILLI] and al-Shahid al-Awwal (see MUHAMMAB B. 

MARK). These works are noted for the clarity of their

expression and argument, as well as for their use of

al-ghar al-mazjadi, a method of interweaving the text

with its commentary in such a way that the two

together form a smooth and coherent whole. This

method is employed in some of his best-known works:

the early Rascl al-qinân ft ghar irgdâd al-adhdh, a

commentary on a work of the 'Allama which the

Shahid did not complete; the Muhakk, the 'Allama (see

AL-HILLI] and al-Shahid al-Awwal (see MUHAMMAB B. 

MARK). These works are noted for the clarity of their

expression and argument, as well as for their use of
al-Awwal's al-Lumca al-dimashkiyya. Among the themes which the Shahid elaborated was that of the fully qualified jurist (faqih) as a general representative (na'ib 'amm) of the Hidden Imam and the repository of judicial authority within the Twelver Shi'ite community during the Imam's occultation. In line with this position, he insisted on the jurist's right to conduct Friday prayers and to collect and distribute the Imam's shares of zakat (income). He also argued against blindly following the legal judgments of deceased jurists (utad ghadar taklid al-amwdt/al-muajtahid al-mayyit).

Bibliography (in addition to the references given in the text).

Among the themes which the Shahid elaborated was that of the fully qualified jurist (faqih) as a general representative (na'ib 'amm) of the Hidden Imam and the repository of judicial authority within the Twelver Shi'ite community during the Imam's occultation. In line with this position, he insisted on the jurist's right to conduct Friday prayers and to collect and distribute the Imam's shares of zakat (income). He also argued against blindly following the legal judgments of deceased jurists (utad ghadar taklid al-amwdt/al-muajtahid al-mayyit).

2. Studies. M.A. Meyers, History of the city of Gaza from the earliest times to the present day, New York 1907; T.E. Dowling, Gaza, a city of many battles, New York 1915; 'Abd al-Arif, T'arikh Ghaza, Jerusalem 1943; U. Heyd, Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-963/1555 when he went as governor of Yemen, and was then in Egypt, but was dismissed from his post as governor in 973/1565 and died shortly afterwards. His habit of carrying with him a peregrine falcon gave him the name of Shahid, by which the family was subsequently known. For further details, see Musafar al-Ja, 'ara Shahin.

2. His son Ridwan took charge of Ghaza whilst his father was away from it. In 973/1565 he was appointed governor of Yemen, and combatted there the Zaydi Imam, the Isma'ilis and local tribal chiefs. His lack of success in the difficult situation led to his dismissal and imprisonment at Istanbul in 974/1566. He was later passed over as governor at Ghaza, in Habesh, at Basra and in Diyar Bakr, taking part in the war against Persia in 987/1579. Three years later he became governor of Anatolia, where he died in 993/1585. Amongst public works of his in the province of Damascus are mentioned his reconstruction of fortresses, especially that at Bayt Djibrin, for the protection of caravans and travellers.

3. His son Aymad (d. 1015/1606) governed Ghaza for ten years. Through his connections with the court at Istanbul built up a network of official posts for his family, with his son Suleyman becoming governor in the sanjad of Jerusalem, and his brother in the sanjad of Nablus. Residing in Damascus, he had a reputation as a maecenas for poets and scholars.

4. On his retirement in 1009/1600, his son Muhammad succeeded him in Ghaza. In 1022-3/1615-16 Muhammad took part in an expedition led by the governor of Damascus against the Druze chief Fakhr al-Din Ma'n II (q.v.).

5. His son Hasan (d. 1054/1644) was likewise governor in Ghaza, and was succeeded by

6. His son Husayn (d. 1071/1660), who had previously been governor of Jerusalem. Esf'afal Celebi visited Ghaza in 1059/1649, and describes Husayn as a generous man, himself a writer of poetry and history, who was tolerant towards Samaritans, Jews and Christians of the various Eastern Churches. These latter attitudes may have cast doubts on his loyalty, for in 1073/1662 he was arrested, jailed at Damascus and executed on charge that he had failed in his duties as amir al-baqidi.

7. His brother Musta replaced him, but the sources say little about him, and he appears to have been the last governor of the Al-Shahfn.

The extant sources do not specify the names of the Al-Shahfn governors, nor do they register their names amongst the 41 timar holders in Ghaza; on the other hand, the several palaces, mosques, schools and cemetery that belonged to them (some still in use today) are described at some length.


2. Studies. M.A. Meyers, History of the city of Gaza from the earliest times to the present day, New York 1907; T.E. Dowling, Gaza, a city of many battles, New York 1915; 'Abd al-Arif, T'arikh Ghaza, Jerusalem 1943; U. Heyd, Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-
1615, a study of the Firman according to the Muhamme Defter, Oxford 1960; A.K. Räfl, Bütäd Al-Shäm wa-
Mïr min al-fash al-Ünämti ûla hamlat Napoleon Bonaparte, Damascus 1967; Cengiz Orhonlu, Hâbeş
enûm, Istanbul 1974; W.-D. Herdt, Pahlavi and Kândal
Abdulâtah, Historical geography of Palestine, Transjor-
dan and southern Syria in the late 15th century, Erlangen
1977; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, Population and re-
venue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century,
Princeton 1978; onmuslâmî, A Visit of isâ', the grand vizier, to
Paris in wâl-lîžhâq, Cairo 1978; İbrahim Kâhlîf Sâkî, Gâzâ 'alı ar-ı-ta'fârû al-Ünämti, Gâzâ 1980;
Muhammad A. Bakhtî, The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century, Beirut 1982.

[M.A. AL-BAKHTI]

SHAHÎN DIZH [see ŞA'IN KAL'TA]

SHAHÎN, LALA, according to the early Ottoman
cronicles, the preceptor or tutor (lala) of the
Ottoman sultan Murâd I [q.v.] and the first to
occupy the post of the beşlerge [q.v.] of Rumelia.
Perhaps he can be identified with Shahîn b. 'Abd
Allâh (d. 645/1249), servant of Sultan Orkhan [q.v.]
in 1360; or also with the military leader 'osâºum, who, according to a Greek contemporary cron-
icle, supported the Lord of Yanina Thomas Preemibos against the Albanians in 1380. Shahîn crossed from
Anatolia to Thrace in the 1360s, probably accompa-
nying Murâd when he was still a prince, and fought
against the Christians successfully, especially in
Bulgaria, where he conquered several fortresses and
towns. In 1388 he invaded Bosnia and, according to
Naghî [q.v.], he died shortly afterwards.

Bibliography: F. Babinger, Beiträge zur Frühge-
schichte der Türkenvölker in Rumelien (14.-15. Jahr-

[ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU]

SHAHÎN-I ŞİRr/RÁZI, 14th-century Judeo-
Persian epic poet, the most brilliant name in Judeo-
Persian original literature. Mawlânâ ("Our Master") Shahîn ("the Falcon", a name in common use
among the Jews of Persia at that time) wrote under one of the Mongol Ilkâns, Abu Sa'id Bahâdûr
(1316-35 [q.v.]). The comparatively numerous extant manuscripts with miniature paintings can be taken
as a sign of his popularity.

Although influenced by the great epic poets of Per-
sia, Firdawsî and Nâginâm, Shahîn was by no means
epine. The metre he used was the hâzâdî
musaddas maqâzî [—/—/—/—/—/—]. Shahîn himself
gave no titles to his epic poems, and only not very
informative words like šarh ("explanation"); taťfîr
("commentary") or [B.L. Or. 4742, fol. 3a, l. 1] Kâdâ
az taťfîr-i Šâhîn (in other manuscripts Kâdâ-i Şâhîn
and Dâstûr "Story occur). The titles chosen by Wil-
bemar Bacher have been commonly adopted, viz.
the Book of Gen (now mostly Berehî-nâm), the Book of
Moss (now commonly Mûsâ-nâm), the Book of Ardâshir,
consisting of two parts, Megillat Esther and the
story of Şêrêh and Mahzad, and the Book of Ezra. The
brief epic King Kishwar, the story of King Kishwar and
his seven pieces of advice to his son Brahâm (known
in only one manuscript, ENA 396, fols. la-b, The
Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York)
could be by Shahîn, but it is doubtful. If we were gen-
une, it would be the only purely Persian work by
Shahîn devoid of any specific biblical influence.

The sources of Shahîn were the biblical books (as
for the Pentateuch, almost exclusively the non-lega-
Try-sacred part), non-biblical Jewish material (midrash, folk-
traditions), and Islamic elements.

Bibliography: W. Bacher, Zwei jüdisch-persische
Dichter, Schahin und Imamî, Budapest 1907; Dorothea
Bleske, Şâhîn-i Ştâhzî Añâzîr-Bîr, diss. Tübingen
HISTORY, Leiden 1973; Vera Basch Moreen, Miniature
paintings in Judeo-Persian manuscripts, Cincinnati
1985.

SHAHîN-MEDJİ (or ŞEHîN-MEDİ) (T.), the term
for an Ottoman writer of literary-historical
works in a style inspired by the Şehîn-nâm, of the
Persian poet Firdawsî [q.v.], i.e. works composed in
Persian, in the maqâmaw form of rhymed couples in
the mutakâbir metre, describing in fulsome terms the
military exploits of the reigning sultan. The first Ot-
toman compositions in the Şehîn-nâm genre date from
the mid-9th/15th century, as occasional works writ-
ten for presentation to the sultan (cf. W.-D. Herdt,

An official, salaried post of Şehîn-medjî ("writer of
Şehîn-nâm") was established by Suleymân II (1520-66)
in the 1550s as a form of court historiographer. Of
its five incumbents, three produced between them at
least fifteen known works, largely chronicled the
military and imperial achievements of contemporary
Ottoman sultans, particularly Suleymân, Selim II
(1566-74), and Murâd III (1574-95). In line with deve-
loping literary taste, many of the later works were
composed in Ottoman Turkish prose rather than Per-
sian verse. Most of the manuscripts (few of which
have been published) were richly illustrated by palace
artists with specially commissioned miniature paintings
and were intended as objets d'art for the sultan's private
collection. The Şâhîn-nâm of the first Şehîn-medjî, "Arsîf (or "Arsîf, d. 969/1561-2), contains 62 mini-
atures (Esîn Atil, Şehîn-nâm, the illustrated history of Sultan Mohammed, New York 1986).

Principal among the works composed by the third
Şehîn-medjî, Lökmanî (in post ca. 1569-96), are: Züycâtî t-tewdrikh ("Essence of history") (completed 991/1583), a world history in Ottoman prose; the two-volumed Hüner-nâm, ("Book of accomplishments") (992/1584
and 996/1588), also in Ottoman prose, on Selim I
(1512-20) and Suleymân II respectively; the three-
volumed Şâhîn-medjî ("Book of the Şâhîn") of Shahîn-2 (991/1581-2, 1001/1592, and 1004/1596), in Per-
sian verse, on the reign of Murâd III; Kîşîfetî t-insânîyye fi şemâlî 'l-Ümânmâyû ("Description of the features of the Ottoman sultans") (987/1579), essentially an album of portraits of the sultans with accompanying text in Ottoman with physiognomical observations (facsimile text in Kîşîfetî t-insânîyye fi şemâlî t-Omânîyye, ed. M. Tayşi, Historical Research Foundation, Istanbul 1987).

Lökmanî's successor Ta'liî-kâlâm, (in post ca. 1590-
1600) composed a Şahîn-medjî ("Book of descrip-
tions") (1002/1593) in Ottoman prose on the strengths
of the Ottoman dynasty (cf. C. Woodhead, "The present
terror of the world" Contemporary views of the Ottoman
empire c. 1600, in History, lxxiii/234 [1987], 20-37; and
narratives of the Hungarian campaigns of 1593-4 and
1596, in Ottoman prose and verse respectively (for
the former, see Woodhead (ed.), Ta'liî-kâlâm's Şehîn-nâm-i hümâyûn on the Ottoman campaign into Hungary, 1593/94, Berlin 1983).

The post lapsed soon after 1600 for reasons which
are unclear but probably related to the changing role
of the sultan, which rendered the Şehîn-nâm style inap-


propietar. Ad hoc commissions of şênâmen were made by Othmân II (1618-22) and Murâd IV (1623-49), but the permanent position of şehrmandji was not revived.


(Christine Woodhead)

SHAHR (p.) “town”. The word goes back to Old Persian xiya- (cf. Avestan shrâAna, Sanskrit kṣatā-; all from the same root as New Persian xâh [q.v.], “kingdom, royal power”, hence “kingdom”. The latter meaning is still the usual one for Middle Persian xâh and it survives in the Şähnâma, especially in set phrases such as xâh-i Ėrân (used metris causa instead of Ėrân-xâh “kingdom of the Aryans”, the official name of the Sânsânid empire, etc., but already in the earliest New Persian texts, the usual meaning, and soon the only meaning, is “town”. The depreciation of xîa- / xâh from “kingdom” to “town” runs parallel to that of dehaya/ dîh /dîh from “land, country” to “village”. But it is also possible that xâh in the sense “town” is merely a curtailment of xâhristân [q.v.].

The Persian word was borrowed into Turkish as xâh / xâr and figures as the final component of the names of many Turkish towns.

Biography: See that in SAHRISTAN.

SAHRANGIZ (p.) or SHAHRANGIZ (n.) “upsetting the town”, a genre of short love poems on young craftsmen, often related to the bazaars of specific towns.

1. In Persian

In Persian literature, the genre is usually referred to under the latter name. E.J.W. Gibb’s contention that the genre was invented by the Turkish poet Mešhīf [q.v.] of Edirne (HOP, ii, 232), was challenged already by E.G. Browne who, pointing to Persian specimens mentioned by the Safawid anthologist Sâm Mîrzâ [q.v.], concluded that “though they were probably written later than Masâfî’s Turkish Şâhâr-angîz on Adriapole, there is nothing to suggest that they were regarded as a novelty or innovation in Persia” (LHP, iv, 237). Since then, many examples of medi- aeval Persian poems on craftsmen have come to light, showing that şahrangiz poems can be attributed to early poets like Rûdâf, Ksâlî and Labâf [q.v.]. The genre was very popular during the Safavid period, when it was most often used for quatrains (see the examples mentioned by Meier, Makhût, 94). The Dîdân of the 11th-12th century poet Mâsû’di Sa’dî-i Salâmân [q.v.] contains 93 short poems (mukâatâ’â) on the subject, apparently written as a coherent collection although it is not clear whether or not a particular city was envisaged.

The formula of the genre consists of three main ingredients, each of which has had a separate exis- tence in the Persian tradition. The first element is the motive of the uproar created in the city; it occurs in one of Sanât-i’s poems, each of which has a separate exist- ence in the Persian tradition. This found an echo in several later ghazals, e.g. by Anwarî (Dîdân, ii, 864: bâz dişt ãn samân-i bâda-fûrîkî xâhîr az wâl-i osûda parist-i bâh and Hâfsî (Dîdân, i, no. 3.3; lâyîk-i xistân- kâr-i xâhîrighâb). Secondly, the beloved is specified as a kind of craftsman, an artist (e.g. Sâfî’s quatrain on a butcher (kâshâb; cf. Dîdân, 1146, and J.T.P. de Brujin, Of piety and poetry, Leiden 1983, 6-7). Thirdly, there were the representations of a panegyric or a satire, of a group of people belonging to a single court or city. Early specimens of this type are Masû’di’s Sa’dî’s ma’hsâtî on the court of Lahore (Dîdân, 562-79/ii, 787-817) and Sanât-i’s Xsr-nâmâ-yi Bâlûq (in Ma’hsâtî-yi Ǝukâm Sanât-i, ed. Isfahâni-Mu’dariss-i Radwân, Tehran 1348- 69/1962, 147-78).

As a fully developed genre, the xâhrangiz became particularly fashionable in late Timurid and early Şafawî literature [q.v.]. Mîr ‘Alî Şîr Nâvâ’î [q.v.] made mention of it for the first time in his taqdîrî, the Ma’dîlîs al-nafa’tî, with reference to Sayyîf Bukhârî (d. 909/1503), who made a collection of xâhrangiz poems in ghazal form, entitled Sanât-i al-badd’î (Gulcfn-i Ma’ânî, iii, 348). Lişânî of Şîrâz was particularly renowned for his quatrains in this genre which together form a city-panegyric of Tabrîz, known as Ma’dîlî al-nafa’tî or Şahrangiz-khatî-e Tabrîz (ed. and French tr. Bricteux; ed. Gulcfn-i Ma’ânî, op. cit., 96-161). The genre was used for satire by Ǝâglî of Khrâsan (d. 932/1525-6), against Harât, and Haršt Isfahânî (d. 971/1563-4) against the province of Gîlan (cf. Ryppa, 297, 303-4, with further references). In the 11th/17th century Sâyîdâ Namefî described the crafts- men of Bâlûq in this manner (cf. A. Mîrozî, Sayyîd Namefî i yego mesto v istorii tadzhikskoj literatury, Stalinabad 1955, 143 ff., 161). Various poetical forms, and even prose, were used for writing xâhrangiz. It was also a favourite subject in the Indian Subcontinent with poets writing in Persian and Urdu (see section 3., below).


(1.J.T.P. de Brujin)

2. In Turkish

This genre was popular from the early 16th to the early 19th century in Dîdân (classical Ottoman Turkish) poetry, serving mainly to praise a major city and its beauties. In modern Turkish, it is rendered as yehren- giz. The genre is represented by about fifty major poems, of which less than forty are extant. The special place it holds in the Ottoman tradition has led numerous 20th-century Turkish scholars to the erroneous assumption that the xâhrangiz existed only in Ottoman Dîdân literature.

Usually written in the stanzaic form of the ma’hsâtî (rhyming couplets) and always in arûd metres, the xâhrangiz conforms, on the whole, to a special se-
quence of internal elements, starting with a brief munadāt (doxological supplication) and/or nā'ī (encomium of the Prophet), followed by the sabhā-i tālīf (reason for writing), descriptions of the city's natural setting and aspects of its life, general citations of the city's beautiful women or men and sometimes its notables, ending with a khaṭima (epilogue) in which the poet offers prayers to God for the protection of the city's beauties and praises his own poetic accomplishments.

Most of the major shahrangiz works in Ottoman Turkish take as their subject such principal cities as Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne. Among other cities feature this genre are Skopje, Belgrade, Yenikız, İzmir, Rize, Şanlıurfa, Simón, Manisa, etc. The shahrangiz often provides vivid descriptions of urban life as well as information about topographical characteristics of individual cities.

Many works in this genre were commissioned by or dedicated and presented to prominent patrons. Their length ranges from 70-odd couplets (Hayrettin on Edirne) to more than 1,600 couplets (Sa’dī on Istanbul, composed in Persian) to 3,600 couplets (Dhāfī on Adrianople).

The first shahrangiz is by Mesḥīf [q.v.], who wrote it ca. 918/1512 about Adrianople. E.J.W. Gibb translated the title as "city thriller", pointing out that all such works in later periods bore the same title, whence the name of the genre, and credited Mesḥīf with the invention of the shahrangiz as a literary form. The humolous element in Mesḥīf's work, which Gibb singled out for its originality, came to be a recurring feature of most of the subsequent works in this category. Many of them contain either a romantic description of a city's beautiful young men, often cited by name and profession—less frequently, young women were listed—or humorous, sometimes satirical, characterization. Several shahrangīz (principally Fehm's work on Istanbul in the 17th century) are explicitly pornographic.

Variations of the genre include the sevābādāh-nāme (tale of adventure), where the poet tells the story of an affair with one beautiful person or stories of four people. Some concentrate on a single profession, as in the ēmīl-nāme ("Book of dancers") by Enderūnğ Fādīl (d. 1810), while others, like his zenāt-nāme ("Book of nations and ethnic groups"); describe women of a wide variety of nations and ethnic groups. A few are essentially verified lists of the names of urban neighbourhoods or musical modes or types of tulips.

The best Ottoman shahrangiz, according to von Hammer-Purgstall, was Lāmī’s [q.v.] work on Bursa written on the occasion of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent's visit in 928/1522. Although most specimens of the genre are not notable for literary merit, Lāmī’s shahrangiz, the first substantive part of which provides vivid descriptions of Bursa, displays poetic virtuosity.


(TALAT SAIT HALMAN)

3. In Urdu

In Urdu literature, the term shahrangīz is used only rarely if at all. The most common designation, also employed in Persian and Turkish, and identical in meaning with shahrangīz, is shahr-ādgh (Persian: shahr-ādgh). The tradition of the Urdu shahr-ādgh is markedly different from the one found in Persian and Turkish poetry. The type of verse which goes by that name in the other two languages is generally a poem describing the author's attraction for handsome arti-

San boys in a city. In Urdu, the number of such poems is exceedingly small. It is limited to strands seen in the writings of Mirzā Dżā'far ‘Ali Hasrat (d. 1206/1791-2) see Kulliyat-i Hasrat, ed. Nūr al-Hasan Hāder, Lahore 1966, 382-91; Mir Hasani (d. 1201/1786), Mir Muhammad Taṣṭī Mīr (d. 1225/ 1810 [q.v.]); and a few other poets, all of whom seemed to have based their compositions, by way of imitation, upon similar models in Persian. Unlike these examples, the standard shahr-ādgh in Urdu is a socially motivated poem. Its main purpose is the portrayal of a city in disarray. The picture it paints reflects the breakdown of the established order, the dislocation of the social, economic and moral life of the people, and the topsy-turvy nature of things. One of the major conventions of the shahr-ādgh is to name a series of professions and to describe the state of affairs governing the individuals associated with each of them. The shahr-ādghs are determined by the nature of their content, rather than by any separate form, and many of them appear in the works of the poets under titles other than shahr-ādgh. They could be found in any of the tradions of the genre forms employed, though it is possible that some forms might have been favoured more than others during a particular period.

Characteristic of the genre, at least during its pre-1857 phase, is the use of satire and ridicule as weapons of criticism—a feature that makes it difficult sometimes to draw a line between a shahr-ādgh and a hadīf ("insult poem").

The real beginnings of the shahr-ādgh may be traced to the 18th century, marking the decline of Mughal power. Following the death of Awrangzib in 1707, the Mughal empire collapsed into anarchy and disintegration. In 1779 the Persian monarch Nādir Shāh (r. 1736-47 [q.v.]) invaded a weakened Mughal empire and sacked Dihlī, and it was again sacked in 1756 by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī [q.v.]. From the time of Shāh ‘Alam II (r. 1759-1806 [q.v.]), the Mughal ruler was merely a figurehead maintained by one or the other power. The poems in which the effects of these developments found direct interpretation received the name of shahr-ādgh.

Nothing can be said with certainty regarding the earliest shahr-ādgh in Urdu. It has been suggested that the first poet who attempted this kind of verse was Mir Muhammad Dżā'far, better known as Dżā'far Zalāfī (d. between 1125-28/1713-16). The latter has earned general notoriety as the author of obscene verses, which has distracted attention from the social aspect of some of his writing. His poem Naukari "Service", and Dastur al-salām dar ḥulūfiya zamāna-yi nā-hanfiya "A guide to the incompatibility of these rough times", which are cited as shahr-ādghs, represent satirical statements commenting on the hardships of employment and on the distortion of social and moral values.

With the successful efforts led by Mirzā Muhammad Rafi' Sawdā (d. 1195/1781 [q.v.]), the shahr-ādgh acquired increased recognition. His two shahr-ādghs, one in the form of a kasda and the other entitled Mukhammas dar tadāva-yi Shāhdhajhānābād "A mukhammas on the destruction of Shāhdhajhānābād", may be regarded as real masterpieces. Both are comparatively lengthy poems, and constitute a unified theme dealing with the devastation of Dihlī, the economic adversities of the people, and the contemporary social and moral decay.

Mir Muhammad Taṣṭī Mīr, who was a contemporary of Sawdā, composed several poems which resemble the shahr-ādgh. One of these poems is the Mukhammas dar ḥal-i ḥukkār "On the condition of the
army", which describes not only the plight of the soldiers but also points out, with bitterness and sorrow, the pitiable state of the court and nobles. A number of shahr-dshobs are significant because of their historical interest. These include poems by Mirzâ Qâfar 'Alî Hasrat and Kiymân al-Din Kâ'îm (d. 1208/1793-4), referred to respectively as Muhâmmad dar ahiwâl-i Dhâjanâbâd "On the condition of Dhâjanâbâd", and Mukhâmmad. The first of these poems describes the destruction of Dihlî and its citizens caused by the invasion of Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, and the second contains a denunciation of Shâh 'Alî II for his role in conducting the battle of Sâdâtâbâd (729/1330), in which he, with the support of the Marâthas [q.v.], attacked and defeated Dîbûtâ Khân, son of Nadîjîb al-Dawla [q.v.], and leader of the Rohilla Afghânîs.

Other shahr-dshobs, which have won critical approval, comprise Zuhûr al-Dîn Hâtim's (d. 1197/1783) Muhâmmad Kalandar, Kâliyân Bâshsh Djûrât's (d. 1224/1810) Muhâmmad-i tarâf-band, and Wâlî Muhammad Nazîr Akhbarâlâbî's (d. 1246/1830) work mentioned as Dânya-yi dîn ke tamâjân "Scenes of the contemptible world". Hâtnâbâd is mentioned as an auspicious place in numerous poems dealing mainly with the trials and tribulations suffered by Dihlî during that time. These poems have been called shahr-dshob although they do not subscribe entirely to the classical pattern of the genre followed by earlier masters. An important element which is missing in them is the narrative dealing with different professions—an essential feature of previous shahr-dshobs. In fact, the shahr-dshob of 1857 are mere elegies mourning the passing away of Mughal Dihlî and the end of an era.

The poems connected with the fortunes of Dihlî at this time are contained in two collections named Fûgân-i Dihlî "The lament of Dihlî", and Inshâbâb-i Dihlî "Revolution of Dihlî", also known as Fâyûd-i Dihlî "The cry of Dihlî". The first-named work was edited by Tafaqîl al-Hasyân Kawkab, and was published in 1280/1863; the second, containing poems reproduced from the former work together with some other verses, came out in 1932. Included in Fûgân-i Dihlî is the famous musâdas by Nâwâu Mirzâ Dâgh (d. 1322/1905) regarding the demise of old Dihlî, a poem full of pathos, which may be regarded as one of the finest pieces composed upon the subject. Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Na'îm Aḥmad (ed.), Shahr-dshob, Delhi 1968 (a comprehensive collection of shahr-dshob in Urdu). For the text of shahr-dshob, cited in the article, reference may be made to this book, except where it is indicated otherwise; idem, Shahr-dshob kâ tâhâkîh mughâlî, 'Allâghî 1979; Sayyid 'Abd Allâh, Shahr-dshob kâ dîjânâbâd, in Mahâhî, Lahore 1965; Sayyid Mas'ûd Hasan Râdwâl Dâšhâ, Alif hasrat, in Ngârîshtâ-i Ahdh, Lucknow 1969; Iqîdâl Hasan, Later Mughals as represented in Urdu poetry. A study in the light of shahr-dshob from Hâtim, Sâdât, and Nazîr, in AIUON, N.S. ix (1959), 153-61; idem, Later Mughals as represented in Urdu poetry. II, a study of Qûm's shahr-dshob, in ibid., xi (1962-3), 129-52; F. Lehmann, Urdu literature and Mughal decline, in Mâli, vii-2 (1970), 129-51; art. Shahr-dshob, in Urdu dastan, ed. M. N. Ahmad (Lahore 1973), 824-6; Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, 'ur'at's shahr-dshob: an afterword, in Annual of Urdu studies, iii (1983), 11-16; Shamsur Rahman Faruqi and Frances W. Pritchett, In the presence of the nightingale (= Eng. tr. of Djûrât's shahr-dshob), in ibid., i-9; idem, A ville world carnival (= Eng. tr. of Nazîr Âghbarâlâbî's shahr-dshob, Dânya-yi dîn ke tamâjân), in ibid., iv (1984), 24-35; Frances W. Pritchett, The world upside down: shahr-dshob as a genre, in ibid., 37-41; C.J.P. Peters, a note on shahr-dshob, in ibid., iv, 42; Carla R. Petevich, Poetry of the declining Mughals: the shahr-dshob, in Tract. of South Asian literature, xxxvi/1 (1990), 99-110.

SHAHRASUB [see SHAHRANGIZ].

AL-SHAHRASTANI, A. 'l-FATHI MUHAMMAD b. 'Abd al-Karîm b. Aḥmad, Taqî al-Dîn, thinker and historian of religious and philosophical doctrines, who lived in Persia in the first half of the 6th/12th century. He received other honorific titles such as al-Afdâl or al-Imâm. Besides a few landmarks, little is known of his life. Al-Sahrâstânî (the customary Arabic vocalisation is retained here) was born in the small town of Shahrâstânî, on the northern frontier of Khurâsân, not far from Nasî, at the edge of the desert of Kara Kum (currently in the Republican of Turkmestan) [see SHahrastanî (6)]. His contemporary al-Samî'î is supposed to have written (according to Ibn Khallikân): "I asked him the date of his birth, and he told me: 479/1086-7." Other ancient authors give the dates 467 and 469, but the testimony of al-Samî'î seems authoritative. Nothing is known of his family; however, the attribution by Yâkût of a kunyat to his father (Abu 'l-Kâsim) and to his grandfather (Abu Bakîr) could indicate a privileged background.

After what was definitely a very substantial traditional education, he was sent to the prestigious metropolis of Nîshâpûr. It was there that he embarked on his intellectual education, he was sent to the prestigious metropolis of Nîshâpûr.

SHahr-dshob, MUKHÂMMAD, Kalandar, ASSAD B. MUHAMMAD AL-MAYHANI (d. 523/1129 ac-
according to Ibn al-Athir, x, 660; but 520 according to Qalâl Humâ'î, Gazzâz-nâma, Tehran 1318/1939, 308) was then teaching at the Niâyâmî. With Mayhânî's assistance, al-Shâhrastânî obtained a post at the Niâyâmî. For three years, and with considerable success, he devoted himself to teaching, preaching, disputations. Around 514/1120 he returned to Persia.

The Saljûq ruler of Khurâsân Sandjâr had recently taken there, in 511/1118, the full title of sultan. Marw, his capital, was a magnet. Through the good offices of Naṣîr al-Dîn Abû 'l-Ḵâsim Ḍalânî, b. al-Muṣṭafâ al-Mawzî, who was from 521 to 526 the chancellor of the caliph al-Râsid I (diwdn al-râsidî), al-Shâhrastânî was appointed ndb of the chancellery (diwân al-raṣâlî). He even became a close friend of Sandjâr and "his confident" (ṣâhîb sîrîh). However, al-Shâhrastânî ultimately returned to his native village. It is not known when, or why. The fact remains that there was a succession of tragic events in the year 548/1153. The sultan was taken prisoner by the Ghuzz of Nishâpûr. He was then released, and the testimony of al-Shâhrastânî, relative to Ibn Khallîkân, that al-Shâhrastânî died in his native village "towards the end of Sha'bân 548 (November 1153)".

Al-Shâhrastânî was responsible for a score of works. See the precise and detailed study by Nâţînî, al-Shâhrastânî, dânish-nâma, Tehran 1360. Various modern editions, with some different readings, have been published.

1. al-Milâl wa 'l-nilâh, which according to the author, was written in the year 521, i.e. 1127-8 (ed. Bâdrân, i, 630 ff.; see Humâ'î, Gazzâz-nâma, 31 and 32). There are numerous editions, including two critical ones: W. Cureau, 2 vols., London 1842-6; and Muḥammad Fâth al-Âlî b. Dja'far al-Musawf, chief (ndb) of the Imâmî Shî'î community of Tîrmîz. This is a thorough criticism of Avicennan philosophy. It is supposed to comprise seven "questions", but at the end of the fifth (118), the author bemoans the serious troubles of the time and comes to an abrupt end. The circumstances evoked could be the defeat of Sandjâr by the Kara Khâṣîyân in 536/1141.

2. Maṭâ'î al-arzû wa-maṭâ'î al-âbrân, edited facsimile of the urânîs, with introduction and index, 2 vols., Tehran 1369/1990. The text comprises 343 folios, or 868 pages with 25 lines. It is a Kur'ânic commentary. After an autobiographical preface come the 12 chapters of an introduction to the study of the Kur'ân, then a simple commentary on the first two sûras. The first volume (up to II, 122) of the lost autograph manuscript had been composed between 538 and 540. It is not known whether, as is probable, the author continued beyond Sârâr al-Bâkî.

3. Maṭâ'î al-ṣawâîq, ed. A.H.S./1939. The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (ka'budât) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of kalâm" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?

4. Muṣâra'ât al-falâṣîfîa, ed. Suḥayr Muḥammad Muḥštâr, Cairo 1996/1976. Explicitly posterior to the Milâl (14), this little book is dedicated to Maṭâ'î al-Dîn Abû 'l-Kâsim 'Âli b. Ḍa'far al-Musawf, chief (ndb) of the Imâmî Shî'î community of Tîrmîz. This is a thorough criticism of Avicennan philosophy. It is supposed to comprise seven "questions", but at the end of the fifth (118), the author bemoans the serious troubles of the time and comes to an abrupt end. The circumstances evoked could be the defeat of Sandjâr by the Kara Khâṣîyân in 536/1141.

5. Maṭâ'î al-arzû wa-maṭâ'î al-âbrân, edited facsimile of the urânîs, with introduction and index, 2 vols., Tehran 1369/1990. The text comprises 343 folios, or 868 pages with 25 lines. It is a Kur'ânic commentary. After an autobiographical preface come the 12 chapters of an introduction to the study of the Kur'ân, then a simple commentary on the first two sûras. The first volume (up to II, 122) of the lost autograph manuscript had been composed between 538 and 540. It is not known whether, as is probable, the author continued beyond Sârâr al-Bâkî.

6. Maṭâ'î al-ṣawâîq, ed. A.H.S./1939. The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (ka'budât) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of kalâm" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?

7. Maṭâ'î al-ṣawâîq, ed. A.H.S./1939. The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (ka'budât) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of kalâm" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?

8. Maṭâ'î al-ṣawâîq, ed. A.H.S./1939. The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (ka'budât) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of kalâm" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?

9. Shârâf al-ṣawâîq, ed. A.H.S./1939. The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (ka'budât) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of kalâm" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?

10. Shârâf al-ṣawâîq, ed. A.H.S./1939. The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (ka'budât) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of kalâm" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?

11. Shârâf al-ṣawâîq, ed. A.H.S./1939. The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (ka'budât) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of kalâm" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?

12. Shârâf al-ṣawâîq, ed. A.H.S./1939. The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (ka'budât) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of kalâm" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?
al-Shahrastanî is hostile to philosophy. But the Milâl has yet another object. Up to and including the present day, this book owes its immense reputation to the treatment of religions external to Islam: Christians and Jews, Magyars and Manichaens, hermeticist Sabians, disciples of ancient Arab cults and of Hindu sects, etc. Not one of these chapters is of inferior quality. As a carefully crafted whole, they remained, until the 18th century, totally unique. They represent the high point of Muslim histories of religion. Finally, the rediscovery of the Maqâfîh al-asrâr should be taken into account. Each verse, before being clarified by the commentary, is a separate unit, a breathing space, a note, a parenthesis, a digression, a chapter, a passage, a commentary, which could be described as classical. This tafsîr is situated in the very first rank of Qur'anic commentaries, equal and sometimes superior to those of al-Tabarsi or al-Razzi in terms of precision, breadth, antiquity and variety of sources quoted; lists of the sîras in pre-'I'thimânîc collections, Sa'id b. DhuWAYb, al-Hasan al-BaKî, Abu 'Ubayda, al-FARRa', al-ZajîHÎdJÎdJÎd and many others.

Al-Shahrastanî does not only expound the thought of others; he has his own, which is immediately apparent in the refutation of Ibn Sînâ; he devotes numerous monographs to this purpose, attacking the philosopher from every angle. But the full expression of al-Shahrastanî's thought is to be sought elsewhere, sc. in the Maqâfîh al-asrâr. Usually, in fact, the above-mentioned long classical commentary is followed by the unfolding of “mysteries” (asrâr). The author insists on presenting them as received from a tradition, but the manner in which they are set forth bears the distinct mark both of his personal genius and of his deep-rooted conviction. These, scattered amongst consistent passages, written in a compact, sometimes vehement style, permit the reconstruction of a vision of the world.

At the summit is God, the One, of Whom we know nothing of the qualities except the ipseity (huwayya). The world of the Divine Order is prior to that of Resurrection (domain inchoative, tarattub), and the opposition of beings, and the opposition (asrâr). The author insists that his great-uncle must have been a pupil of his grandfather, his main master, who has received and accepted. Since when? A long hierarchy (taddîd), of beings, and the opposition (asrâr). But later, he was generally considered to be a maqâfîh, contemporaries of al-Shahrastanî, fully adheres there to the positions described above, and some more particular points establish beyond doubt that his thought was at that time Ismâ'îlî. He does not confine himself, either to recognising the prerogatives of the Ahl al-Bayt with regard to the Kur'ân, or to integrating Ismâ'îlî elements into a Sunnî theology. He propounds a global religious view, which he has received and accepted. Since when? A long time ago. It is not only the Maqâfîh and the Maqâfîh that are impregnated with Ismâ'îlîm, but the Milâl and the Nihâyâ also bear subtle hints of it.

Should our author therefore be seen as a secret but licensed member of the Alawî organisation? Nasîr al-Dîn al-Tusi, in a pro-Ismâ'îlî monograph (Sâyîr asrâr, in Maqâfîh al-asrâr, tehrân 1355/1936, 46) writes that his great-uncle must have been a pupil of the “‘alâh lâdî-dâr Tâjî al-Dîn Shahrastanî”. But this title does not seem to have been employed by the Ismâ'îls of Persia (cf. Daffari, 227, 336, 394). The incidental and belated statement of Tûsî is thus to be treated with caution.

Bibliography: 1. Principal older biographical notices. Bayhakî, Ta’dîb hukmâ’ al-Islâm (= Tawâmmat suwa’d al-hukmâ), Damascus 1363/1946, 141; 4, 142. b. He is the object of a commentary which could be described as classical. This tafsîr is situated in the very first rank of Qur'anic commentaries, equal and sometimes superior to those of al-Tabarsi or al-Razzi in terms of precision, breadth, antiquity and variety of sources quoted; lists of the sîras in pre-‘I’thimânîc collections, Sa’îd b. DhuWAYb, al-Hasan al-BaKî, Abu ‘Ubayda, al-FARRa’, al-ZajîHÎdJÎdJÎd and many others.


(G. Monnot)

AL-SHahrastanî, Sayyid Muhammod ‘Ali al-Husaynî, known as Hibat al-Dîn al-Shahrastanî, ‘Irākî Shī‘î religious scholar and politician. He was born at Sâmarrâ’ on 20 May 1884. His pedigree, reaching back to A1I b. Abr Talib, is given by Khâkâm C, 39 and 64. The family’s descent from families with a long tradition of religious scholarship, with branches in ‘Irâk (including the ‘Al Hakîm), Persia and elsewhere. Two works by Hibat al-Dîn concerning the history of his family apparently remained unpublished (Tîhrân, 1413; Khâkâm, 78, nos. 39 and 64).

After the death of his father in 1902. In Nadjaf, he followed the death of his father in 1902. In Nadjaf, he returned with the family to his native town, Karbala’ and returned with the family to his native town, Karbala’. Hibat al-Dîn began his religious studies there, but left Karbala’ for Nadjaf following the death of his father in 1902. In Nadjaf, he studied with some of the most prominent mujâhidûns of the time, such as Sayyid Muhammod Kâzîm al-Yazdî and Sayyîh al-Shârî’s al-İsâhâni, and especially with Multa Muhammod Kâzîm al-Khurâsânî (see below), known as Akhûnd. In addition to the traditional fields of study, Hibat al-Dîn soon developed a special interest in the modern natural sciences and in the inter-
pretation of its recent findings according to some Muslim modernist writers in India and Egypt. The first and most important fruit of his endeavours in this respect was a book on astronomy [see *ilm al-hay'a*] called *Al-Hay'a wa l-Islam*. It was published in Baghdad in 1910, went into several editions, and was translated into some other languages (for the genesis of this book see Husainy, *takdim*, 13-14; for a list of translations, *ibid.*, 7). In March 1910, Hibat al-Din started the publication, in Najaf, of a monthly periodical called *al-Im*, the first Arabic journal to appear in that town (*Abd al-Razzak al-Hasani, *Ta'rikh al-shafa al-irankiya*, i, *Sidon* 1971, 30). During the short period of its publication (the number of its issues reaching only 21 in total), it became an important platform for the reformist ideas and proposals which were discussed in the circle around Khurasanī. Among these topics was that of *nakl al-dinawac*, i.e. the transference of corpses to the Shiʿī shrine towns and their burial there. This practice was sharply criticised as a *bid'a* by Hibat al-Din in *al-Im* (on the background of his criticism and on the ensuing controversy over this issue, see Nakash, esp. 192-7). Being ardently in favour of the constitutional movement in Persia [see *nurrisī*, iv], he became involved in the factional strife between its supporters and critics in Najaf (see Khakhani, 79-90; Luizard, 243 ff.).

Shortly after Khurasanī's death in December 1911, Hibat al-Din stopped publication of his journal and, in 1912, set out on a long journey to Syria and Lebanon, Egypt, the Hijāz (where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca), Yaman and India. He returned to ʻIrāq in 1914. Already before the time when, in November 1914, Turkey entered the First World War, Hibat al-Din as well as a number of other Shiʿīs had been approached by Ottoman officials in order to find support for the common, pan-Islamic *dajihād* [q.v.] against the Allies. Hibat al-Din responded with enthusiasm (Khakhani, 69). It is in this connection that he produced, in 1915, a special *fatwa* [q.v.] concerning the friendship between the Muslims and the Germans (German tr. H. Ritter, in *Wege in modernen Irak*, in *Geschichte und Kultur des modernen Iraq*, ii, *Berlin* 1937, 45-8; see *ibid.*, 217-20, for a background, see *ibid.*, i, 128, and *Iraq*, *World War I*., in R. PETERS, ed., *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Leiden 1981, 57-71).

After the British had taken Baghdad in March 1917, Hibat al-Din settled again in Karbala'. He soon became involved in the resistance against the British occupation, which culminated in the revolt of 1920 (for his role there, see, e.g. *Abd al-Razzak al-Hasani, al-Janāra al-trākhkiyya al-hubra*, *Sidon* 1972, index 302; Luizard, 405 ff.).

In September 1921, Hibat al-Din became Minister of Education in the second cabinet of *ʿAbd al-ʿRaḥmān al-Nakib*. His term of office was marked by serious tensions between him and the Director-General at the Ministry, ʿṢāfī al-Ḥusaynī (see the latter's *Mudhakirīn fa l-ʾIrāk*, i, *Beirut* 1967, esp. 147-55, and Heine, 57-65). These tensions, together with a number of other factors, led to his resignation in August 1922 (see *ʿAbd al-Razzak al-Hasani, Taʿrikh al-ʿazāzirāt al-irankiya*, 7*Baghdād* 1988, 74-115). From 1923 to 1934, Hibat al-Din served as president of the *Dijārī* Court of Cassation (*makhmāt al-tammiyya*), in spite of the fact that soon after his taking over this position he had lost his eyesight. In 1934-5 he was a deputy (for *Baghdād*) in the Parliament of ʻIrāq. After its dissolution, he chose to withdraw to ʿAziyiyah, where he established, in the early 1940s, the *Maktabat al-Šīrāzdīyay*, a rich scholarly library. On a few occasions, Hibat al-Din later on voiced his opinion in political matters. Thus his visit to Persia in 1955, where he was received by many *ulamā'ir* and a number of high government officials, was generally seen as an attempt to further strengthen the consolidation process between the *Shīʿī* clergy and the Shah after the ousting, in 1953, of the pro-British government (see *Sh. Abd al-Rahman Religion and politics in contemporary Iran*, Aleppo 1980, 75-6). He died in Baghdad on 2 February 1967.


herself was only introduced to the Western world by Galland, and remains there, in her... correspond to that of Gul-canbar. We may note here that Tavernier seems to mention the town of Altun-is to take place on the plain of Shahrazur: "on the places at Shahrazur the centre of the Zamua country, all the faithful will receive their due".

km/36 x 25 miles in area, watered by the tributaries of the Tandjaro river, which flows into the Sirwan. The reference is perhaps to the mountaineers of the Zangid Atabegs (Rich, i, 280), who "are not true Kurds". They are not a proper Kurdish one. The reference is perhaps to the mountaineers of Ahmad and Daylamastan (Yakut). Between 400 and 434/1010-13, scions of the Kurdish dynasty of the Hasanids, ruled at Shahrazur. In the 6th/12th century the Turkomans and the Zangid Atabegs held the district. In the time of Yākūṭ, Muẓaffar-dīn Kūbkūrī, Atabeg of Irīb, had settled himself there. In 623/1226 From Baghdad to Tabrīz were taken by the Hwsna(?) who "are not true Kurds". The reference is perhaps to the mountaineers of Awramān, who still occupy the western slope of the mountains. On the other hand, a Kūsā whom A. von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the Žaza dialect which is not a proper Kurdish one.

The numerous tumuli in the plain of Shahrazur confirm the testimony—of Theophanes as well as of Abu Dulaf—regarding the number of settlements in the region. The most persistent tradition (Ibn al-Fakfh, 130) notes a few remnants of them in this region; cf. also place-names like Kosa-madjna, Māmenī-Kosa). After 434/1049/1639 allotted to Turkey the western slope of the mountains. On the other hand, a Kūsā whom A. von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the Žaza dialect which is not a proper Kurdish one.

The numerous tumuli in the plain of Shahrazur confirm the testimony—of Theophanes as well as of Abu Dulaf—regarding the number of settlements in the region. The most persistent tradition (Ibn al-Fakfh, 130) notes a few remnants of them in this region; cf. also place-names like Kosa-madjna, Māmenī-Kosa). After 434/1049/1639 allotted to Turkey the western slope of the mountains. On the other hand, a Kūsā whom A. von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the Žaza dialect which is not a proper Kurdish one.

The numerous tumuli in the plain of Shahrazur confirm the testimony—of Theophanes as well as of Abu Dulaf—regarding the number of settlements in the region. The most persistent tradition (Ibn al-Fakfh, 130) notes a few remnants of them in this region; cf. also place-names like Kosa-madjna, Māmenī-Kosa). After 434/1049/1639 allotted to Turkey the western slope of the mountains. On the other hand, a Kūsā whom A. von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the Žaza dialect which is not a proper Kurdish one.

The numerous tumuli in the plain of Shahrazur confirm the testimony—of Theophanes as well as of Abu Dulaf—regarding the number of settlements in the region. The most persistent tradition (Ibn al-Fakfh, 130) notes a few remnants of them in this region; cf. also place-names like Kosa-madjna, Māmenī-Kosa). After 434/1049/1639 allotted to Turkey the western slope of the mountains. On the other hand, a Kūsā whom A. von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the Žaza dialect which is not a proper Kurdish one.
köprü under the name “Shehrazul.”

Ardilan being finally removed from Shahrazur, ... in setting forth the various doctrines concerned (resume and analysis by Husayn Diya’.)

The latest in date of the members of this prestigious line of Shāhīd’s jukād was Mahyf al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muhammad b. Kamāl al-Dīn Abī 1-Fadl Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Shahrazur. He was a disciple in fikr at Baghādād of Abū Mansūr Ībn al-Razzāz. He entered the service of Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (d. 569/1174 [q.v.] at Damascus, replacing his father as minister in Šafar 555/February-March 1160, and was subsequently kādī of Aleppo and then Mawsīl. He achieved fame and influence there, having, like his father, the reputation of being a generous and enlightened ruler. Before the start of the world war to the powerful Djiyāf chiefs, ‘Othman Pasha Djaf [see Sinna] had been established on Turkish territory in Kurdistan. To complete the confusion, the plain of Shahrazur was given to the kadds of Kirkūk (the kadds were: Kirkūk, Arbīl, Rāniyā, Rawandūz, Kōy and Salāḥiyā, Toptive administra- tion of Shahrazur was in the hands of the amsellīms Rawandūz and Harīr, the so-called “tribes” of which were: Kīrkuq, Arbil, Rāniyā, Rawandūz, Kōy and Salāḥiyā, but to complete the confusion, the plain of Shahrazur proper was included in the sandjak of Sulaymānīyya (see Cuinet, La Turquie d’Asie, i, 764).

From the 18th century, a branch of the tribe of Djiyāf [see sana] had been established on Turkish territory. The plain of Shahrazur, as well as many vil- lages around it, had in 1857 and the crea- tion of the vilayet of Mawsīl, the name of Shahrazur was given to the sandjak of Kirkūk (the kadds were: Kirkūk, Arbīl, Rāniyā, Rawandūz, Kōy and Salāḥiyā), but to complete the confusion, the plain of Shahrazur proper was included in the sandjak of Sulaymānīyya (see Cuinet, La Turquie d’Asie, i, 764).

After the administrative reforms of 1867 and the cre- ation of Sulaymaniyya, the name of Shahrazur was given to the sandjak of Kirkūk, Arbil, Rāniyā, Rawandūz, Kōy and Salāḥiyā.

In disguise to Mesopotamia and Iraq, the garrison of Shahrazur eydleti, which has grown steadily since its repopulation by Kurds from its main urban and administrative centre, a town that is related, he never imprisoned anyone who had not paid a debt of two dinars or less, preferring, if necessary, to pay the debt himself. His biographers attribute to him a certain number of verses judged competent, and among his poetic descriptions is that of a bat and of abundantly-falling snow, whilst other poems treat such varied themes as friendship, fidelity, etc.; on his father’s death, in 572/1176-7, he composed an elegy upon him.

The author of makāmāt, Abū l-‘Alā’ Ahmad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī al-Hanafi (who seems to have lived towards the end of the 6th/12th century), dedicated 30 makāmāt to the chief judge of Mawsīl, Mūhyī al-Dīn al-Shahrazur, who died at Mawsīl in Dju‘mādī I 586/June 1190 aged 62 (but al-Šafādī places his death in Dju‘mādī II 584/August 1186).


AL-SHAHRAZUR, SHAMS AL-DIN MūHAMMAD B. MAHMUD, Illuminationist philosopher of the 7th/13th century.

He has suffered by an ironical stroke of fate, in that, although he wrote a substantial work on the biographies of thinkers, sages and scholars of the times preceding his own, his own life is totally unknown. Hence neither his birth nor his death date are known; only a copyist’s note indicates that he was still alive in 687/1288 (cf. H. Corbin’s intro. to his Šamās philosophiques et mystiques d’al-Shahrourī, ii, Tehran-Paris 1976, p. bxx). His own written oeuvre was nevertheless considerable. His Nachat al-arāsh wa-rāshāt al-arifī (cf. Īmād al-Dīn al-Kāthī’s Khurshid al-kār) gives 122 biogra-phies of philosophers of Antiquity and the Islamic period, of which the notice on Šihāb al-Dīn Yahyā al-Suhrūwī [q.v.] (ed. S.H. Naṣr in his Persian intro. to Šamās philosophiques, ii, 13-30) remains our main source of information on this principal šaykh of the Ǧārīfī. His Raṣīl’ al-šahīra wa-štihkāra, dated 680/1282, are a real encyclopaedia of philosophy and the sciences, in which al-Shahrūrī’s own Illuminationist beliefs do not affect at all his objectivity in set-ting forth the various doctrines concerned (rēsumé and analysis by Ḫusayn Diyā’ī, Mu’arrifī wa barrājī-yi
al-shahrazuri — shahriyar

naskha-yi khatti-yi Shaajara-yi ildhiyya ..., in Majalla-yi Irânshindsi, ii/1 [1990]). His K. al-Rumuz wa lanâmâl is a treatise on noetics concerning the modalities of metaphysical knowledge by the Illuminative Way. But paradoxically, al-Shahrazuri seems to have revealed his most inner personal beliefs in his commentaries on the two basic works of al-Suhrawardi, the hitmat al-i'grâk and the Tâlakhât, commentaries which have very much been left out by the shaykh of the Illuminationists' thought, and which inspired other later commentaries such as Kâb al-Din al-Shârâzî [q.v.] on the first work and Ibn Kamûnû [q.v.] on the second—at least, in the opinions of Corbin and Diyâ'î. Al-Shahrazuri seems to have been totally taken up by al-Suhrawardi's Illuminatist philosophy—possibly as the result of a sudden conversion, in Corbin's conjecture, since there are no references to the shaykh in the K. al-Rumûz, ostensibly the oldest of al-Shahrazuri's works (cf. En Islam iranien, Paris 1931, ii, 347). In his commentary on the hitmat al-i'grâk, he goes so far as to describe himself as the koyyûm "upholder" of the science of that work, thus claiming a hierarchic function in the chain of Illuminationist theosophists which remains somewhat mysterious to us now (ibid., 348). At all events, one should stress the independence of mind of a scholar who proclaimed loudly the necessity of studying the philosophy of Aristotle (and of the Greek sages in general) at a time when the anti-rationalist Ash'arî reaction was gaining ground everywhere. Nevertheless, al-Shahrazuri, in his commentaries, stands out as much more than a servile glosaur on Aristotle or on al-Suhrawardi; he displays there the work of a true thinker, dialectician and philosopher.

Bibliography: Al-Shahrazûrî's works, despite their great interest for the history of Islamic thought, have only been partially edited so far. There is an ed. of his Nuzhat al-arâshîd by Khurshûd Ahmad, Hâydarâbâd Dn. 1976, a Persian tr. by Dîvâ' al-Dîn Durrî, as K. Kânq al-îšrân, Tehran 1937, and, under its original title, by M. A. Tabrîzî, ed. M. T. Dînjîh Pâshîq and M. Sáâmîr Mawliî, Tehran 1986. His comm. on the hitmat al-i'grâk also has a critical ed. by Diyâ'î, Tehran 1993, with a Fr. tr. of the Preface by Corbin in his Le Livre de la Sagesse orientale, Paris 1986, 75 ff. (P. Lory)

SHAHRIYAR, SAYYID (or Mir) MUHAMMAD HUSAYN, a modern Persian poet. He was born about 1905 at Tabrîz as the son of a lawyer, and belonging to a family of sayyids in the village of Khushgâb. In his early work he used the pen name Bahdjât, which he later changed to Shahriyâr, a name chosen from the Dîwân of Hâfiz, who was his great model as a writer of ghâzâls. He read medicine at the Dâr al-Funûn in Tehran, but left his studies unfinished to become a government clerk in Khuršân. After some time he returned to Tehran, where for many years he was employed by the Agricultural Bank, living a sober and secluded life devoted mostly to poetry and mysticism. In the 1950s he married and settled down in Tabrîz. Shahriyâr died on 18 September 1988 in a Tehran hospital. His literary success came very early; already in 1931 a volume of collected poems was published with introductions by influential men of letters like M.T. Bâhir, Pîzmân Bâhlîyâr and S. Nafsî. His Dîwân was repeatedly reprinted in amplified editions.

Shahriyâr's work consists of lyrical poetry in various forms as well as a number of larger narrative compositions. Although he was essentially a neo-classical poet, there are frequent references to the modern world both in the choice of subjects and imagery. He was a great master of the traditional literary language, but also wrote in a simple contemporary idiom. Love poetry in the classical ghâzal was his most important genre, which he revitalised with fresh psychological nuances and realistic settings, without changing much the formal rules and conventions. During a short period in the 1940s he tried his hand,

in effect as a place name, to distinguish the principal town of a given region from the eponymous province, or else to single out that part of the provincial capital in which the seat of government was located. Any of the places mentioned in classical texts that were known alternatively, or even exclusively, by this name one can mention:

(1) Sâbûr (older: Bîghâbûr) in Fârs is often referred to as Shahristân, whereby al-Mukaddasî specifies that it is the provincial capital (kâsâba) of Sâbûr which is known by this name, as opposed to the other towns (mutân) in the vicinity, such as Kâzârûn. See al-Mukaddasî, 30, 424, 432, Yâkût, 342.

(2) The city of Isfâhân (Shâhriyâr) consisted of two parts, Shahristân (also called al-Madîna and Djayû, evidently the seat of the governor) and Djâshâdûn (Arabicised: al-Yahûdîyâ, i.e. the old Jewish quarter). See Hûdûd al-âlam, 131; al-Istakhri 198-9; Yâkût, 343.

(3) The city of Dîjurûn (Gûrgân) also consisted (according to the Hûdûd al-âlam, 133) of two parts, Shahristân and Bakrâbâd, separated from one another by the river Hîrânand. See also al-Mukaddasî, 30, 354, 357; Ibn al-Fâkhî, 330.

(4) Kâṯûr, the new capital of Khârâzûm, was, according to al-Mukaddasî (30, 287), also known as Shahristân.

(5) Al-Mukaddasî (360) says that Shahristân was the name given to the seat of government in Brûn (Barûn?), the capital (kâsâba) of Daylâm.

(6) Shahristânî (al-Mukaddasî, 51), Shahristânî (îdem, 300-1 n. 1; 320) or Shahristânî (Yâkût, 343-4) was the name of a town in Khurûsân, three days' journey from Nasîrâbâd. The birth-place of the celebrated al-Shâhristânî [q.v.]. Yâkût says that he was present when it was sacked by the Mongols in 617/1220.

Modern Irân is divided into 43 shahrastans, or sub-provincial administrative districts.

Bibliography: Given in the article.
not without success, on modern poetical forms as they were propagated by his friend Nima Yushidj [q.v.], but soon he returned to classic prosody. In spite of his deep involvement in mysticism, he committed himself from time to time to political and social issues. During the Pahlawi period, he wrote nationalistic poems, like Takkii-i Djamgiid, an evocation in a mathnaw of the ancient glory of Persia as symbolised by the ruins of Persepolis (Dinâan, 626-54). In Khatrmanan-i Iastinâd he sang the praise of the heroes of the Red Army during the Second World War (Dinân, 528-36).

In many poems he expressed a great devotion to the Shahs of the Safavid dynasty. In his poetry he combined love for his beloved daughter Shahriydr with self from time to time to political and social issues. During the Pahlawi period, he wrote nationalistic poems, like Takkii-i Djamgiid, an evocation in a mathnaw of the ancient glory of Persia as symbolised by the ruins of Persepolis (Dinâan, 626-54). In Khatrmanan-i Iastinâd he sang the praise of the heroes of the Red Army during the Second World War (Dinân, 528-36).

During the Pahlawi period, he wrote nationalistic poems, like Takkii-i Djamgiid, an evocation in a mathnaw of the ancient glory of Persia as symbolised by the ruins of Persepolis (Dinâan, 626-54). In Khatrmanan-i Iastinâd he sang the praise of the heroes of the Red Army during the Second World War (Dinân, 528-36).

In many poems he expressed a great devotion to the Shahs of the Safavid dynasty. In his poetry he combined love for his beloved daughter Shahriydr with self from time to time to political and social issues. During the Pahlawi period, he wrote nationalistic poems, like Takkii-i Djamgiid, an evocation in a mathnaw of the ancient glory of Persia as symbolised by the ruins of Persepolis (Dinâan, 626-54). In Khatrmanan-i Iastinâd he sang the praise of the heroes of the Red Army during the Second World War (Dinân, 528-36).

During the Pahlawi period, he wrote nationalistic poems, like Takkii-i Djamgiid, an evocation in a mathnaw of the ancient glory of Persia as symbolised by the ruins of Persepolis (Dinâan, 626-54). In Khatrmanan-i Iastinâd he sang the praise of the heroes of the Red Army during the Second World War (Dinân, 528-36).

During the Pahlawi period, he wrote nationalistic poems, like Takkii-i Djamgiid, an evocation in a mathnaw of the ancient glory of Persia as symbolised by the ruins of Persepolis (Dinâan, 626-54). In Khatrmanan-i Iastinâd he sang the praise of the heroes of the Red Army during the Second World War (Dinân, 528-36).
ruled by khan(s) appointed as el-beys (paramount chiefs) descended from Yusûr Paşa, and divided between bey-câda (nobles) and kánbâld or nütât (commoners), and they refer to an original royal grant of the pastures, lands of Ardabil and Mughan, and to the contemporary royal appointment of the chiefs. These legends, presumably originating with the nobles, thus legitimate their authority over the commoners, and their control of the pastures, the most important resource for all their nomad followers. The present author heard similar legends in the 1960s from descendants of former el-beys.

As a third version of Shahsewan origins, commonly articulated in the 20th century among ordinary tribes-people and in writings on them, states that the Shahsewan are “32 tribes” (otâz Dî tayfî), all of equal status, and each with its own independent bey or chief, and makes no mention of nobles or of el-beys. The basis of this story is obscure, but it may refer to the presumed origin of the Shahsewan from among the 16-17th century Kızîl-Bâsh tribes, which in several sources also numbered 32.

Contemporary sources record groups and individuals bearing the name Shahsewan, often as a military title in addition to Kızîl-Bâsh tribal names such as Afşâr [g.v.] and Şâmlû (and Şâmlû components such as Beydîlî, İnâlû, Adjlû), in Mughan and Ardabil in the late 17th century. Other prominent tribes in the region were the Kızîl-Bâsh Takîle/Tekeli, and the Kurdish Şâkkachi [g.v.] and Mûghiî/Mûghânî. But there is no evidence of the formation of a unified Shahsewan tribe or confederacy as such until the following century, in the time of Nâdîr Şâh Afşâr [g.v.].

In the 1720s, with the rapid fall of the Safavid dynasty to the Afghân at Isfahan, and Ottoman invasions in north-western Persia, for several crucial years Mughan and Ardabil were at the meeting-point of three empires. Records for those years, the first that mention in any detail the activities of the Shahsewan and other tribes of the region, depict them as loyal frontiersmen, struggling to restrict the Ottoman invaders and to defend the Safavid shrine city of Ardabil, especially in the campaigns of 1726 and 1728. Ottoman armies crushed the Şâkkachi in Mîshkân in autumn 1728, and then in early 1729 cornered the other tribes in Mughan. Leaving the İnâlû and Afşâr to surrender to the Ottomans, the Shahsewan and Mûghiî in the Kur river to Şâyân to take refuge with the Russians. In 1729, the Russian governor of “Afşâr Khan Shahsewan” took the title of “âl-kul Khan Shahsewan, a local landowner. They returned to Persian sovereignty in 1732, when Nâdîr Afşâr recovered the region. Thereafter, he appears to have formed the Shahsewan into a unified and centralised confederacy under Badr Khan, one of his generals in the Khûrâsân and Turkistan campaigns. Possibly a son of “Afşâr Khan, Badr Khan is linked by 19th-century legends with Yûnsûr Paşa, and there is strong evidence that Badr Khan’s family, the Şârî-Şâkkché, were from the Afşâr of Urmia. Former bey-câda (noble) tribes such as Köjджabîyî, İlâlî, Bâlbeyî, Must-Abîyî, Abîbâlû, Polâlû and Damîrdît, traced consanguinity with the Şârî-Şâkkché Afşâr, whereas many commoner tribes bear names indicating Şâmîl origins.

The Şâkkachi, İnâlû and Afşâr from Mughan who had been defeated by the Ottomans were probably among the numerous tribes whom Nâdîr exiled to his metropolitan province, Khûrâsân. After his death (1747), the Şâkkachi returned to settle around Mûiya, Şarb and Khaḍîbî, and the İnâlû and Afşâr (both now bearing the name Shahsewan too) to the Kharâsân, Khamsa and Târîm regions south and south-west of Ardabil. One of Nâdîr’s assassins, Mûsî Bey Shahsewan, was apparently from the Afşâr who settled in Târîm.

In the turbulent decades after Nâdîr’s death, Badr Khan’s son (or brother?) Nazar ‘Alî Khan Shahsewan governed the city and district of Ardabil. Towards the end of the 18th century the Sârî-Şâkkché family split, dividing the Shahsewan confederacy into two, associated with the districts of Ardabil and Mîshkân. Shahsewan khan[s] participated actively in the political rivalries and alliances of the time, with the semi-independent neighboring khans of Kara Dîgâ, Kara Bâg, Kubba, Şarâb and Gîlân, the Afşâr, Afşar, Zand and Kädîr tribal rulers of Persia, and agents and forces of the Russian Empire.

Under the early Kädîrs, two wars with Russia raged across Shahsewan territory and resulted in the Russian conquest of the best part of their winter quarters in Mughan, and considerable movements of tribes southwards. The khan[s] of Ardabil, notably Nadîr ‘Alî Khan’s [24x328] (or brother?) Nazar ‘Alî Khan Shahsewan, the Russian frontier in Mughan was finally closed

the region of Mughan and Ardabil and the nomads confined there underwent a drastic social and eco-
nomic upheaval, whose causes were to be found not simply in the closure but also the behaviour of administrative officials. The Shahsewan, numbering over 10,000 families, for nearly four decades were virtually independent of central government. Although some, such as Mīghānhūl, the largest tribe of all, pursued their pastoral life peacefully as best they could, for most nomads life was dominated by insecurity and the increasing banditry and vendettas by the warriors of the chiefly retinues; the period was known as khan-khāndān or ashtarākhān, the time of the independent khāns or rebels.

Administrative officials give a detailed and depressing picture of the upheaval, though without appreciating or admitting the degree to which Russian imperialism and 19th-century rivalry with Britain were largely responsible for both the frontier situation and the behaviour of, on average, seven to eight people. In the 1960s, groups of three to five

Economic and social organisation of the Mughān Shahsewan.

Apart from their frontier location and history, the Shahsewan differ from other nomadic tribal groups in Persia in various aspects of their culture and social and economic organisation. Most distinctive is their dwelling, the hemispherical, felt-covered yurt. In each yurt lives a household of, on average, seven to eight people. In the 1960s, groups of three to five
closely related nomad households co-operated in an *ābā*, a herding unit that camped on its own in the mountain pastures between June and early September, but joined with one or two others to form a winter camp of 10 to 15 households during the period November to April. Two or three such winter camps, linked by agnostic ties between the male household heads as a *gūbak* "navel" or descent group, would form a *tīra*, tribal section. The *gūbak*/*tīra* was usually also a *dījamāh* (from Ar. *dījamā*) community, which moved and camped as a unit during the autumn migration in October and the spring migration in May, and performed many religious ceremonies jointly. Every group, from herding unit to community, was led by a recognised *āk sākāl*, "grey-beard" or elder. The *tāyīfa* or tribe, comprising from two to over 20 *tīra* sections, was a larger community, members of which felt themselves different in subtle ways from members of other *tāyīfās*, and few contacts, and only one in ten marriages, were made between *tāyīfās*. After the abolition of the *beyās*, the government attempted to deal directly with the *tīra* and their *āk sākāls*; as a result, the "grey-beard" was a younger man from the wealthiest family in the community, with the skills and resources to deal with the authorities. But the *tāyīfa* continued to be important, and remained the main element in Shāhsewan identity, nomadic or settled.

Perhaps the most important feature distinguishing the Shāhsewan from other nomadic tribal groups in Persia was their system of grazing rights. Where other nomads operated some version of communal access to grazing, the Shāhsewan developed an unusual system whereby individual pastoralists inherited, bought or rented known proportions of the grazing rights to specific pastures, though in practice members of an *ābā* would exploit their rights jointly. This system was invalidated by the nationalisation of the pastures in the 1960s, but still operates clandestinely.

Shāhsewan nomads traditionally raised flocks of sheep and goats, the former for milk and milk products, wool, and meat, the latter only in small numbers mainly as flock leaders. Camels, donkeys, and horses were used for transport. Most families raised chickens for eggs and meat, and a few kept cows. Every family had several fierce dogs, for guarding the home and the animals against thieves and predators. Bread was their staple food. Some nomads had relatives in villages, with whom they co-operated in a dual economy, exchanging pastoral for agricultural produce. Most, however, had to sell milk, wool and surplus animals to tradesmen in order to obtain wheat flour and other supplies. Some worked as hired shepherds, paid 5% of the animals they tended for every six-month contract period. Others went to towns and villages seasonally for casual wage-labour. Every camp was visited most days by itinerant pedlars, but householders went on shopping expeditions to town at least twice a year, for example during the migrations. Most purchases were made on credit, against the next season's pastoral produce. The wealthiest nomads raised flocks of sheep commercially, and owned shares in village lands as absentee landlords.

Women too had their elders, *āk bīrāq* "grey hairs", comparable to male *āk sākāls* and consulted privately by them; among the women they exercised their influence in public, at feasts attended by guests from a wide range of communities. At feasts, men and women were segregated. While the men enjoyed music and other entertainment, in the women's tent the *āk bīrāq* discussed matters of importance to both men and women, such as marriage arrangements, disputes, irregular behaviour among community members or broader subjects bearing on economic and political affairs. Opinions were formed and decisions made, which were then spread as the women returned home and told their menfolk and friends. This unusual information network among the women served a most important function for the society as a whole.

Shāhsewan women produced a variety of colourful and intricate flatwoven rugs, storage bags and blankets, and some knotted pile carpets, but these were all for domestic use, and figured prominently in girls' trousseaux on marriage. After about 1970, however, the international Oriental Carpet trade recognised that a whole category of what had previously been regarded as "Kurdish" or "Caucasian" tribal weavings were in fact the product of Shāhsewan nomads. Meanwhile, hard times and escalating prices forced many nomads to dispose of items never intended for sale. Since the Islamic Revolution, however, Shāhsewan weavers have increasingly produced for the foreign market, adjusting their styles accordingly.

(b) The Shāhsewan of Khārkān and Khamsa.

In the 19th century there were five major Shāhsewan groups in these regions: Inālū, Bagdādī, Kurtbeylı, Dūwayrān and Afḡār-Dūwayran. These descend from groups moved from Mughān in the 18th century, except for the Bagdādī, who have a separate history: Nādir Shāh Afḡār brought them from northern Irāk (Kirkūk) to Khurāsān, and later they joined Karīm Khān Zand in Shirāz before being brought to their present location (Sāwā and Khārkān by Agha Muhammad Khān Kāḏjār). Most of these tribes were settled by 1900; the Inālū and Bagdādī provided important military contingents for the Kāḏjār army (Tapper, *The king's friends*, Appendix 2).


**SHA'IR (A.),** barley (Hordeum L., Gramineae family, the Arabic term being applied to several different species), one of the major cereals cultivated throughout the Middle East from earliest times. Mediaeval medical texts classify it among the numerous "grains" (ṣaḥāl, which, naturally, included wheat but also pulses like lentils and beans) which, in bread preparation, formed an essential part of the diet of all but the most well-off of the population. The semantic association between bread (of whatever substance), sustenance, and life itself is found in several Semitic vocabularies. Even if more widely consumed than the scarcer (and hence more expensive) and less hardy wheat cereal, barley was judged less nourishing than wheat. The term occurs in the Traditions, suggesting its use both in the baking of inexpensive bread as well as in other popular dishes like ḥattifūs, ṣailtina, ṣarrid and ṣawīk (see *ČMTUK*).

By nature it was said to be moderately cold and dry (in contrast to wheat, which was hot and moist), which made it suitable for persons of hot complexion in summer, or with a fever. Hence medical opinion held that barley bread was also convenient for young persons but not for the elderly. The medical texts describe the benefits of certain barley preparations: flour, or barley water applied to the skin was said to remove blemishes as well as providing protection against leprosy. A preparation of barley and milk (called ḥiṣk) was an antidote to fever, and washing the body with it opened the pores, a treatment also for exhaustion and for travellers. Barley water had the properties of a diuretic and emenagogue. Barley sawīk was good for fever.

These and other preparations are also found in the mediaeval cookbooks as purely food for pleasure. One barley water recipe is designated especially for Ramadān. Barley flour was also the chief ingredient in the famous condiment marūṭi. A recipe for the beverage ḥikkā (apparently intended to be alcoholic) employs barley flour, while in another similar preparation it is advised against as being harmful; it was also used in the popular drink ādīsma and in the condiment of pickled garlic. Finally, a recommended means of preventing bunches of grapes from rotting is tobury them in barley.


**SHA'IR (A.),** poet.

1. In the Arab world
   A. Pre-Islamic and Umayyad periods
   B. From the 'Abbaṣi id period to the Nahda [see Suppl.]
   C. From 1850 to the present day
   D. In Muslim Spain
   E. The folk poet in Arab society
2. In Persia
3. In Turkey
4. In Muslim India
5. In the western and central Sudan
6. In Hausaland
7. In Malaysia and Indonesia

1. In the Arab world.

A. Pre-Islamic and Umayyad periods.

Among those endowed with knowledge and with power in ancient Arabia stands the figure of the ṣaḥār, whose role is often confused with that of the ṣaḥārān and ṣawīk having the same semantic value: cf. I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, i, 5 ff., and of the kānā (q.v.). They were credited with the same source of inspiration, the djinn (Goldziher, *Die Götter der Dichter*, in *ZDMG*, xlv [1891], 685 ff.). However, the ṣaḥār was, originally, the repository of magical rather than divinatory knowledge; his speech and his rhythms were directed towards enchantment. Ḥaḍa and ṭilāf, satire and elegy respectively, were the primordial expressions of his magical power (T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 117, where, under n. 4, the principal references are to be found).

Like the kānā, the ṣaḥār "guided the tribe on the ways of booty and of war". Both of them "advised, arbitrated, judged, decided, to the extent that, either their roles were blended with that of the tribal chief, or they became the latter's advisers, flatterers or instigators" (ibid.). Their functions often coincided with that of the ḥatt (Goldziher, *Der Chaṭṭī in den alten Arabern*, in *WZKM*, vi [1902], 97-102, summarised in French in *Arabica*, vii [1960], 16-18).

The kānā and ṣaḥār expressed themselves in saḏī and in ṭaḏājī, a rhythmic style originally used for the enunciation of the oracle of the kānā and for the chanting of verses of the ṣaḥār at the head of a column of troops setting out for war. The two functions, united at the outset, became progressively differentiated, as their sources of inspiration diversified. Thus ṭaḏājī was the basis of secular poetry and saḏī remained the mode of expression of the kānā. This distinction appears clearly in Kurān, LXXIX, 40-3 (cf. LXXXI, 19-25), where the text reads: "This is the word of a respected Prophet and is not that of a poet (ṣaḥār), men of little faith; nor is it that of a soothsayer (kānā), men of little memory. It is a revelation (tanzīl) of the Master of the Universe" (cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 156, 64).

The functions of the kānā and the ṣaḥār were frequently assumed by the sayyād (q.v.). This resulted from the fact that "in the Central Arabia of the 6th century, a sayyād was chosen who, among the members of the tribe, was distinguished by his qualities of eloquence, of decision and of persuasion. The desert Arab was determined to defend his liberty and would only be induced to submit to the chief's authority through reasoning and conviction; furthermore, the sayyād was entrusted with no powers of coercion and his prerogatives were limited. His prestige depended on his ability to influence his fellow-tribesmen with wisdom, with prudence, with informed advice, on his connections with the chiefs of neighbouring tribes, on his wealth and generosity" (ibid., 118-19).

The first reference to the role of the ṣaḥār in the tribe is found in the *Ecclesiastical history* by Sozomenus (vi, 38, ll. 1-9), who was writing between 443 and 450. This author, born in a small village near Gaza, takes up what had previously been written by Rufinus, a contemporary of St. Jerome, who completed the *Church history* by Eusebius of Caesarea and translated it into Latin after 402, and Socrates, another historian of the Church, *Ecc. hist.* iv, 385, ll. 1-12. These authors speak of a "queen of the Saracen tribe (Arabs)" (saracenorum genitis regina), called Mawia, who led a stub-
born war against the Romans on the borders of Palestine and Arabia (vehementi hello Palaestini et Arabi
limitis/var. limidi), defeated them and imposed his conditions on Valens (Emperor 364-78). According to
Sozomenus, Mawia, widow of a chieftain killed in battle, played a very important role at the head of
her tribe. After repudiating the accords (æmovot) concluded between her husband and the Romans,
which were followed by excessive taxation demands, she set out to raid villages between Palestine and
Egypt. Her victories and her courage were celebrated among the Arab tribes with popular songs (qabas).
These songs were adaptations of poems in rughur (see on this subject F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, Die Araber
in der alten Welt, iii, Berlin 1966, 101 ff.; Fahd, Musawat et Dqi'üm au al'Arab wo 'l-Rümûm fi aswâkhir al-karn al-rahi',
in Actes du Congres International sur l'histoire de Bilâd al-Şâm, 'Armanî, 1988). The connections which have
been found in both Arab and Persian poetry are well known (cf. Blachère, HLA, ii, 337 ff.). It is also well known that
talented poet was widely distributed among both nomads and sedentary Arabs (ibid., 331 ff.).

Poets may be divided into two categories: the poet of the tribe and the poet of the court.

i. The poet of the tribe.

In a series of concisely written pages (ibid., 238 ff.), R. Blachère has painted a vivid and very detailed
portrait of this poet, the heir to a prestigious tradition. He is the quintessence of his tribal group, to
which he is viscerally attached, even when he breaks
with anecdotes where the poet manifests himself by
his incomparable renown and the unique
power of his speech. Such an image could not be an
observation of the function of the poet in Arab society, as
the latter glides imperceptibly from nomadism to
sedentarisation, by way of a long period of semi-seden-
.tarisation.

ii. The poet of the court.

Attracted by the glamour of urban or semi-urban society, the nomad poet, without leaving his group
and without renouncing its defence, attached himself
to a patron whose panegyrist he became, at the risk of
losing a part of his liberty and sometimes his life.

Following the disappearance of the Lakhmids and the Ghassânids, the poet of the tribe, accepted
by his Meccan adversaries (Kur'an, 183; ibid., 341). The foregoing account constitutes the permanent
conception which may be held of the poet of the tribe. This core will be found in a more
or less explicit fashion throughout the periods of evo-
uation of the function of the poet in Arab society, as
the latter glides imperceptibly from nomadism to
sedentarisation, by way of a long period of semi-seden-
.tarisation.
into his service an eminent poet who had been a protegé of the Ghassanids and of the Lakhmids, Hassan b. Thabit [q.v.], who became his accredited panegyrist. Other poets rallied around the founder of Islam, seen as a head of state unlike any other in the Arab world [as in the case of Ka'b b. Mālik, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāhā, Abū Kayy b. al-Aslāt, Bāshīr b. Sa'd; others opposed him at the cost of their lives (as in the case of the Jewish poet of Medina Ka'b b. al-Asghar and others).

Under the first four caliphs, there was a gradual return to the appreciation of poetry, on condition that it upheld a certain ethic (muṭarrīm al-ḥājdād). The poet Suhaym was put to death, under 'Umar, on account of his amorous escapades. This was not unaccompanied by a degree of embarrassment, "a sort of bad conscience paving the way for a process of rehabilitation" (ibid., 355). Some went so far as to show the Prophet allowing improvisation and even improvising himself on the ṣa'da metre (al-Bukharī, ed. Cairo, iv, 51) or reciting a fragment from a pagan poet (ibid., iv, 32).

It was in the Umayyad period that the poet was to regain his place in his tribal group and as client of numerous patrons, caliphs, governors and prosperous merchants enriched by the wealth accruing from the tide of conquests. This was the age of prestigious poets such as al-Akhtal, Djarir and al-Farazdak [q.v.]. In accordance with the attachment of the Umayyad princes to Bedouin tradition, the poet returned to his origin, function as representative of his tribe and champion of its interests. He spoke of its past, of its glories, of its merits, either in eulogistic poems addressed to his patrons, or in contests of ṣafār (boasting) or ḫaḍī t (satire) in which he engaged with his rivals. All this was done with the aim of gaining credit for himself or for his tribe in the estimation of the one who was the subject of the eulogy. The poet of the court, in the terms previously described, was superseded by the poet of the tribe, even though his role was essentially played in the court. The vast majority of the poets who achieved eminence in this period were natives of the desert; throughout their careers, they remained in close contact with their tribes, to which they returned after the completion of their tasks in the court and in the presence of their patrons. Al-Akhtal, a Christian of the great tribal confederation of the Taghlib, began with the celebration of local spoils in the region of Kūf. His career as "cantor of the Umayyads" started when Yazīd I, still the heir presumptive, commissioned him to satirise the Anṣār of Medina who claimed to be of "Yemeni" descent; he unleashed a poetical campaign which was to earn him vehement ripostes on the part of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hasān, al-Nu'mān b. Bāshīr and al-Nabīgha al-Dīja'd. Thus he found himself embroiled in the perpetual dispute between the Arabs of the South (Yemenis) and Arabs of the North (Kayṣīs), the dispute which was to wreak such damage in all the phases of Arab history.

For his part, Djarir also began his career with his tribe (the Tamīm); throughout his life, he remained attached to his ancestral desert, the Yamāma, returning to it after brief periods in Baṣra or in Damascus; he, too, was the spokesman of the Kayṣīs against the Yemenis. Al-Farazdak (also of the Tamīm), born like Djarir in the Yamāma, began his career as a tribal poet, then served a number of patrons before succeeding his father as official poet of the court, under the reign of al-Walīd I. It was in Baṣra that he spent the major part of his life; it was also there that he died.

Not one of these three poets resided in the caliphal court at Damascus. While politico-religious controversies (Kayṣīs and Yemenis, Sunnīs and Shi'īs) appear in their eulogistic and satirical poems, there is no echo to be found there of the life of the court. The sumptuous palaces of Damascus could not make them forget the desert in which they had been brought up; their poetic art, which is that of the great poets of pre-Islam, bears witness to this.

Hence the poet of the Umayyad period remained in the service of his tribe, like his predecessor in the pre-Islamic era. But his audience had changed. Conquests that brought prestige and enabled the proliferation of urban centres, colonised by segments of peninsular tribes; it was in these "colonies" that young poets were accepted and helped to make their way in this evolving society. The poet, usually of modest background, sought to exploit his art as a means of acquiring wealth and distinction. On the way he encountered rivals and competitors, and also risked making deadly enemies. Hence the important role of ḫaḍī t in this period (in particular between Djarir and al-Farazdak). There would also be instances where he was caught in a vice between his ancestral group and the central or local power; it was then incumbent on him to attempt to serve the interests of both (for example, al-Farazdak reminding the caliph of the support given him by the Tamīm at the time of the suppression of the Yemenis, in revolt at the instigation of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, Blāchère, 544 n. 4). There were instances where the poet refused to submit and appealed to his group for assistance; then, following a trivial incident, the issue grew in importance and "fire engulfed the tribe" (for example: a Sulāmi poet, insulted by al-Akhtal in the presence of the caliph, left in fury and incited his people to attack the Taghlib, ibid., 544 n. 6).

Two factors contributed greatly to the popularity of the poets in the Umayyad period. On the one hand, the large number of patrons emerging from the governmental and military aristocracy, enriched by the acquisition of large estates (as in the case of Dūnayd, governor of Sind, eulogised by Djarir and al-Farazdak); on the other, the return of the same aristocracy to its desert origins and to the chivalrous values of its ancestors. Also, panegyric (mudāl) and glorification (ṣafār) occupied an important place in the poetry of this period.

From the point of view of the court, the poet was considered to be "an auxiliary of the central power and a link with the peninsular world, the upheavals in which should not be ignored" (ibid., 546); he was "an element, if not permanent then at least influential," of the court. His talent, initially exploited politically under the Marwānids, was ultimately recognised in artistic terms, from the time of al-Walīd I (86-96/705-15 [q.v.]), himself a poet. For this caliph, the art of versification was not only a recreation; it was also "the instrument of expression of the 'self' and the source of intense emotions" (ibid., 548).

The governors of provinces (Ziyād, al-Haḍjdād, Khālid al-Kaṣrāf, etc.) also employed poets for their propaganda, keeping them in a state of dependence as a means of avoiding conflict. Those opposed to the Umayyad régime themselves had recourse to the talents of poets (al-Ḥāshā of the Hamdān paid with his life for his attachment to Ibn al-Aslāhath); numerous poets supported al-Muhallab as a supporter of the régime; others applauded his son Yazīd when he rebelled against the caliphal authority, but abandoned him immediately after his defeat. The same applied to the secessionist Zubayrids.
In this way the Umayyad poet, like the poet of the tribe in the pre-Islamic period, served the cause of his tribe and the politics which it espoused. Among the poets of the time, two themes often appear in their divāns; the quarrel between Kayšā and Yemenis and the taking of sides in the conflict then in progress between Djarār and al-Farazdāk. The dominant ideology remained the tribal affiliation which linked the two generations, that of pre-Islam and that of the Umayyad period.

An exception to this dominant current is constituted by the poetical school of the Ḥudayla. The very rigid society which then formed the upper centrepieces of the region (Mecca, Medina and Tāʾif) under the first four caliphs, allowed no place for the poet, still regarded as representing the customs of pre-Islamic times and denounced by the Prophet. But as a result of the wealth which abounded in these cities, on account of the conquests and of the isolation in which they had lived for ten years, following the uprising of ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr, a perceptible evolution of custom and behavior led towards a sophisticated society in which song and poetry, favoured and cultivated by new patrons, underwent a striking development. Thus the poet was once again in service. But, remote from the centre of power and from tribal quarrels, he devoted himself to renewing an almost forgotten ancestral lyricism. So a type of literal “romanticism” was born, the hero being the poet himself, an amorous poet, deprived of his loved one on account of the rigidity of tribal morals (as in the cases of Kayšā b. Djarār, Waddah al-Yaman, Madjnut and Djamił). Thus the poet became a character of romance.

A certain degree of female emancipation is evident in this period. Some women enjoyed a social promotion such that they were enabled to maintain literary "salons" and to receive poets (as in the case of ʿAṭiba, daughter of Ṭalha, grand-daughter of Abū Bakr, the first caliph; Zaynab, daughter of Muʿayyib; Zaynab, daughter of Mū'aqyt; and most notably, Tjurayyā, daughter of a wealthy family of Tāʾif, and Sukayna, granddaughter of ʿAli b. Abī Ṭalib, the fourth caliph). These women exerted considerable influence over the poets who entertained them, in particular, over ʿUmar b. Abī Rabiʿa, Kuṭḥayyir and Nuṣayb.

The greatest poet of this period was undoubtedly ʿUmar b. Abī Rabiʿa [q.v.], a man of wealth and independence. He made a name for himself with his countless affairs with aristocratic ladies (including Fāṭima, daughter of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, and Umm Muḥammad, daughter of the caliph Marwān). His divān abounds with poems recounting his tempestuous loves, inspired by "a violent and mutual passion, coupled with estrangements and reconciliations" (ibid., 631). Singers both male and female borrowed his poems, and storytellers made him a legend in his own lifetime, hence his considerable renown, which eclipsed that of the other poets of his time. He opened up a new direction in courtly poetry, a direction denounced by the moralists of the time (in particular by the Shiʿa circles of Medina) but much appreciated by the new poetical movement which came into being at the end of the Umayyad period. ʿUmar b. Abī Rabiʿa is far removed from the poet of the tribe, although retaining a few of the clichés, just as he is far removed from the poet of the court. More than any other poet of the time, he is the poet of the "self."

**Bibliography:** The principal source of material for this article is R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle* de J.-C. (of which all that has appeared is *La littérature et la poésie archaïque des origines jusqu’au 725, Paris* 1952, 1964 and 1966, 3 vols. in continuous pagination [pp. An exception to this dominant current is constituted by the poetical school of the Ḥudayla. The very rigid society which then formed the upper centrepieces of the region (Mecca, Medina and Tāʾif) under the first four caliphs, allowed no place for the poet, still regarded as representing the customs of pre-Islamic times and denounced by the Prophet. But as a result of the wealth which abounded in these cities, on account of the conquests and of the isolation in which they had lived for ten years, following the uprising of ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr, a perceptible evolution of custom and behavior led towards a sophisticated society in which song and poetry, favoured and cultivated by new patrons, underwent a striking development. Thus the poet was once again in service. But, remote from the centre of power and from tribal quarrels, he devoted himself to renewing an almost forgotten ancestral lyricism. So a type of literal “romanticism” was born, the hero being the poet himself, an amorous poet, deprived of his loved one on account of the rigidity of tribal morals (as in the cases of Kayšā b. Djarār, Waddah al-Yaman, Madjnut and Djamił). Thus the poet became a character of romance.

A certain degree of female emancipation is evident in this period. Some women enjoyed a social promotion such that they were enabled to maintain literary "salons" and to receive poets (as in the case of ʿAṭiba, daughter of Ṭalha, grand-daughter of Abū Bakr, the first caliph; Zaynab, daughter of Muʿayyib; Zaynab, daughter of Mū'aqyt; and most notably, Tjurayyā, daughter of a wealthy family of Tāʾif, and Sukayna, granddaughter of ʿAli b. Abī Ṭalib, the fourth caliph). These women exerted considerable influence over the poets who entertained them, in particular, over ʿUmar b. Abī Rabiʿa, Kuṭḥayyir and Nuṣayb.

The greatest poet of this period was undoubtedly ʿUmar b. Abī Rabiʿa [q.v.], a man of wealth and independence. He made a name for himself with his countless affairs with aristocratic ladies (including Fāṭima, daughter of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, and Umm Muḥammad, daughter of the caliph Marwān). His divān abounds with poems recounting his tempestuous loves, inspired by "a violent and mutual passion, coupled with estrangements and reconciliations" (ibid., 631). Singers both male and female borrowed his poems, and storytellers made him a legend in his own lifetime, hence his considerable renown, which eclipsed that of the other poets of his time. He opened up a new direction in courtly poetry, a direction denounced by the moralists of the time (in particular by the Shiʿa circles of Medina) but much appreciated by the new poetical movement which came into being at the end of the Umayyad period. ʿUmar b. Abī Rabiʿa is far removed from the poet of the tribe, although retaining a few of the clichés, just as he is far removed from the poet of the court. More than any other poet of the time, he is the poet of the "self."

**Bibliography:** The principal source of material for this article is R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle* de J.-C. (of which all that has appeared is *La littérature et la poésie archaïque des origines jusqu’au 725, Paris* 1952, 1964 and 1966, 3 vols. in continuous pagination [pp. An exception to this dominant current is constituted by the poetical school of the Ḥudayla. The very rigid society which then formed the upper centrepieces of the region (Mecca, Medina and Tāʾif) under the first four caliphs, allowed no place for the poet, still regarded as representing the customs of pre-Islamic times and denounced by the Prophet. But as a result of the wealth which abounded in these cities, on account of the conquests and of the isolation in which they had lived for ten years, following the uprising of ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr, a perceptible evolution of custom and behavior led towards a sophisticated society in which song and poetry, favoured and cultivated by new patrons, underwent a striking development. Thus the poet was once again in service. But, remote from the centre of power and from tribal quarrels, he devoted himself to renewing an almost forgotten ancestral lyricism. So a type of literal “romanticism” was born, the hero being the poet himself, an amorous poet, deprived of his loved one on account of the rigidity of tribal morals (as in the cases of Kayšā b. Djarār, Waddah al-Yaman, Madjnut and Djamił). Thus the poet became a character of romance.

A certain degree of female emancipation is evident in this period. Some women enjoyed a social promotion such that they were enabled to maintain literary "salons" and to receive poets (as in the case of ʿAṭiba, daughter of Ṭalha, grand-daughter of Abū Bakr, the first caliph; Zaynab, daughter of Muʿayyib; Zaynab, daughter of Mū'aqyt; and most notably, Tjurayyā, daughter of a wealthy family of Tāʾif, and Sukayna, granddaughter of ʿAli b. Abī Ṭalib, the fourth caliph). These women exerted considerable influence over the poets who entertained them, in particular, over ʿUmar b. Abī Rabiʿa, Kuṭḥayyir and Nuṣayb.

The greatest poet of this period was undoubtedly ʿUmar b. Abī Rabiʿa [q.v.], a man of wealth and independence. He made a name for himself with his countless affairs with aristocratic ladies (including Fāṭima, daughter of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, and Umm Muḥammad, daughter of the caliph Marwān). His divān abounds with poems recounting his tempestuous loves, inspired by "a violent and mutual passion, coupled with estrangements and reconciliations" (ibid., 631). Singers both male and female borrowed his poems, and storytellers made him a legend in his own lifetime, hence his considerable renown, which eclipsed that of the other poets of his time. He opened up a new direction in courtly poetry, a direction denounced by the moralists of the time (in particular by the Shiʿa circles of Medina) but much appreciated by the new poetical movement which came into being at the end of the Umayyad period. ʿUmar b. Abī Rabiʿa is far removed from the poet of the tribe, although retaining a few of the clichés, just as he is far removed from the poet of the court. More than any other poet of the time, he is the poet of the "self."

**Bibliography:** The principal source of material for this article is R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle* de J.-C.
Ahmad Shawki's time among conventional poets. High-class scholars like Hasan al-c Attar (1766-1835), who later on became the Shaykh of al-Azhar, composed elegies to honour his deceased friends, scholars or rulers, and his poems were recited at the funeral by a special reciter (mawdish) after the prayer. In his old age, he composed poetry to honour influential people, "only when necessary, and in order to show dissimulation towards them (illa bi-kad al-dararuna wa-nfik ahl al-aij). However, a poet endowed with the ability of improvisation on subjects of discussion or in praise of his patron, and who was able to answer his patron or his friends in debate by improvised verses, was admired and considered as a greater poet.

During the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century, poets continued to serve as an effective mass medium for the rulers, rich patrons, merchants and religious scholars. Some poets were asked to compose poetry for the purpose of encouraging common people by their praise-poems (ma'dith) to visit the shrines of Muslim saints (wa'fil, pl. awliya'). According to al-Djabarti, when al-Sayyid 'Ali the dull-witted one (ahlah), who was believed to be a saint, died on 16 RabI I 1214/17 September 1799, his brother brought poets and reciters of poetry (ghurar wa-mawdishin) to sing his praise and enumerate his miracles and blessings in order to encourage people to visit his tomb and thereby to offer their donations and offerings to the saint in order to secure the income of the shrine.

Both patrons and poets were in need of each other: the patrons for the purpose of prestige and esteem and the poets for the purpose of living and for contacts with the ruling class and social connections. The generous Mamluk amir Murad Bey Muhammad (d. 1215/1801) used to encourage poets to join his madifis and lavish presents on poets who composed poems in his honour and increased his notability. When he died, poetesses and women singers composed elegies and sang them accompanied by music to lament his death. During revolts against oppressive Ottoman pashas and other officials, poets composed critical poems and versified slogans and taught them to children to chant them in the streets and in front of the rulers' palaces.

These conditions continued as late as the beginning of the 1920s. The Greek Orthodox poet and writer Mikhail Nu 'ayma (1889-1988) [q.v.], under the influence of his Russian education and Romanticism, criticised in his book al-Ghirbal the role of the poet in the Arab society. He accused contemporary poets of being platform orators and convivial poets who were engaged in the communal and festive life of his society. He unconsciously summarised al-Djabarti's description of the role of the poet in society, saying that they only deal with subjects such as tahani' (congratulations), isquadniyat (exchanging friendly poems), musi'datal (debates) which were dedicated to other poets, madif (eulogy), nifath (elegy) for his patron, ghazal (erotic poetry), wasf (description) and celebration of a memorable occasion, an official or religious holiday, a public, political or military event, or the inauguration of public and private buildings. Nu 'ayma attacked conventional poets, calling them "versifiers and craftsmen who versified every aspect of communal life, such as birth, death, wine-drinking, greeting friends. Thus everything is versified in Arab cultural life, except feelings and thought" (al-Ghirbal, 122).

With the renaissance of the Arabic language and culture, especially among the semi-independent rulers in North Africa and the Middle East, the courts of such rulers as Amir Baṣhr II al-ShihabI (1767-1850) in Lebanon, the Egyptian Khedives from the accession of Isma'il Pasha (1863-79) onwards, the court of King Faysal I in 'Irak (1921-33), and King 'Abd Allah (1921-51) in Jordan, looked for an entourage of poets and men of letters to speak their praise and merits as well as for the purpose of entertainment and social activities. In these courts, the poet laureate (shaykh al-balad) gained a great esteem and respect with secured income. The duty of such court poets was to compose a poem to greet the ruler on feasts and holidays, birthdays, write poems of farewell when the ruler departed for a journey abroad and another at the reception on his return, greeting guests as well as on other occasions. The new courts were interested in neo-classical poets for their panegyrics in order to raise the rulers' esteem in the eyes of their people.

With the development of printing and journalism in the Arab world during the 19th century, poetry played an important role. Panegyric poems to the rulers published on the front page opened the gates of the sovereign's courts to these writers. When Fāris al-Shidyāk [q.v.] heard of the charitable deeds of Ahmad Pasha, the Bey of Tunis, in Marseilles and Paris, he composed a panegyric poem on the Bey and the latter was so impressed with it that he sent a naval vessel to London to bring him and his wife to Tunis. This generous gesture made a great impression on al-Shidyāk, who praised the famed generosity of the Arabs in his book al-Sāk 'al'a 'l-sāk fi-mā huwa al-Faryd, Paris 1855. Al-Shidyāk compared the role of the Arab poet in his society to that of European poets. He found that the main difference was that the Arab poets were eulogists who praised their patrons in exchange for their generous presents, and cited the old Arab maxim attributed to the Andalusi poet Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Dajāl b. Wāhābn that "presents open the mouth of the poets [to praise their patrons] (al-lahā tafāshu al-lahā)."

Subsequently, Fāris al-Shidyāk converted to Islam, a step influenced also by revenge for the death of his brother who was tortured to death (1829) by the Maronite clergy because of his conversion to Protestantism. Later on, he established his newspaper al-Du'a'at and devoted most of his poems in praise of the Ottoman sultan and his officials.

The founder of al-Ahrām newspaper (Alexandria 1875), Safīm Taklē (1849-92), used to publish on the front page congratulatory poems to the Khedives Ismā'il and Tawfiq on their birthdays and the anniversaries of their ascension to the throne, as did also Ya'qūb Sānnū' [q.v.] in his newspaper Abî Ndaddar, in which he published poems in praise of the Sultan and Prince Halīf.

Ahmad Shawkī (1868-1932) [q.v.] is considered the most famous poet laureate in the modern Arab world, and he was proud of his office as a court poet of the Khedive 'Abbās Hilmi II (1892-1914), who bestowed on him the title of Bey (1895). When the British deposed 'Abbās II, Shawkī composed a poem in praise of the Sultan Ḥusayn Kamīl (d. 1917) [al-Qadriyya, i, 214-18] and the descendants of the Khedive Hilmi. For this poem, he was exiled by the British to Spain. He became a member of the Senate in the Egyptian Parliament. In 1927 he achieved the
dream of every Arab poet and was honoured by a festival (mihra‘n) of delegations of poets from all the Arab countries, in which he declared “prince of poets” (amir al-s̱hawrā‘). Less famous poets in the Arab world such as ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Kazimi [q.v.] received pensions from the aukāf through the intervention of Shaykh Muhammad ‘Abduh [q.v.], in compensation for his panegyrics.

In ‘Irak, the poet Ma‘rūf al-Ruṣāfī [q.v.], who edited al-Amal (1923), published his poems on the front page as his main articles. In consequence of his poems criticising the King and the government, his newspaper was stopped, and a year later of his death before the court. In order to earn his living, he composed panegyrical odes to the Prime Minister, ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa‘dūn, but after the latter’s suicide he lost his patron, and in his old age had to sell cigarettes to earn his living and compose verses to publicise al-Ghāzī’s Cigarettes. He also received a monthly salary of forty dinārs from his rich patron Muzhir al-Shawī, an ex-member of the ‘Irākī Parliament, and in gratitude al-Ruṣāfī would send him a panegyric poem as a receipt.

Muhammad Mahdī al-Djawāhirī (1900-) was likewise appointed for a short time (1927-30) as poet laureate at King Faysal’s court. In his successive newspapers al-Furūd (1930), al-Inkildb (1930), al-Palma (1937), and the al-‘Aqūdāt al-Māshiqū, he used to publish his poems on current political events instead of the main articles. When he joined the leftist movement in ‘Irak, he criticised the government in his poems. As a result, his newspapers were closed down and he was put in jail. His brother Dja‘far joined the demonstrations against the government and ‘Irakī poets used to recite poems during the 22-63). In order to earn his living, he composed panegyrical odes to the Prime Minister, Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa‘dūn, but after the latter’s suicide he lost his patron, and in his old age had to sell cigarettes to earn his living and compose verses to publicise al-Ghāzī’s Cigarettes. He also received a monthly salary of forty dinārs from his rich patron Muzhir al-Shawī, an ex-member of the ‘Irākī Parliament, and in gratitude al-Ruṣāfī would send him a panegyric poem as a receipt.

Muhammad Mahdī al-Djawāhirī (1900-) was likewise appointed for a short time (1927-30) as poet laureate at King Faysal’s court. In his successive newspapers al-Furūd (1930), al-Inkildb (1930), al-Palma (1937), and the al-‘Aqūdāt al-Māshiqū, he used to publish his poems on current political events instead of the main articles. When he joined the leftist movement in ‘Irak, he criticised the government in his poems. As a result, his newspapers were closed down and he was put in jail. His brother Dja‘far joined the demonstrations against the Portsmouth Treaty between ‘Irak and Great Britain, and ‘Irakī poets used to recite poems during the 1920, they used to stand on cars or be carried on peoples’ shoulders to recite their poems. Al-Djawāhirī’s poems, lamenting the death of his brother who was killed in these demonstrations, were recited with amplifiers from the mosques and attracted a great crowd of mourners. In 1992 al-Djawāhirī recited a panegyric poem in front of King Husayn of Jordan, praising him and the Hashimite Royal Family; the crowd of mourners. In 1992 al-Djawāhirī recited a panegyric poem in front of King Husayn of Jordan, praising him and the Hashimite Royal Family; the King and the government, his newspaper was stopped, and a year later of his death before the court. In order to earn his living, he composed panegyrical odes to the Prime Minister, ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa‘dūn, but after the latter’s suicide he lost his patron, and in his old age had to sell cigarettes to earn his living and compose verses to publicise al-Ghāzī’s Cigarettes. He also received a monthly salary of forty dinārs from his rich patron Muzhir al-Shawī, an ex-member of the ‘Irākī Parliament, and in gratitude al-Ruṣāfī would send him a panegyric poem as a receipt.

Muhammad Mahdī al-Djawāhirī (1900-) was likewise appointed for a short time (1927-30) as poet laureate at King Faysal’s court. In his successive newspapers al-Furūd (1930), al-Inkildb (1930), al-Palma (1937), and the al-‘Aqūdāt al-Māshiqū, he used to publish his poems on current political events instead of the main articles. When he joined the leftist movement in ‘Irak, he criticised the government in his poems. As a result, his newspapers were closed down and he was put in jail. His brother Dja‘far joined the demonstrations against the Portsmouth Treaty between ‘Irak and Great Britain, and ‘Irakī poets used to recite poems during the 1920, they used to stand on cars or be carried on peoples’ shoulders to recite their poems. Al-Djawāhirī’s poems, lamenting the death of his brother who was killed in these demonstrations, were recited with amplifiers from the mosques and attracted a great crowd of mourners. In 1992 al-Djawāhirī recited a panegyric poem in front of King Husayn of Jordan, praising him and the Hashimite Royal Family; the King and the government, his newspaper was stopped, and a year later of his death before the court. In order to earn his living, he composed panegyrical odes to the Prime Minister, ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa‘dūn, but after the latter’s suicide he lost his patron, and in his old age had to sell cigarettes to earn his living and compose verses to publicise al-Ghāzī’s Cigarettes. He also received a monthly salary of forty dinārs from his rich patron Muzhir al-Shawī, an ex-member of the ‘Irākī Parliament, and in gratitude al-Ruṣāfī would send him a panegyric poem as a receipt.

Muhammad Mahdī al-Djawāhirī (1900-) was likewise appointed for a short time (1927-30) as poet laureate at King Faysal’s court. In his successive newspapers al-Furūd (1930), al-Inkildb (1930), al-Palma (1937), and the al-‘Aqūdāt al-Māshiqū, he used to publish his poems on current political events instead of the main articles. When he joined the leftist movement in ‘Irak, he criticised the government in his poems. As a result, his newspapers were closed down and he was put in jail. His brother Dja‘far joined the demonstrations against the Portsmouth Treaty between ‘Irak and Great Britain, and ‘Irakī poets used to recite poems during the 1920, they used to stand on cars or be carried on peoples’ shoulders to recite their poems. Al-Djawāhirī’s poems, lamenting the death of his brother who was killed in these demonstrations, were recited with amplifiers from the mosques and attracted a great crowd of mourners. In 1992 al-Djawāhirī recited a panegyric poem in front of King Husayn of Jordan, praising him and the Hashimite Royal Family; the King and the government, his newspaper was stopped, and a year later of his death before the court. In order to earn his living, he composed panegyrical odes to the Prime Minister, ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa‘dūn, but after the latter’s suicide he lost his patron, and in his old age had to sell cigarettes to earn his living and compose verses to publicise al-Ghāzī’s Cigarettes. He also received a monthly salary of forty dinārs from his rich patron Muzhir al-Shawī, an ex-member of the ‘Irākī Parliament, and in gratitude al-Ruṣāfī would send him a panegyric poem as a receipt.

Muhammad Mahdī al-Djawāhirī (1900-) was likewise appointed for a short time (1927-30) as poet laureate at King Faysal’s court. In his successive newspapers al-Furūd (1930), al-Inkildb (1930), al-Palma (1937), and the al-‘Aqūdāt al-Māshiqū, he used to publish his poems on current political events instead of the main articles. When he joined the leftist movement in ‘Irak, he criticised the government in his poems. As a result, his newspapers were closed down and he was put in jail. His brother Dja‘far joined the demonstrations against the Portsmouth Treaty between ‘Irak and Great Britain, and ‘Irakī poets used to recite poems during the 1920, they used to stand on cars or be carried on peoples’ shoulders to recite their poems. Al-Djawāhirī’s poems, lamenting the death of his brother who was killed in these demonstrations, were recited with amplifiers from the mosques and attracted a great crowd of mourners. In 1992 al-Djawāhirī recited a panegyric poem in front of King Husayn of Jordan, praising him and the Hashimite Royal Family; the King and the government, his newspaper was stopped, and a year later of his death before the court. In order to earn his living, he composed panegyrical odes to the Prime Minister, ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa‘dūn, but after the latter’s suicide he lost his patron, and in his old age had to sell cigarettes to earn his living and compose verses to publicise al-Ghāzī’s Cigarettes. He also received a monthly salary of forty dinārs from his rich patron Muzhir al-Shawī, an ex-member of the ‘Irākī Parliament, and in gratitude al-Ruṣāfī would send him a panegyric poem as a receipt.
is such that the typology of the Andalusian sha'ir seems to have barely undergone any major transformations, in spite of a quite eventful political and military history. It is interesting to note, furthermore, that this typology follows, except in a few details, its eastern model; whatever may be said regarding this point, the fact is that the Orient, cradle of the Arabic language and of Islam, remained, for this distant province, the supreme cultural and spiritual reference. It may be recalled that the conquest of Spain was undertaken by Arabs, in 92/711, during the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walid I, who ruled from 86/705 to 98/713, and that al-Andalus was administered, until the 3rd/9th century, by a score of governors who successively headed this country, on behalf of the caliphs of Damascus [see al-ANDALUS. vi]. According to the sparse information which is available, poet-soldiers participated more or less directly in this expedition. Others, arriving from Syria or elsewhere, subsequently joined them. All played, to varying degrees, a not insignificant political role. By means of their poetic talents, they could advance the interests of their local masters, local governors and to the reinforcement of the prestige of the central power in Damascus. After the arrival of the 'Abbasids in the east and the profound political upheavals which ensued, the official Andalusian poets remained faithful to the "Syrian tradition".

In fact, very soon after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, a Marwārid prince, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, nicknamed al-Diḥāḥīl (the Immigrant), secretly arrived in Spain and succeeded in reviving the Umayyad dynasty, having himself proclaimed amīr of al-Andalus in 136/756. In order to confirm his authority and restore the grandeur of his escutcheon, he enlisted to his cause a number of propagandists and poets who celebrated the glory of his family and his own in return for favours, money or rank. All his successors adopted the same line of conduct.

It is to be noted that the majority of these poets were of Arab origin, in most cases emigrants from Syria who remained closely attached to the traditions of this country. Furthermore, many of them ultimately became absorbed into the Arab aristocracy, the ruling caste of al-Andalus. But, following the start of the 'Irākisation, came into existence at about the same period, at any rate during the 3rd/9th century. After what was in fact a long period of mutual ignorance, the two very different ethnic elements populating Muslim Spain began to come closer together, in a process which gradually culminated in a kind of fusion particularly favourable to the birth of an original literature. These two phenomena had major repercussions regarding the typology of the Andalusian poet who, from the 3rd/9th century onward, freed himself to some extent from the hegemony of the "Syrian tradition" on the one hand, and showed greater awareness of what was fashionable in the 'Irākī court of Baghdad, or what was developing before his very eyes, in his own country, on the other.

Very little information is available regarding the Hispano-Muslim poets who lived in the first centuries of Arab domination. One of the first anthologies, Kitaż al-Haddī‘ī of Ibn Farādji al-Dāyyānī (d. ca. 366/976) has not survived. That of Abu 'l-Walid al-Himyari (d. ca. 440/1048) was a selection of texts devoted to gardens and to the springtime, and gives information exclusively regarding floral poetry and the bucolic poets.

For the end of the 4th/10th century, and in particular the 5th/11th century, dearth of material is less of a problem, since there is access to a number of valuable documents and, in particular, two anthologies: Kalīd al-Dīyānī and Ma‘ṣūs al-sa‘īsī by Šayb ibn al-Dākhilīn (ca. 421/1031), and especially al-Dīyānī's Kitb ash-Shajaratīsh Charīfīn (ed. by Ibn Bassām [d. 542/1147]), [q.v.]) on the value and the importance of these anthologies, see Asīf Ben Abdesselem, La vie littéraire dans l'Espagne musulmane sous les Mūlik al-Tawā‘īf (V/XI siècle), unpubl. thesis, Sorbonne-Paris (1992). The existence of these Andalusian anthologies proves that during this period, poets were quite numerous.

The latter were highly esteemed by Umayyad sovereigns and their successors, as well as by Muslim court ministers and services in exchange for all kinds of favours. But after the collapse of the power of the Banū 'Amr (ca. 399/1009) and the outbreak of the civil war, the fima which was to bring fire and bloodshed to the land, the poets were dispossessed, enduring these troubled times without the support of patrons. Some were obliged to leave the capital, Cordova, to seek out patrons elsewhere, and to live a peripatetic life similar to that of the troubadours (see Ibn Bassām, Dhakhira [q.v.], 1/1, 67). But the most favourable period for the Andalusian poets was undoubtedly that of the Mūlik al-Tawā‘īf [q.v.], who succeeded in building on the ruins of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova principalities, some of which were particularly dynamic and prosperous. In the interests of propaganda and for reasons of prestige, all these sovereigns made it a point of honour to attract to their courts the best artists, writers, and poets in particular. Thus poetry became a highly esteemed product. This extraordinary fascination with the rhyming game was shared—no doubt for the same reasons—by the most varied classes and levels of the population. At the summit of the social scale, were princes, sa‘ārs, senior dignitaries, etc. Marwān al-Ta‘līk, a descendant of the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, may be said to have found his true royalty in poetry, after the model of the 'Abbāsīd Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, to whom he is often compared (see Ibn al-Abbāsīr, Hulīa, 1, 221). It would be tedious and unnecessary to list here all the Andalusian poet-princes and to analyse their poetical works. Suffice it to say that, in aristocratic circles, the composition of verse was learnt at a very early age. It constituted an essential element of the education of the young aristocrat.

Occasional courting of the muses was a popular pastime, practised most often for personal gratification, or in order to conform to a fashion, or to advertise a certain art of living. The poetic themes most often tackled were fahr [see MAWJUGHAR] and descriptions. The most mundane incidents of daily life were recounted in verse. The prince of Sennel al-Mu'tamid
Ibn 'Abbad [q.v.] whose life was “pure poetry in action” (see E. García Gómez, Poesía, 70), addressed himself in verse to his father al-Mu'tadid, asking for a bay horse or a shield, requesting his permission to go hunting, or begging his forgiveness in the wake of his unsuccessful attempt to seize Malaga (see Kālit 'īl, 21-2; Dakhīra, ii/1, 47-8; Bayān, iii, 275).

The circle of the elite (khāsās) was not limited to the prince and to his family; it also included dignitaries of all kinds and members of the middle classes who, having received a similar education, shared the same passion for poetry and the same ideals of culture and refinement as their masters and patrons. Also belonging to this social category were numerous poets who, as scions of prosperous families, were not obliged to market their talent in order to make a living. However, in the interests of maintaining good relations with the prince, such poets would from time to time address verse to him, with the aim of assuring him of their devotion and fidelity. A wealthy aristocrat of Seville, Abū ʿĀmmir Ibn Māslama (d. after 443/1050) compiled, for the 'Abbadid king al-Mu'tadid, Ḥadīsāt al-nīṣābī fi ʿaṣaṣ bāḥshat al-rāh, a collection of choice fragments in praise of wine. This collection includes extracts from Andalusi authors, as well as texts composed by Ibn Māslama himself (see Māmah, 203-6; Dakhīra, ii/1, 105-12; Muğribī, i, 96-7; Naft, iii, 544-5).

It is altogether remarkable that, in the time of the Mulūk al-Ta'wīf, the number of poets belonging to the lower orders (ʾummā) was considerably greater than that number belonging to the upper classes. These multitudinous versifiers were in the majority from the original population of Spain (muwalladūn) and of modest extraction. Most were of peasant origin, which would explain their intense love of nature and their passionate attachment to the land. They practiced the most diverse professions, but teaching was the commonest occupation for them. It was also the least well remunerated. Thus their living circumstances were not enviable. At the same time, they knew that generous patrons were not in short supply and that the profession of poetry could shield them from need and provide them with self-respect—and money. Also, the number of professional poets was never so great, and the career never so popular, as in this period. The multiplicity of princely courts and their constantly-growing need for ceremonies, talents and abilities of all kinds, encouraged the proliferation of rhymers for hire. In this period, poetry was subject, in fact, to the law of the market, which was particularly ebulient, since, to quote an expert judge of Andalusian poetry, E. García Gómez, "an improvisation could be worth a vizierate". To varying degrees, all the Mulūk al-Ta'wīf left behind them a reputation as protectors of literary men and of poets in particular. But in giving aid and protection to the latter, their actions were not altruistic or disinterested. On the contrary, their motivations were very precise. They reckoned that it was in their interest as well as their duty to perpetuate a tradition which appreciated the value of the role of poets in Arabo-Muslim society. Born with an Arabic literature, patronage became in effect “a mode of an average Andalusian poet, typically of humble origin, it may be noted that, after more or less thorough studies in his native village and then in a large town, he launches himself upon an errant life, offering compositions in praise of a wealthy bourgeois person, a senior official or a generous prince with the object of obtaining from him gifts in money or in kind. But success is not always assured, and the apprentice-poet must demonstrate modesty and patience if he is to surmount the obstacles liable to be placed in his path. At the outset of his career, Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ammār [q.v.], making his way to Silves [see Shilb], addressed some verses to a dignitary of this town, who sent him the princely reward of a small bag of barley (see Dakhīra, ii/1, 609-71; Ben Abdesselem, ibid., 350).

The ideal situation for the poet was to be taken into the service of a prince or invaded by some of pensioners (diqda) (see al-Dhabīl, Baghā, 148; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ḥātīa, ii, 71). But in order to be placed on this list, it was necessary first to pass successfully a kind of examination. The candidate presented himself at the court, where he was put into the charge of a functionary who had the responsibility of arranging accommodation for the sovereign's guests and for itinerant poets in the precincts of the palace. This accommodation officer, called ǧāhil al-qalāq, did not always have the best of relations with his charges, who tended to be hard to please, even unconventional (see Pērēs, Poète andalouse, 72 ff.). Subsequently, the candidate was obliged to wait his turn to be heard by the prince, who usually set aside one day each week for the reception of poets. This day varied from one prince to another. Under the reign of al-Mu'tadid of Seville, it was normally a Monday (see Naft, iv, 243-4). Historians have supplied detailed accounts of some of these receptions, including that of Ibn Dakhīl who so impressed al-Mu'tadid that, having heard him, he allowed him to mount the rostrum. At this time, patrons were both men of power and men of letters. They applied meticulous commentaries

---

SHA'ĪR

---

232
and criticisms to the compositions of their poets, who were obliged constantly to take account of their literary preferences. Even after his inclusion in the list of pensioners, the official poet was almost always under pressure, since the relationships linking him to his benefactor was in fact that of master and servant. He supplied the echo to the deeds and achievements of the prince, celebrating in particular his political, diplomatic and military exploits. He was at the mercy of the smallest caprice on the part of his patron. At any moment, he might receive the order to compose a piece regarding such-and-such a subject. The poet Abu l-Walid al-Nahjī was required to be constantly at the disposal of al-Mu'tamid, the king of Seville (see Naḥī, iii, 334). On one occasion, the latter summoned Ibn Hamīdī, one of his official poets, in the middle of the night, requiring him to complete some verses which he had been drafting himself (Naḥī, iii, 616-17). The majority of patrons enjoyed putting their client-poets to the test in such ways.

But the most skilful and the luckiest acolytes found it was to their advantage to show themselves particularly successful and also to advance the price to be paid for a panegyric. Abū 'Alī Idrīs Ibn al-Yamānī composed his eulogistic poems to order and at a fee of 100 dinārs per composition (see Dhakhīrā, iii/1, 336-7). These professional poets acknowledged without the slightest scruple that it was "presenting which loosened tongues" (Pérès, ibid., 36 n. 2, 81). Furthermore, their demands were in their view amply justified, since princes found difficulty in doing without their services. In this regard, 'Abd al-Dājlīl Ibn Wabhūn, addressing al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abdād, said "O you who hold the glory! This would be as a beast astray were it not upheld by poetry" (see Dhakhīrā, ii/1, 502). When his abilities permitted, the poet of the court was not content with playing the role of a hired flatterer; he could rise to high office and become an ambassador, governor, minister or even chief minister (al-Dājkīl u-tsāṣrā'tam). Such was the case with Abu l-Walīd and Abu Bakr Ibn Zaydūn, Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ammār, Abū Muhammad Ibn 'Abdūn, among others (see Pérès, ibid., 84 ff.). Furthermore the word wuzūr (vizier), which had the meaning of kāthīr (secretary), became, in the 5th/11th century, a synonym of "poet". A good prose-writer was, most often, a poet as well. "Al-Mu'tamid," says al-Marrākūši, "appointed as viziers only men of letters, poets versed in all kinds of expertise, so that he had around him an assembly of minister-poets such as never had been seen before" (see Mulūjīh, 65, tr. Fagan, 90).

But even if all his hopes were realised, the court poet could not be sure of keeping his acquired privileges indeﬁnitely. Disgrace was just as likely an outcome as was promotion, and the occasions of risk were not lacking. Often, he was the victim of jealousy and treacherous attacks on the part of his colleagues, who baulked at no calumny in their efforts to dislodge him. An example of this would be the intense and prolonged rivalry between the two 'Abbādīd ministers Abu l-Walīd Ibn Zaydūn [q.v.] and Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ammār (see Dhakhīrā, ii/1, 429).

The Andalusian poets were not only hired panegyrists or shameless mendicants. The majority of them had occasions at some time or other in their lives to act as the spokesmen of their community and as interpreters of public opinion. Certain disasters which engaged the collective mind did not leave them indifferent. Events which baulked at no calumny on their part, such as the capture of Barbastro by the Normans in 456/1064, or that of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 478/1085, inspired them to compose verse sufused with profound emotion. The poem of al-Shārīf al-Rundi (9th/15th century) lamenting the fall of the last Muslim metropolises of al-Andalus into the hands of the Christians, was especially influential (see Mustapha Hassen, Recherches sur les poèmes inspirés par la perte ou la destruction des villes dans la littérature arabe du III/IXe siècle à la prise de Grenade en 897/1492, unpubl. thesis, Sorbonne-Paris 1977).

Relatively reticent and few in number until the end of the era of the Mulūk al-Tawālīf, the waṣāgīlān and the zdajīlān subsequently acquired some eminence in those minor poetic genres, muwaḥšhan and zdajal, which they practised successfully until the end of the Arab presence in the Peninsula. It may be noted that the compositions of these popular poets were principally addressed to the general public, unlike the "standard" poetry, conforming to the taste of the elite.

Although considerably more numerous than in other countries of the Arabo-Muslim world, Andalusian poetesses were decidedly less numerous in Spain than their male counterparts. In all periods there had been, in the entourage of the prince, educated women who were capable of writing in verse and in prose; but there were never court poetesses playing the role of accredited panegyrist. Women capable of composing verse belonged to several major categories. Some lived in harem, where most existed in servile conditions, bought in exchange for gold, having been instructed by experienced professionals. Others were wives or daughters of princes, such as l-Timād, the favourite legitimate wife of the king of Seville, al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, or Umm al-Kirām, the daughter of al-Mu'tasīm Ibn Șumādīh of Almeria. Others displayed great independence and frequented literary societies and salons. Such was the case of Wallāda, the daughter of the caliph al-Mustakfī, who, after the death of her father, maintained a salon which attracted the most renowned of writers. In the Naḥī al-ṣifī, the Maṭkari supplies biographical notes and quotations concerning twenty-five Andalusian poetesses, whose poetry is generally personal and small in quantity: al-Maṭkari quotes only a hundred or so of their verses (see Naḥī, iv, 205-11).

At first sight, it would be tempting to believe that the typology of the Andalusian poet is a carbon copy of that of his Syrian, Egyptian or ʾIrāqī counterpart. There is an impression that there is a single type of standard poet, unaffected by place or time, so striking is the similarity between these different types of poets. However, on closer inspection it becomes clear that beyond a certain undeniable similarity, it is impossible not to recognise the existence of a local colour and a typically Andalusian flavour, creating an integral element of the world of the Hispano-Arabo-Muslim poet. **Bibliography:** Besides the works cited in the text of the article, see also R. Blachère, HLA, "A. Tabulsı, La critique poétique des Arabes, jusqu'au IVe siècle de l'he- gire (XIe s. de J.C.), Damas 1956; J.E. Bencheikh, Poétique arabe, Paris 1975.

(A. Ben Abdesselem)
varies from genre to genre across different regions and even within particular communities; some genres are entirely pre-composed and are typically preserved, transmitted, and performed with little change, while others are improvised in performance with little or no attempt at preservation, and still others may be the combined work of several individuals, being initially composed by one person, set to music by another, and publicly performed by still another. As the terminology and social characteristics attributed to poets, the act of poetry-making, and the performance of poetry, contrast sharply from one area to the next, regional connotations of the figure of the folk poet and his or her role in society are quite diverse.

The performances of folk poets are a widespread form of expressive art found in rural and urban areas throughout the modern Arab Middle East. The repertoire of these performances is primarily oral, composed in traditional forms, often improvised, and produced in colloquial Arabic rather than literary Arabic or fiqhū. Much of Arabic folk poetry exists as song rather than as declaimed or recited verse. Among some social groups such as the Bani Halba of Sudan, for example, poetry exists only as song, is identified directly with singing, and may be additionally associated with dance and/or other forms of coordinated movement such as Sūfī dhikr [q.v.]. In contrast, among tribesmen of the Khawālīn al-Tiyāl region of North Yemen, it is considered undignified for a man to raise his voice in song, and men’s poetry is instead recited or chanted, unless performed by professional male performers who sing publicly.

Folk poets and poetry have survived in an ambiguous and at times conflicted relationship vis-à-vis the poetic traditions of Arab “high” culture. Part of this ambiguity lies in their intimate association with music, which has held a disputed place in Islamic religious thought since the early centuries of Islam, and part in their connection to colloquial Arabic as a medium of expression, which historically has been denigrated in contrast to literary Arabic. The first known public defence of colloquial poetry as an art form possessing aesthetic merit is that penned by Ibn Khaldūn [q.v.] in the 8th/14th century in the final sections of his Mukaddima. Many of these literary and religious tensions have indirectly affected perceptions of the status and function of the folk poet; despite the negative views espoused by both literary figures and religious scholars over the centuries, Arabic folk poetry has survived as a vibrant and rich force in Arab culture.

In many communities a significant portion of the adult population is expected to display competence as composers and/or participants in various common genres of folk poetry. Such is the case with the bāla for men in North Yemen tribal areas, the women’s ghanīma among the Awlād ‘Āli Bedouin of Northern Egypt, the sāmār or sāmīr of the Arabian Gulf, and the kāfūl and zādīna song forms among women in western Algeria, among other examples. General participation in singing genres such as wedding and work songs, which include the composition of spontaneously improvised verses, is widespread in rural areas of Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Yemen and elsewhere. In many cases, these poetic/song genres are specific to one gender or one social group. These communal forms of poetic composition and performance, however, do not usually confer the title or status of “poet” upon participants, but rather are regarded as basic social activities within the community.

The concept of shā‘ir as a distinct social category in different traditional communities is delineated by various combinations of social, economic, ethnic, and literary considerations. The term shā‘ir may refer to an ordinary individual with a particular talent, a specialised but non-professional social function within the community, a professional artisan of either high or low status, an ethnically marginal and even predatory figure, or the paid performer of a single particular genre. Depending upon the genre and the region, shā‘ir may indicate primarily a transmitter of previously composed poetry, a figure who pre-composes pieces which are then performed by himself or others, or an extemporising performer whose spontaneous creations are rarely preserved except anecdotally. In addition, in almost all rural areas and in lower-class urban settings of the modern Arab Middle East, the literary concept of “poet” exists alongside the concept of the local, traditional folk poet. To label an illiterate older man a shā‘ir in village conversation may indicate a proficiency in composing and singing a colloquial, improvised form of folk poetry; to apply the term shā‘ir to a young college-educated man, the same community may indicate an entirely different ability to compose written poetry in literary Arabic which is recited but not sung.

The distinction drawn between poet (shā‘ir), reciter (rādūt), and singer (mughannya or måžir) in literary histories is often blurred within the domain of folk poetry and song; in many communities, however, this division of labour is maintained in a highly articulated system. Such is the case in North Yemeni tribal poetry of the Khawālīn al-Tiyāl region. A spectrum of poetic forms exists there ranging from widely-practised genres such as the improvised bāla performed at weddings and other celebratory occasions by most adult males, to the kāsida which is pre-composed by an individual poet (kāsūd or shā‘ir) and then usually passed on to a dīghān (town crier) or a mulūḥīn (composer/singer) or sāḥīh (declarer of tribal poetry) who performs it publicly.

In Lebanese colloquial poetry, a poet of zajāl [q.v.] verse may be referred to as a zajājīrāh (a composer of zajāl vernacular poetry), a term which implies a lack of ability to spontaneously or extemporaneously compose when contrasted with a kawāsīl (a performer or “speaker” of zajāl) or shā‘ir. The latter term in modern times has also come to connote a literate composer of written zajāl. Amongst the Sinai and Negev Bedouin, a composer adept at spontaneous improvisation is termed a kaddīr rather than a shā‘ir. Such contrasting sets of terms gloss gradations of ability, social origin, performance roles and even gender in various regions of the Arab Middle East.

In those regions where the function of performer is distinct from that of composer, the public performers of poetry are often accorded far less respect than the original poet and are in many cases from marginal social groups. Afoil Musil’s brief but now classic description of poems among the Lāl Bedouin in Northern Arabia from the early 20th century presents such a bifurcation in the status of the tribal poet. Musil documents the Rwala’s intense love of poetry and poetry-making alongside their belief that a poet cannot be trusted, as expressed in the proverb: kāsūd kaddīhāb “a poet is a liar” (Musil, 283). In addition, he notes the general lack of esteem with which Rwala men regarded itinerant or beggar poets, who are deemed predatory social figures often suspected of lying and stealing. In North Yemen, the performing figures of dīghān, mulūḥīn, or sāḥīh mentioned above, are all granted considerably less status than the composer of a kāsida. This respect for the art of poetry-making coupled with widespread distrust...
of those persons who are either paid or seek remuneration for their public performance of that art is found in many communities of the Arab Middle East.

However, the opposite situation is also found, even among the Bedouin tribes of Jordan. Among these groups it is considered honourable to recite poetry, but not to compose it. Among the Balkš tribes of Jordan, for example, the term shārīr was traditionally applied to men who sang to the accompaniment of the rabīha (Arabian one-string spike-fiddle) for pay and who composed praise poetry for men of noble lineage or for political patrons of their clan. All men can recite poetry without having their reputation tainted, but to compose poetry implies socially sub-ervent, even slave, status and a lack of political power. The preferred situation is to have others compose poetry about you and your family, poetry which may then be recited by one and all. To compose poetry means that a man is either not powerful enough or noble enough to be the recipient rather than the producer of poems.

A social function filled by folk poets in many areas is that of oral historian. A large portion of the poetry of a community may be devoted to the preservation of historical knowledge concerning lineages, conflicts, heroic deeds, and other defining elements of the group’s present identity. The folk poet may be considered a poet not primarily for his/her ability to compose new poetry, but rather for the ability to memorise and transmit a body of poetry from the past. As communal identities are in constant flux, a folk poet may serve the key function of maintaining and performing one specific view of history, one local identity, in a market place of competing poetic traditions which document other constructs of the same historical events. Where such historical poetry is widespread, it is almost always linked to prose narratives recounting the events touched upon in the poem; indeed, it is common for the main historical information to be embedded in the accompanying narrative while the poem itself may provide only a rather cliché description of battle or some other common motif.

The two parts function as a single discursive unit each lending the other validity. The poem is thus rendered comprehensible and meaningful when performed along with its narrative; the story is given authority and historical substance by the presence of the poem. This view is documented by a statement from the Balkš Bedouin of Jordan: “A story without a poem is a lie (al-qissas tilī na’tandhī gasūla hādīh). The interactive role of poetry and narrative in the functioning of the poet as historian is also documented in the Arabic peninsula and the Sinai and Negev deserts.

In many regions, the division between professional and non-professional poets lies not only in the financial realm but also in the musical aspect of the performance. Those genres of poetry which are performed in full singing voice and/or to the accompaniment of instrumental music are nearly always the domain of professional performers. The term shārīr is often applied within a community to either the musical or non-musical performer, but rarely to both.

In areas where genres of poetry, song and/or dance are an integral part of social occasions and celebrations, folk poets at times exist as respected specialised artisans whose status as recognised craftsmen is untainted by the fact that they are professionals who perform for pay. Such is the case with performers of various genres in the Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian folk poetry common to weddings and other festivities. Performers of the Palestinian kisidh, hāda and karrādi, for example, are virtuoso performers of improvised verse who perform as solo singers or in poetic duels pitting one poet’s skill against other poets or audience members. Poetic duelling involving two or more poets improvising spontaneous verse is found in many other regions, including Arabia, Lebanon, Palestine and Turkey. Poetry of these genres is thus a discourse which emerges through the figure of poet in competition and contest. These exchanges may take the form of insult matches or be based upon other themes including sharp political and social commentary on local affairs. Non-professional participants at times enter into the competition, but if a regional class of recognised professional performers exist, they usually dominate the performances.

The term shārīr may refer to an ordinary person who happens to compose poetry or it may gloss a whole complex of social marginality and outsider status. In the example of North Yemen, the composing poet is understood to be an ordinary individual with a particular talent or poetic inspiration (ḥādīh). He plays a role not only in maintaining tribal honour and identity through the composition of praise poetry but may also play a political role in local dispute resolution, which is conducted in poetry, and occasionally even at the level of national politics. Similarly, in the Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian traditions, a poet is a gifted individual. In some communities, however, professional poets may be viewed as possessing different social or even ethnic origins. Such is the case of the professional singers of the oral folk epic Strat Bani Hīlāṭ in Egypt, the Slubba of the Arabian peninsula, and to a lesser degree, the slave-poets of Jordanian Bedouin tribes.

Egyptian performers of the Strat Bani Hīlāṭ are hereditary professional performers most often from marginal social groups grouped together under the rubric of Gypsies (shaqṣaṣ). The epic singers are perceived as both the source of an appreciated art form, the epic itself, and a source of public praise or blame due to their ability to insert social commentary aimed at individuals, groups, or local political situations into their performances. This power is frequently a source of anxiety and tension in small communities and the poet is therefore often accorded great displays of respect in performances, while often denigrated and shunned outside that context. In the Nile Delta region of northern Egypt, almost all epic singers are ethnically from the Hālabī and Wālij groups commonly known as Gypsies. Since the terms Ḥalabī and ghaajar are considered derogatory, the epic singers and their families are referred to as shārīr (pl. of shārīr) whether or not the individual in question is a performing poet and whatever their current occupation; the term carries an almost ethnic significance.

Performers of other genres of folk poetry are referred by other terms such as munṣūl, maddīh, or simply shaqṣaṣ to avoid the locally-stigmatised status of the term shārīr, which has come to mean Gypsy poets who perform on the nābah (a string-fiddle and the Egyptian two-string spike-fiddle). The Egyptian munṣūl and maddīh, by contrast, are also folk poets, associated primarily with a religious repertory; neither, however, are commonly referred to as a shārīr.

Although most forms of folk poetry are oral in both composition and transmission, in some forms of folk poetry the boundaries between the written and the oral are not distinct. This is the case of the Egyptian munṣūl, who utilise both fragments of classical poetry and improvised sections in colloquial Arabic, as well as genres of folk poetry and the religious song-tales, kisas dīnjya or kisas al-mashidhīk (“religious stories” or “stories of the shaqṣaṣ”), who
often rely upon literate ghost-writers and written forms of transmission for the content of their partially-improvised performances. Whether or not these are to be treated separately as "popular" rather than purely "folk" poetry, this interactive process is not a purely modern innovation but rather has been going on for centuries.

Performers of religious folk poetry transmit a body of traditional lore which greatly shapes the views of many believers in rural and lower-class urban areas about their religion, whether they be Christians or Muslims. Though the repertory itself may at times be referred to as "poetry," or even "song," purveyors of these traditions are rarely if ever referred to as "poets.

The use of the female form of the term ghā'īr appears to be quite limited. In most folk cultures of the Arab Middle East neither the male nor the female form of the term "poet" are applied to the composition or performance of genres of communal singing or poetry-making but rather only to individual public performance or composition, and within that realm the term is most often used for the composition of pre-composed rather than improvised genres. (The ghā'īr as performer of Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian improvised zajal and 'abba, however, is a notable exception to this rule). Since the majority of women's poetic genres are not public performance genres, the large repertoire of memorised poems; the additional value attached to the work of other poets, alive or dead. Both, how-ever, new poetry versus a reciter who primarily performed the earlier with professional status, the musical dimension applied to a specific type of performer distin-guished respectively a poet who actively composed the performance of genres of communal singing or poetry-performance, and within that realm the term found little usage. There is still, however, regre-tably little documentation of the terminology used among women for performers of women's poetry.

In the classical Arabic literary tradition, ghā'īr has most commonly been contrasted to the term ḍā'īn, indicating respectively a poet who actively composed new poetry or a reciter who primarily performed the work of other poets, alive or dead. Both, however, were expected to be capable of performing a large repertoire of memorised poems; the additional ability to compose was the feature which distinguished the ghā'īr. This distinction is still maintained in some communities of the modern Arab world. It is, however, far more common in traditional communities to find ghā'īr applied to a specific type of performer distinguished by the financial remuneration given to a performer with professional status, the musical dimension of the performance in the form of either the use of instrumental accompaniment or simply by the use of full singing voice (in contrast to recitation or chanting), or to a specific class of performer marked by a different social origin or status. Despite the overall respect accorded literate poets and both literary and oral poetic traditions, ghā'īr in Arab folk society just as often indicates a suspect or ambiguous social figure as it does a respected artist.

Bibliography: Lila Abu-Lughod, Veiled sentiments: honor and poetry in a Bedouin society, Cairo 1987; Teirab Ashshareef, Banti Halba classification of poetic genres, in Oral tradition: special issue on Arabic oral traditions, iv/1-2 (1989), 286-33; C. Bailey, Bedouin poetry from Sinai and the Negev, Oxford 1991; S.C. Caton, "Peaks of Yemeni performance", in the emphasis is on the technical skills and the knowledge writers of poetry should command. The term was excluded from the proper behaviour in their dealings with a patron of their art picture the poets as participants in social life.
on an equal footing with other courtiers. Together with physicians, astrologers and other scholars, one finds poets mentioned among the nadims [q.v.], the personal circle of people with whom a royal patron would spend his leisure time. The Seldjuk sultan Alp Arslán even preferred the company of poets (Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, 69). To Kay Kâwûn the profession of the poets was a branch of learning, not a craft like that of the minstrels (op. cit., 157). He strictly limits minstrelsy to the serving role of a performing art and consequently does not allow the performers to mix freely with their audience. The minstrel should act as the dispenser of the poems written by others and avoid his own compositions in his repertoire (ch. xxvi, 193-7: dar āyûn-u rûm-i khamyângâr). Another classic statement of the professional qualities of poets is the second discourse in Nizāmī 'Arūḍī’s Ḍahār makâla (42-86: dar māhīyyat-i ʿim-r-i šav ʿašâtāt-i ʿadīn). In a terse description of the professional life by learning a large quantity of lines from the works of ancient and modern poets by heart. He should further subject himself to the supervision by an accomplished master (ustād) of the art. The ability to improvise poems (baddīha guftûh) was regarded as the poet’s greatest asset in social life. Equally interesting are the examples which Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī gives of incidents and situations characteristic of the profession in a series of anecdotes about the lives of famous poets. They exemplify the effects of poetry on the mind and the acts of a patron, the ways to get entrance to a court and the strategies for gaining a handsome reward, but also the mishaps in the careers of poets.

In these early reflections on the ways and conditions of the poet (often referred to by the abstract noun gūftūh), it is always understood that he was primarily a professional encomiast. To the anthologist ‘Awfî [q.v.], the literary scene was occupied by only two protagonists: on one side there were the panegyrist (madīḥkān) and on the other the patrons, the “praised ones” (mamdīkhān), who “with perishable goods bought themselves lasting remembrance” (Lubāb, i, 7). At least until the 6th/12th century, the courts of local Persian and Turkish rulers provided the normal environment for poets, who could make a living by providing these courts with poetry, both for ceremonial purposes and entertainment. The relationship between poet and patron was therefore one of mutual advantage. The idea that poetry was an important means to enhance reputations gave it a great political value, not only to rulers but to everyone who held a position of influence near the seat of power. The mechanism by which this kind of publicity could work was specifically the mentioning of a patron’s name in a panegyric discourse which was most often written in the form of a kasīdâ [q.v.]. The effectiveness of this depended on the survival of such poems and their distribution after they had fulfilled their original function. The artistic reputation of the poet was, therefore, also a matter of great advantage to his patron. Through the copying, collecting and transmission of poems in editions and anthologies, the products of the poet’s art could overcome the barriers of time and space.

To become a court poet one should not only have had the prescribed education and training; it was equally necessary to find the proper way to get introduced. The mediaeval courts, which attracted a large number of courtiers, even of the poet laureate (mālīk al-shu‘ārāʾ [q.v.]) for the selection of candidates, but this was only one of the possible approaches to the favour of a royal patron (see, e.g. the anecdote about Mu‘izzî’s entrance to the court of Sandjar as related by Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī, 65-9). The obligations of the court poet included first of all the presentation of ceremonial poems at a number of fixed occasions like the Persians’ seasonal feasts (Nawûriz and Mīhrān [q.v.] and the Islamic ‘id al-fitr ending the month of fasting, as well as every other event where formal odes were in order: at birth or death, in war or at hunting parties, at the foundation of buildings and of pleasure gardens. In addition to these occasional poems, he also wrote compositions which were meant to entertain the court. They consisted of short lyrics, from which eventually the classical Persian ghâsîl developed, and narratives in mathnawîs [q.v.]. The heroic and romantic stories represented in the latter form exemplified codes of behaviour both to rulers and courtiers. Besides, the poet was expected to provide food for thought through wisdom formulated in poetry. In a gibe at a fellow poet the Sâmānîd poet Shahîd-i Balkhî [q.v.] reproached him for not having the necessary wisdom, pleasure and elegant wit (dam) (G. Lazard, Premiers poètes, ii, 31). A poet should therefore be able to handle the entire range of forms and genres available in the literary tradition put at his disposal. The rewards he could expect were of an accidental nature and depended very much on the whims of the patrons. Lavish remunerations, mentioned in anecdotes, were usually spontaneous reactions to improvisations and show the great appreciation of verbal virtuosity and sharp wit. The gifts requested by poets in their poems consisted not only of money but also of kind, among which pieces of clothing are conspicuous. A mālīk al-shu‘ārāʾ [q.v.] could hope to receive the more regular income usually attached to an official post (cf. Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī, 66). It was not uncommon that poets fulfilled other duties at a court. By doing this they ran the normal risks of an official career, as the example of the disgrace of Masūd-i Sa’dî Salâm [q.v.], caused by his association with a rebellious Ghaznavid prince, showed in a manner which has remained exemplary. Professional rivalry was a new thing in court life. Nizāmī ‘Arūḍî (73-5) gives the example of the struggle between the poets ‘Am’āq [q.v.] and Ragḥûdî for the first position at the court of the Kara Khânîds or Ilek Khânîs [q.v.]. Fraternal animosity within the profession gave rise to a huge corpus of satire in Persian literature. The weapon of poetical invective was also effective against patrons who did not fulfill the expectations of poets.

It is too narrow a view to restrict the Persian poet, even of the earliest period, to his role as a court poet. Poetry, which was highly appreciated because of its association with eloquence [see further, gūfn], led to the erudition of every educated person. Many anthologies have special sections with poems composed by kings, viziers, scholars, shkâhs and other dilettante poets (see, e.g. ‘Awfî, Lubâb, i, 22 ff.). As is often emphasised in handbooks of poets, prose writers were also expected to have a critical knowledge of poetical techniques and to be able to use poems in Arabic or in other languages. The value attached to wisdom in poetry, a legacy from pre-Islamic Persia, gave the poet the additional dignity.
of a sage whose maxims and epigrams provided spiritual food to patrons and other readers alike. Already Rudaki, who in the 4th/10th century was the first successful court poet in the history of Persian literature, was also a poet of wisdom, representing a type of poet which the tradition used to honour with the epithet ḫakim. Among his contemporaries were the philosopher-poet Shahid-i Balkhi and Abu Shakhūr, who wrote the earliest didactic poem in Persian known to us. During the 6th/12th century, when a display of learning and knowledge of Arabic vocabulary became fashionable in Persian poetry, the type of the poet ḥaṭīṣ appeared more clearly. Anwārī and Ḵẖānḵānī [q.v.] were particularly representative of this trend, as was Niẓāmī [q.v.] of Ghur who applied it to narrative poetry. Whereas the first two had to resign themselves to the traditional role of a court poet, whether voluntary or not, Niẓāmī seems to have been able to keep a certain distance from the patrons to whom he dedicated his maḥnawī poems.

The use of Persian poetry for religious purposes is for the first time attested in the Ismāʿīlī propaganda, to which the philosopher Abu ʿl-Hayṯam Gurgānī, a contemporary of Rūdākī, was attached. Kūshūr [q.v.], whose religious denomination remains uncertain, seems to have combined the ways of a court poet with an ascetic orientation of his poetry. In the 5th/11th century the prime example of a poet distancing himself from the conventional framework of the art was Naṣīr-i Khusraw. [q.v.], another follower of the Ismāʿīlya. In strong terms he scolded the court poets for their venality and insincerity (cf. S.H. Takfzade, Diwdn, Introd., p. 1-2), These incriminations of the established ways of ḡaṭīṣ are the earliest instances of a topos which was further elaborated by many later poets, to begin with, in the early 6th/12th century by Sanāʾī [q.v.]. The remarkable turn Sanāʾī made from a probably not very successful career as a court poet to the service of patrons belonging to the religious classes, both preachers and mystics, is the first well-documented case of such a change in practice. Subsequently, dependence on secular patronage was not a matter of course in a poet’s life, although for centuries to come the courts continued to provide poets with the best opportunities for a professional career. Among the great mystical poets following in Sanāʾī’s footsteps there were many who dispensed with secular patronage altogether, like Farīd al-Dīn ʿAttār [q.v.], whose poems are free from any panegyrical references. In praise in the poems of the secular encomiast. In more recent times, the cassettes of great mystical poets following in Sana’ī’s footsteps, the cassette provided another medium which has made it possible to reach a wide and anonymous public.

Even after the rise of the Pahlavi dynasty, when the free expression of political views was curtailed, there was no return to the old ways. Poets found employment in government offices, at the newly-founded universities or in the modern news media. In their art, they took their models from contemporary Western literature rather than from the classical Persian tradition. As lyricists they used poetry as a means for expression of personal emotions and ideas, whether in only slightly modernised classical forms, or in the new poetry which was introduced by Nima Yūsufī [q.v.]. In numerous manifestos and essays, reflections on the role of the poet, both as an artist and as member of society, can be found. They show that a commitment to social and political causes has remained a generally accepted part of the modern Persian poet’s self-image. Although the democratization of literature is an avowed aim of all modern poets and prose writers, the modernisation of style and idiom which has dominated Persian poetry since the Second World War, has created a serious problem of communication with readers, to whom sophisticated modernisms are difficult to understand. Together with the negative effects of censorship or the alienation caused by living in exile, this tends to isolate the modern Persian poet from his public. Attempts to organise literary artists professionally, such as the First Congress of Iranian Writers held in 1946 or the short-lived Writer’s Union of the 1970s, have not led to permanent institutions.


3. In Turkey.

Since poetry constituted the principal literary genre in the Turkish experience from its earliest times until the latter part of the 19th century, and still holds a significant place in Turkish culture, the role of the poet, pre-Islam, Central Asia, the period of nomadic life and migrations into Asia Minor, throughout the Seldjuk era and the Ottoman centuries, was a dynamic, interactive, and influential one.

The term şair (spelt şair in modern Turkish) probably came into use no later than the middle of the 11th century. Earlier, Central Asian Turks employed several different terms for "poet", e.g. odun, bağıt (baghit), and others. Poets who functioned as shamans and performed ritualurgy were known as şamant or ham (the latter among the Uyghur Turks). In Central Asia, a larger and more precise vocabulary emerged in time, corresponding to minstrel, bard, folk poet, singer of epics, etc.

Among the Turks of Asia Minor, şair became established, and continues to be employed, as the generic term meaning "poet", especially in reference to the educated poets in the urban areas. For folk poets, the Central Asian Turkic word şair still applies; however, the minstrels of the countryside who compose (or often extemporise) their poems as lyrics of songs as they accompany themselves on a simple string instrument are called saz şairi or aşık [see aşık, aşa]. The Ottomans, however, called their city poets şair. The term is still in extensive use, although supporters of the Öztürk ("pure Turkish") movement, dedicated to the cause of ridding the language of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian, employ şair in lieu of şair. In pre-Islamic settled and nomadic Turkish society, poetry played a focal role in communication and entertainment, and strengthened solidarity and cultural cohesion. Unable to create works of architecture and other genres produced by secure sedentary nations, most Turkic communities concentrated on poetry, music and dance. Given the dominance of the spoken word among them, shamanistic poets enjoyed a special influence. Poetry was an integral part of religious experience and communal ritual; pre-hunt ceremonies (sığa) and post-fight feasts (şölen) as well as weddings and funeral services (jug) featured poetry.

The Book of Dede Korkut [q.v.], generally recognised as the Turkish national epic, with more than a third of it in poetic form in the transcriptions made several centuries after its gradual evolution in the oral tradition, has as its narrator (as well as a principal character) the sagacious religious leader as well as a poet. He stands at the wellspring of the traditional conception in the Turkish countryside of the poet as a revered figure who combines in himself such functions as moral guidance, conveying of communal values, entertainment and education, and heightened verbal communication. Many bards were close to the leadership of the community, and some leaders were poets themselves.

The first major written poetic work in Turkish (ca. 1070), a mirror for princes, is the Kutadghu bilig [see Kutadghu bilig, (The Book of Wisdom, or Rule of the glory)] by Yücef Hâddî Hâdîgî, a Karakhanid chancellor-poet. Emphasising the importance of speech ("Human be-
and by independent authors who stayed within this tradition of the educated elite's classical verse, often enabled its practitioners to enjoy prestige and influence. As E.J.W. Gibb pointed out in his A history of Ottoman poetry, two-thirds of the sultans wrote poetry. As patrons, they were favourably disposed to rewarding the poetic works presented to them. Suleyman the Magnificent (d. 1566), whose personal divan contains nearly 3,000 verses, had a close relationship with numerous poets, especially with Bâkî (d. 1600 [q.v.]), who held an esteemed position, referred to as sâlûn al-gharâ'în (“sultan of poets”), comparable to “poet laureate”, although no such title existed in the Ottoman system.

Various prominent poets occupied important positions: Shaykh al-Islâm Yahyâ (d. 1644), one of the greatest lyric poets of the Diwân tradition, served for four decades as bâkî ‘asker and shaykh al-Islâm. It is difficult, however, to determine whether Yahyâ and others rose to high positions thanks to their poetry, or if they qualified for other reasons but also happened to write verse as well. By the same token, no definite determination can be made about the awarding of the honorific title of pasha to such poet-statesmen as Râghîb Pasha (d. 1763) and Dîyâ’î Pasha (d. 1880).

Among the Ottoman educated elite, composing verses was virtually a sine qua non of being an intellectual. Poetry not only held a privileged place, but often served in ways that are normally in the realm of prose (verse chronicles and histories, internal rhyming sine qua non of being an intellectual determination can be made about the awarding of the honorific title of pasha to such poet-statesmen as Râghîb Pasha (d. 1763) and Dîyâ’î Pasha (d. 1880).

Various prominent poets occupied important positions: Shaykh al-Islâm Yahyâ (d. 1644), one of the greatest lyric poets of the Diwân tradition, served for four decades as bâkî ‘asker and shaykh al-Islâm. It is difficult, however, to determine whether Yahyâ and others rose to high positions thanks to their poetry, or if they qualified for other reasons but also happened to write verse as well. By the same token, no definite determination can be made about the awarding of the honorific title of pasha to such poet-statesmen as Râghîb Pasha (d. 1763) and Dîyâ’î Pasha (d. 1880).

Among the Ottoman educated elite, composing verses was virtually a sine qua non of being an intellectual. Poetry not only held a privileged place, but often served in ways that are normally in the realm of prose (verse chronicles and histories, internal rhyming in many prose works, even a few dictionaries and text books in verse form, etc.). Occasionally, sultans, princes, grand viziers, commanders and other notables sent or exchanged communications composed in metre and rhyme. Such occasional verse, especially in retrospect, is disqualified as poetry, which, in its proper sense, can be made about the awarding of the honorific title of pasha to such poet-statesmen as Râghîb Pasha (d. 1763) and Dîyâ’î Pasha (d. 1880).

Various prominent poets occupied important positions: Shaykh al-Islâm Yahyâ (d. 1644), one of the greatest lyric poets of the Diwân tradition, served for four decades as bâkî ‘asker and shaykh al-Islâm. It is difficult, however, to determine whether Yahyâ and others rose to high positions thanks to their poetry, or if they qualified for other reasons but also happened to write verse as well. By the same token, no definite determination can be made about the awarding of the honorific title of pasha to such poet-statesmen as Râghîb Pasha (d. 1763) and Dîyâ’î Pasha (d. 1880).

Among the Ottoman educated elite, composing verses was virtually a sine qua non of being an intellectual. Poetry not only held a privileged place, but often served in ways that are normally in the realm of prose (verse chronicles and histories, internal rhyming in many prose works, even a few dictionaries and text books in verse form, etc.). Occasionally, sultans, princes, grand viziers, commanders and other notables sent or exchanged communications composed in metre and rhyme. Such occasional verse, especially in retrospect, is disqualified as poetry, which, in its proper sense, was written by the Âlîr, a professional poet with a firm commitment to the art and with established credentials as a creative artist.

Satire and other types of criticism frequently entailed deprivation and punishment. Poetry could be a matter of life-and-death in many stages of Ottoman history. Because of their unorthodox, heretical or rebellious attitudes expressed in verse, Nesîmî (d. 1431) suffered injustice; ‘Izzet Molla, Nâmîk Kemâl [q.v.], and many others, were penalised, imprisoned or sent into exile in the last century of the Ottoman state.

Inasmuch as poetry was a principal means of communication and criticism, many poets were taken very seriously and punished as dissidents or subversives not only for their outright objections, but sometimes even for their allegorical or subtly metaphorical statements. Some classical poets renounced their own credibility: One of the foremost poets of the 16th century, Fudjûli [q.v.], wrote the famous line “Do not be deceived, the poet’s words are surely lies.”

In a sense, mystical poetry expressed a continual opposition to mainstream Islam, and often endeavoured to undermine the theocratic establishment. Through a three-level disguise, whereby they extolled the “darling-king-God”, the Âlîr’s complained of the cruelties inflicted by the “beloved”. The Âlîr’s and the ascetics of the Naqshbandi order, by their regeneration of a pantheistic, Turkic, rural value-system, seemed to maintain a frontal opposition to the Empire’s central authority as well as offering a quasi-secular challenge to Islamic culture. Tökö or dervish convent poetry, abundantly produced by poets linked with the various Anatolian sects, often functioned as an expression for the heterodoxy.

Consequently, the instance of rewards, high positions and financial gains notwithstanding, Ottoman poets were, on the whole, outside the religio-political system, often opposed to it, and sometimes in rebellion against it. Especially in the Empire’s closing decades, some foremost poets, for example, Nâmîk Kemâl (d. 1888) and Tewfîk Fikret (d. 1915 [q.v.]), played a procedural role in mobilising public opinion against the Ottoman régime.

Under the influence of accelerating Europeanisation of Turkish culture, the concept of the poet, held by the Ottoman élite, as virtually divinely-inspired or as possessing spiritual and visionary powers of an extraordinary nature, gave place to the idea that, although an apolitical stance is natural for many lyric poets, it is a respectable mission for politically-conscious poets to give expression to ideological convictions. Tewfîk Fikret championed social and governmental reforms, taking a stand against many aspects of Islam, whereas Mehmed ‘ÂrifÊrsî (d. 1936 [q.v.]) propagated the Islamic faith as a panacea for the decline of the Ottoman state. Dîyâ’î (Ziyâ) Gökâl (d. 1924 [q.v.]) and Mehmed Emîn Yurdâkul (d. 1944 [q.v.]), in their verse written in a simple, colloquial vocabulary, furthered the cause of Turkish nationalism.

The strongest voice for revolution based on Marxist-Leninist ideas came from Nazîm Hikmet Rân (d. 1963 [q.v.]) who also introduced brave new innovations to the formal structure, prosody, and tenor of 20th century Turkish poetry. Proclaiming that he conceived of art as “an active institution in society” and that “the poet is the engineer of the human soul,” he assigned to himself and other poets the task of “organising life”. As a romantic revolutionary with superlative creative talent, as a result of which he achieved extensive fame not only in Turkey but in scores of other countries as well, Nazîm Hikmet was probably the most potent Turkish voice for Communism in the 20th century. For his combative ideological poems, he spent about thirteen years of his life in prison and lived in exile for a dozen years.

Following the path opened by Nazîm Hikmet, hundreds of modern poets in Turkey, including leftists and non-leftists, produced a huge corpus of verse dedicated to political themes, social ills and evils, peace and justice. Some poets virtually functioned as journalists, frequently commenting on socio-economic problems. By the end of the 20th century, the role of the poet was established as a champion of democratic ideals. Non-political verse, however, continues to flourish as well.

and from the neighbouring regions where the Persian language represented the dominant cultural influence. In the beginning, the number of poets who came to India was comparatively small, but it multiplied sharply after the establishment of the Mughal rule in the 16th century. The Mughal court was famous for its munificence and attracted poets keen to seek their fortune outside their native land. This resulted in the influx of many gifted poets, and the centre of Persian poetry gradually shifted to India.

Persian poetry in India was an object of interest and entertainment for the Muslim upper class. The social and political conditions in which it developed may account for the hope and energies of most poets tended to gravitate. Gaining access to it signified for the poet the highest recognition of his achievements and talents. Muslim rulers, generally speaking, were men of taste and showed their appreciation for literature by surrounding themselves with poets and writers. Thus the historian Abu l-Fadl gives a list of 51 poets who were in the service of Akbar (r. 963-1015/1556-1605). However, it was not easy to obtain admission to the royal court. The poet Kalim (d. 1061/1651) [q.v.], for instance, came to India during Shah Jahan's reign (1014-67/1605-27), but had to wait a long time until he secured entry to the court of Shâh Jahân (r. 1037-68/1627-57). Very often the poet needed the help of some influential nobleman for his access to the royal court. It was customary for important noblemen, and even lesser dignitaries, to keep poets and other literary men in their employments. The name of 'Abd al-Rahîm Khá'n-i Khá'nân (d. 1036/1627), Akbar's principal dignitary, stands out in this connection. His generous patronage benefited a large number of poets and has been praised by every writer. Another source of patronage consisted of the provincial courts, some of whose rulers, such as the 'Adîl Shâhí (q.v.) of Bijnâr (895-1097/1490-1586) and the Nizâm Shâhí (q.v.) of Ahmadnâga (895-1046/1490-1636), were noted for their liberal support of art and letters.

The poets were paid a monthly allowance and could receive a robe of honour and a monetary reward for their performance on special occasions. Some poets became recipients of land grants, and some were made holders of military or civil command (manaddâr). Among the poets who came to India, several returned to their fortunes were made, while others, such as Nasirî (d. 1021/1612), Tâlib Amûlî (d. 1036/1626-7), and Kalim, stayed on the till end, and found their permanent resting place in the soil of their adopted country. There are several instances where a poet was called upon to perform duties unrelated to his vocation. Atâtîr of Khânâdâr (d. 973/ 1565-6) was a chronicler in Babur's (r. 932-7/1526-30) service, and later held high offices in the government; Shâhîkk Qâdî'î of Dihlî (d. 976/1569-9), who was a scholar and poet of Humâyûn's reign (r. 957-977/ 1530-40 and 962-3/1555-6), occupied the high position of sadr (director of religious affairs [see sadr, 5]). In Mughal India), under Akbar; Faydî (d. 1004/ 1595-6) [q.v.] was appointed tutor to Akbar's son Dâniyâl, and led government embassies to the Deccan rulers; and Dâhângîr's court poet Tâlib Amûlî acted initially as the seal-keeper of tîmâh dâlwa (d. 1621), the father-in-law of the emperor and a leading dignitary of the empire.

The court poet was supposed to dedicate his art to the service of his patron. In return for the wages received by him, or in the hope of obtaining further rewards, he composed praise poems eulogising his benefactor. This promoted the development of the kadish, whose main exponents in India were 'Urîf (d. 999/1590), Tâlib Amûlî, Kushtâ (d. 1056/1646), Kalim and Muhammad Kulf Salâm (d. 1057/1647-8). Some poets were also assigned the task of writing dynastic histories in verse—a tradition that started already with the Dihlî Sultanate (1056-1265). Amîr Khusraw (d. 725/1325) composed the Tughluk-nâma, which sheds light on the latter part of the Khâdîjî rule (689-720/1290-1320) and the early period of the Tughluk régime (720-816/1320-1413). Muhammad b. Tughluk's (r. 725-52/1325-51) poet Badr-i Câcî (d. 747/1346-7) composed the Tughluk-nama, a detailed account of the military expeditions of the sultan. 'Isâmî (b. 711/1311) was the author of a verse account of Muslim India from the Ghaznavids up to the mid-8th/14th century, entitled Fâtih al-sâlihat "Victories of the sultans", which he completed in 750/1350-50 for 'Alî b.-Dîn Abu l-Muzaffâr (d. 759/1358), the first ruler of the Bahmânî dynasty of Deccan (748-934/1347-1528). Also from the same period came the history of the Bahmânî dynasty mentioned above, started by 'Adîlî, the court poet of Ahmad Shâh Bahmânî (r. 822-39/1422-36), and subsequently expanded by Kâfirî and other poets. To the Mughal period belongs Kalim's Shah Dâhn-nâma, which deals with the Mughal rulers and their Tumûrid ancestry down to the reign of Shâh Dâhnân. Another work dealing with Shâh Dâhnân's reign is the Fuzûr-nâma "Book of victory", by Kushtâ, which gives a verse account of the emperor's exploits.

A common practice among the court poets was the composing of poems with a chronogram commemorating an event of special importance. By the time of Humâyûn, the making of chronogram poems became steadily popular. They treated of such events as the births, deaths and weddings of the members of the royal household; imperial coronations; victories in battles; hunting exploits; and launching of building projects and their completion. An interesting example of this kind of verse is a poem by Šâdî Grânî (q.v.), of which only a fragment has survived. A poem is said to have comprised 134 couples, of which each hemistich represented a chronogram.

It was the duty of the poet to defend and uphold the dignity of his royal patron as and when the need arose. Illustrative of this tendency are two examples, one by Faydî and the other by Kalim. In the first, Faydî is represented as improvising a poem of two couplets, which eulogised Akbar, and was intended to be a rebuttal of a similar poem written in praise of Shâh 'Abbâs I of Persia. The second example shows Kalim defending Shâh Dâhnân, who had been reproached by the sultan of Turkey for the audacity of calling himself the "king of the world" when he was only "king of India". "Since Hind (India) and ðâhib (world)," wrote Kalim in his reply, "are equal in their numerical value, the right of the ruler to be called "king of the world" is well-established!" Hind ðâhib zî râ râ, ðâhib-î din yâr dâlwa yâr dâlwa (shâh-i ðâhib-î hindâ mahbûr-hân ast).

The highest rank among court poets was held by the maîlîk al-qulûbî, an institution established in the Mughal period. The designation of the maîlîk al-qulûbî was perhaps a title more than anything else, and did not constitute a regular post in the government. However, it involved a number of duties. As a member of the royal train, the maîlîk al-qulûbî accompanied the ruler wherever he went. He was supposed to take part in special functions and events in the court, and to present his poem for the occasion. Every new poet sought his favour and good offices
for gaining entry into the court. He chose the poets who were to recite their verse in the royal presence, as well as those to be rewarded and honoured. His appointment was made by the ruler, and implied the official recognition of the poet's superiority over his colleagues. The tradition of appointing the *mash'ir* was started by Akbar and survived until Aurangzeb's time (1656-1707), when it was discontinued by the orders of the emperor. During this period, four poets served thus: Ghazâlî Mughhdî (d. 980/1573-74), followed by Faydî, under Akbar; Ta'lib Amuli under Dâhângir; and Kalim under Shah Dâhî.

Apart from the court, *Şûfsâm* was the next most important platform for the poet's activity. After the conquest of northern India by the Muslims, various Şûfî orders were established, such as Cîşhûyya, Suhrawardîyya, Nakshbandîyya and Kâdîrîyya. In India, poetry was the chief vehicle through which Şûfî ideas were disseminated. The preoccupation of the poet with Şûfîm went beyond mere intellectual interest; very often poets had a practical involvement with the spiritual themes of life, either with a Şîfî centre (*ţâbâkat*), or as members of an order, or as disciples of some spiritual director. Amir Khusrâw, the most eminent Persian poet of India, though serving under successive sultans, was the favourite disciple of the Cîshtî şâyâkî Nîzâm al-Dîn Awwlîyyâ (d. 723/1323 [q.v.]), and so was the poet's contemporary, Hasan Şîdî Dihlîwî (d. 736/1336), who compiled his master's utterances (*maşhîqût*) under the title *Fasâ'id al-fâ'îdâd* "Things beneficial to the heart". In the time of Frîzî Tughluk (1351-88) flourished the poet Mas'ûd Beg (d. probably in 800/1397), a relative of the ruling family, who gave up wealth and fortune to join the Cîşhî order under the guidance of his spiritual mentor Şâyîkî Naşîr al-Dîn Cîrghî Dîhlî (d. 769/1367). The reign of Sikandar Lodî (1489-1517) saw the poet Hamîd b. Fâdî Allâh Dâjmâfî (d. 943/1536), who was also a Şîfî hagiologist, and is said to have met Dâjmî in his travels to foreign lands. It is reported that Akbar's poet Faydî courted the company of dervishes and spiritual leaders, and some of the poems he composed suggest his devotion to the Şîfî luminary Farîd al-Dîn Gandj-i Dihlî (or Şâkâr Gandj, d. 1145/1733), Shah Hatîm (d. 1197/1783), and was supplanted by Urdu as a medium of literary expression. Not only did he express in his poems the aspirations and feelings shared by the majority of Indian Muslims, but he also formulated the concept of India's partition on a religious basis, which eventually materialised in the establishment of Pakistan in 1947.

The poetry of the Sufi orders was the most important platform for the poet's activity. After the conquest of northern India by the Muslims, various Şûfî orders were established, such as Cîşhûyya, Suhrawardîyya, Nakshbandîyya and Kâdîrîyya. In India, poetry was the chief vehicle through which Şûfî ideas were disseminated. The preoccupation of the poet with Şûfîm went beyond mere intellectual interest; very often poets had a practical involvement with the spiritual themes of life, either with a Şîfî centre (*ţâbâkat*), or as members of an order, or as disciples of some spiritual director. Amir Khusrâw, the most eminent Persian poet of India, though serving under successive sultans, was the favourite disciple of the Cîshtî şâyâkî Nîzâm al-Dîn Awwlîyyâ (d. 723/1323 [q.v.]), and so was the poet's contemporary, Hasan Şîdî Dihlîwî (d. 736/1336), who compiled his master's utterances (*maşhîqût*) under the title *Fasâ'id al-fâ'îdâd* "Things beneficial to the heart". In the time of Frîzî Tughluk (1351-88) flourished the poet Mas'ûd Beg (d. probably in 800/1397), a relative of the ruling family, who gave up wealth and fortune to join the Cîşhî order under the guidance of his spiritual mentor Şâyîkî Naşîr al-Dîn Cîrghî Dîhlî (d. 769/1367). The reign of Sikandar Lodî (1489-1517) saw the poet Hamîd b. Fâdî Allâh Dâjmâfî (d. 943/1536), who was also a Şîfî hagiologist, and is said to have met Dâjmî in his travels to foreign lands. It is reported that Akbar's poet Faydî courted the company of dervishes and spiritual leaders, and some of the poems he composed suggest his devotion to the Şîfî luminary Farîd al-Dîn Gandj-i Dihlî (or Şâkâr Gandj, d. 1145/1733), Shah Hatîm (d. 1197/1783), and was supplanted by Urdu as a medium of literary expression. Not only did he express in his poems the aspirations and feelings shared by the majority of Indian Muslims, but he also formulated the concept of India's partition on a religious basis, which eventually materialised in the establishment of Pakistan in 1947.


(MUNBUR RAHMAN)

5. In the western and central Sudan.

The poetry of the societies of the western and central Sudan, both that of religious and that of secular inspiration, may be expressed in Western languages but equally in Arabic and Negro African languages. Whilst the first type is the product of the colonial influence, that in African languages and Arabic is attested over several centuries.
Introduced into the biłād al-Sūdān with Islam, Arabic has served since the 13th century as a language of expression for West African poets. Abū ʿIshāk Irḥāmīn b. ʿAyyūb al-Kānemī, one of the first known West African poets using Arabic, was received at Marrakesh by the Almohad sultan Abū ʿUṣūf ʿAyyūb al-Manṣūr (r. 580-95/1184-99) and improvised in his presence some verses which did not fail to impress the monarch. Kanem-Borno, which was Islamised very early, produced some poets of considerable fame. As well as the al-Kānemī just mentioned above, the Imām Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Marmān al-Barnawī became famous for his didactic character, written towards the end of the 17th century and the object of a commentary written in Egypt.

The surrounding Hausaland became the centre for the diffusion of Islam in the central Sudan after the 13th century, and of Arabic as a language and the Islamic sciences, which were to enjoy their great prosperity in the region. Without monopolising poetic activity, these ulamāʾ were also engaged in didacticism, exhortation, eulogy, writing panegyrics on Muhammad. Ahmadu Bamba (d. 1927), founder of the Murdiyya, was inspired by the verses of the Imam al-Tidjanī (d. 1815) for the Tijānīyya, but also by other predecessors, such as the Senegalese al-ʾIbrāhīm Niassī (d. 1975), who produced a substantial part of religious poetry is devoted to the veneration of saints, reflecting Sufi inspiration coming from the Maghrib, in which one of the modalities in the very important cult of saints was certainly the composition of poems. Veneration for the founders of the two most popular West African orders, ʿAbd al-Kādīr al-Ẓālīlīn [q.v.] for the Kādirīyya and Ahmad al-Tazīlīn (d. 1815) for the Tijānīyya, but also for the other great scholar-poets of the region. It is known that even renowned Islamic religious scholars composed secular verse. Hence Muhammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānemī, on his return from a military campaign in Bagirmi [q.v.] in 1821, expressed his nostalgia for his favourite wife in detailed balladry, whilst the Senegalese Dhuʾ-ʾNūn Ly (d. 1927) in his love poetry sang the praises of the gracious charmers of Saint-Louis in Senegal.


6. In Hausaland.

The Hausa Muslim poet (mai wallafa tsavoki or sometimes mai tsawka) belongs to the wider category of mala-mai (sing. malam), that is, "Muslim scholar" or "literate person" (< Ar. 'ilâm). He, and less frequently she, performs the role of Muslim teacher, moralist and guardian of Islamic social norms. He is likely to specialise in one or more of the categories of Hausa Islamic verse listed in the articles HAUSA iii. and in gî'târ, which are associated with certain Islamic institutions and festivals.

During the colonial period, the Hausa poets increasingly concerned themselves with the innovations brought in by the Europeans. Thus an anonymous writer of ca. 1920 inveighs against such features of Western life and activity as electric torches, shirt buttons, carved biscuits and an assortment of other items which aroused his ire. More recently, such poets have written against prostitution and the adoption by Hausa women of European dress styles, which they tend to regard as immoral. It seems probable that this tradition of Islamic puritanism has been influenced by a wider anti-modernist trend consequent on the Wahhabi movement beginning in Arabia (see WÂHÂBÎYA). Islamic marriage is also a favourite topic (see NIKÂRA. 6).

Since the introduction of modern, Western-style democratic political parties into Nigeria (q.v.), the Hausa Muslim poets have taken on the role of political propagandists. Thus a poet will claim the Islamic virtues for his own party e.g. the Northern People's Congress (NPC), whilst attributing the betrayal of Islam to the other main Northern Nigerian party of the pre-independence period, the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). The NEPU poet will repast, with the accusation that the NPC falsifies Islam and that only NEPU deserves the allegiance of Muslims. Such political verse has, however, much diminished in Northern Nigeria since it was banned by the military administration (see NIGERIA).

One interesting development is the emergence since Nigerian independence of women poets. The composing of verse by Hausa Muslim women has a precedent in the work of the 19th century writer Nanan Asma'u, the grand-daughter of 'Uthman b. Fadl (q.v.), but it was infrequent in subsequent decades. However, the spread of feminism within Islam (see MA'RÂA) has caused such compositions by women, interpreting women's issues in an Islamic context, to flourish.


7. In Malaysia and Indonesia.

In Malay and modern Indonesian the Arabic loan word syair refers to an extended verse form, which may run to hundreds of stanzas, each of which consists of four lines with the same end rhyme, with every line carrying four stresses and divided by a caesura. The author or creator of this form of verse is referred to as penyair.

In pre-modern Malay society the role of the poet was functional, that is, to provide material in a pleasing form for entertainment or poetry. Poets had to have specialised knowledge of their topics, because central to their work was the expression of values or information, not the outpouring of individual emotion for its own sake. The earliest evidence of the use of the form in the Malay world is from the late 16th century, and syair verse was still being composed up until World War II. The form was popular in all Malay-speaking regions and was both oral and written. The traditional mode of delivery was by singing the verses to set tunes in a way which enhanced the verbal message. Verse was considered easier to compose than prose, easier to memorise and recite, and easier for an audience to follow. The language of verse was closer to colloquial Malay in grammar and syntax, and less veiled and predictable.

A comparison of the earliest syair with those written during and after the 19th century suggests that the earlier poets were specialists and professionals, but that as literacy became more widespread so too did composing, and syair became no longer solely the domain of professionals.

(a) Pre-19th century. The first poet whose name is known is (Hamzah)Fansûr (q.v.), indicating that he came from Fansur (or Barus, an entrepôt on the northwest coast of Sumatra) and who lived in the second half of the 16th century. The syair identified as being composed by Hamzah are poems of worship in the mystical tradition of Ibn al-'Arabi, which affirms the unity of the Creator and the Created, and yearns for ultimate union with the Godhead through the seven stages of mystical ascent. Great Syif poets such as the Persian Bâlîâl al-Dîn Rûmî (q.v.), who was undoubtedly read by Hamzah, belonged in the doctrine of the Divine Word embodied in the sacred text of Revelation (the Kur'ân) and reflected in symbolically conceived and interpreted poetry (see Braginsky, 1993). In the act of creating a poem the poet became a channel through which the energy of the Creator flowed into the poem, and from the poem reached out to and inspired readers or listeners, and through which, in the reverse process, they could ascend the seven stages to unity with Him.

The poems of Hamzah are both acts of worship and instructional texts in the Syif mode. There are reports that syair are still used by members of mystical brotherhoods in Malaysia as chants after the recitation of zikr or dhikr (q.v.) in order to regain a sense of reality after intense meditation. Hamzah's poems may also have been used in this way in earlier times. Examples of written Malay before the 19th century are all too rare. One text which has survived is the long Syair Perang Mengkassar, composed in the mid-17th century, by Encik Amin. In 534 verses this syair describes the wars between the Dutch and Makassarese for control of the spice trade in Eastern Indonesia, and indicates that poets were not restricted to religious topics. The background of Encik Amin provides further detail about the poet's function in the pre-modern period. Encik Amin was a professional writer, who served as clerk or secretary to the Sultan of Goa in Sulawesi. His duties included the drafting of treaties, official correspondence, copying of manuscripts and the recording of events of significance for his patron. In his syair which relates Makassarese resistance to Dutch attacks, Encik Amin quotes verses from Hamzah Fansûr's poems, indicating the regard in which they were held even outside their area of composition. If Hamzah and Encik Amin are in any sense representative of pre-modern poets, their works suggest that poems in written form were the result of specialist training, and that literacy set them apart from their peers and made them the basis for the formation of the genre.

It is very likely that non-literate Malays used the syair form when reciting or singing for a variety of
audiences and purposes. We know, for example, that rhythmical and rhymed verse was sung or recited, and in the realm of the supernatural, syair on divination and the interpretation of dreams.

The greatest number of surviving syair texts are lengthy adventure romances, which were primarily for entertainment but were also didactic. Much of the material in these texts was adapted from Persian, Egyptian, Turkish, or Indian stories. The 19th-century Malay-Bugis court at Riau (q.v.) provides an example of an active literary centre. Prose and poetry was written by both men and women, only a few of whom, for example Raja Ali Haji, were "professional" writers. Raja Ali Haji, a religious scholar and historian, used the syair form only rarely, but his relatives wrote copiously in verse about their travels, local wars, current happenings and romances. These writers were not specialists in the sense of writing for their livelihood, and so did not need patrons. They were literate and learned, and wrote to entertain as well as to provide material that would bring moral benefit to themselves and their audience.

In urban centres, especially where there were printing presses, syair appeared in lithographed and printed form, from the late 19th century into the early 20th. There are numerous instances of syair versions of popular prose narratives, the verse forms going into more reprintings than the prose originals. However, as the numbers of secular educated Malays and Indonesians grew, western influenced verse forms gradually replaced the syair as the preferred form for poetry. Although he did not use the syair form, the Sumatran poet Amir Hamzah (1911-46) is one of the few from the early modern period who wrote verse with a religious theme. Inspired both by emotion and religion, his two volumes of verse echo the intensity and depth of the Syair Perang Mengkasar, the Hague 1963; G.L. Koster and Maier, Variation within identity in the Syair Ken Tambahkan examined with the help of a computer-made concordance, in Indonesia Circle, xxx9 (Nov. 1982), 3-17; V. Matheson, Questions arising from a nineteenth century Riau syair, in Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs, xvii (1983), 1-60; G.W. Drewes and L.F. Brakel, The poems of Hamzah Fansuri, Dordrecht-Cinchinnamin 1986; V.I. Braginsky, Universe-Man-Text: the Sufi concept of literature (with special reference to Malay Sufism), in BKI, cxxi/2 (1993) 201-25; I. Proudfoot and V. Hooker, Malay: strands around the Southeast Asian Seas, in The temple of language, ed. A. Kumar; Jakarta 1995. Bibliography: C. Skinner, Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar, 245
arch, Mār Shimūn, who was perhaps his most serious local rival. (The Nestorians had fled their mountain fastnesses in Ḥakkārī during the war, and settled in the fertile plain of Urūmīya, with the clear intention to stay there.) During the following years, Simkō gradually extended the area under his control, and by early 1922 he de facto governed most of the Kurdish-inhabited parts of Adharbaydžan as well as the (Turkish-inhabited) Urūmīya plain. Although begun as a traditional tribal rebellion, Simkō’s movement acquired Kurdish nationalist overtones. He was in contact with Kurdish leaders in ‘Irāk and Turkey, nationalists from other parts of Kurdistan joined him, and even some of the Kurdish newspaper published in Sāvādī-Bulāk (Māhābdāb [q.v.]). In August 1922 a strengthened Iranian army finally defeated Simkō, who fled to ‘Irāk. After a final, unsuccessful, bid to establish himself as a local powerholder in 1926, he was ambushed and killed by Iranian government forces in 1929.

Paramount leadership of the Shakāk passed to Simkō’s rival ‘Amr Āghā of the Kūdār Pāshā, who had had the better of the last war. He was in a strong position but had in time transferred his loyalties to the central government. His control of the tribe was less complete than Simkō’s had been, and some sections, notably the ‘Avdō under Simkō’s son Ṭābir and the Māmādī under their own leading family, often acted independently. Under ‘Amr Āghā, the Shakāk took a half-hearted part in the short-lived Kurdish republic of Māhābdā in 1946. ‘Amr Āghā was one of the founding members of the Party of Kurdistan, and both he and Ṭābir Āghā contributed cavalry regiments to the republican army (800 and 500 men, respectively). However, these tribal regiments never took active part in the military defence of the republic against the Iranian army, and ‘Amr Āghā again in time made diplomatic overtures to the central government. The same cautious relationship with Kurdish nationalist politics has been characteristic of the Shakāk for most of the following half-century. Even in 1979, when following the Islamic revolution central authority was temporarily absent and the Kurdish nationalist cause briefly appeared successful, only a few urban-educated Shakāk became involved in it. Ṭābir Āghā, who had by then become the paramount chieflain, ruled the Shakāk territories as an independent lord, unwilling to cede authority to the Kurdish political parties. In the following years, the tribe soon again reached an accommodation with the central government.


SHAKAK (M.M. VAN BRUINESSEN) SHAKAK or qūškā, a tribe of Kurdish origin centred on Adharbaydžan. According to Yusuf Dī‘ā’ al-Dīn, the word qūškā means in Kurdish a beast which has a particular disease of the foot. According to Sharaf al-Dīn Bādī’s Sharaf-nāma (i, 148), the Shakak were one of the four warrior tribes (aḏḏirāt) in the nāḥīya of Fīnīk of the principality of the Dīżāra. According to the Ottoman sāl-nāmes, there were Kurdish Shakakī in the nāḥīya of Sheykhler in the kādā’ of Kīlis in the ʿalāṣet of Aleppo (cf. Spiegel, Iran. Altertumskunde, i, 744). The nāṭel of the Shakak of the Dīżān-nūmā (between Mūkus and Dūlāmēr) is certainly only a mis-reading for Şataḵī. As a result of certain movements, probably in the time of the Turkmens, the Shakak were driven out of the Mughān region on the frontier of Transcaucasia (see Şataḵāw). At the beginning of the 19th century, there were 8,000 families on Russian territory. Duprē speaks of 25,000 hearths of Shakak among the tribes speaking Turkish. About 1814, J. Morier numbered them at 50,000 grouped along the Tabrīz-Zandjān road in the districts of Ḥaḡṭārād, Garmārūd and Mīyānā as well as at Ardabīl. The Kāḏār prince Abbās Mīrzā drew from this tribe the main cadres of his infantry drilled in European fashion. According to Morier, the Shakāk spoke Turkish. Şuírānī puts the summer and winter quarters of the 60,000 families of Shakakī in the region of Tabrīz-Sarāb (on the road from Ardabīl) and adds that it is a Kurdish tribe speaking Turkish, which forms part of the Kīzīl-bāgū (min tawdbi-i kīzīl-bagū), which evidently means that the tribe is ʿṢṭrī’, as is also suggested by its association with the Şāhīwān. The importance of the tribe may be judged from the fact that, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Kāḏār government recruited four regiments from the Shakākī, we do not know the connections that may exist between the Shakākī and the Kurdish Shakakī, but all indications point to their being a Turkicised Kurdish tribe (like the Kurds of Gandjā). In the toponymy of the region south of Lake Urmīya [see SĀVĀDĪ-BULĀK], we find traces of the passage of the Shakākī (the village of Kishlak Şakākī at Sulūdū).

Bibliography: A. Duprē, Voyage en Perse, Paris 1819, ii, 462 (from information given by the interpreter of the French legation, Jounannin); J. Morier, Some account of the Nyādīs, in JRGS vii (1837), 299; Zayn al-ʿĀbīdīn Şuírānī, Bustān al-siyābā, Tehran 1315, 317. (V. MINORSKY)

SHAKAR GANDJ (see FERD AL-DIN MAS’UD) SHAKARKHELEDA, a village of the pre-modern Indian province of Berār [q.v.], situated on an affluent of the Pengangā river. Its main claim to fame is that it was the site of the battle in 1137/1724 when Niẓām al-Mulk Čin Kīlī Kān [q.v.] defeated the deputy governor of Haydarābd Mubārāk Kān and thereby established the virtual independence of the Niẓāms of Haydarābd from the Mughal empire. Niẓām al-Mulk became the village’s name to Fathbēlkāh, and this is now a small town in the Būldān District in Maharāštā State of the Indian Union (lat. 20° 13’ N., long. 76° 29’).

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India, ii, 86; and see HAYDARĀBD, at III, 320a and map at 321.

SHAKAWA (A.) means misfortune or misery; equivalents are shakawā, shakā and shakā. The concept is the opposite of šalāda [q.v.]. According to Kurʿān,
XX, 122, he who follows God's "right guidance" (huda) escapes from the situation of unhappiness and "does not become unhappy". Accordingly, in the story of the Ful, Alad's explication (al-Shakwa), described as a "misfortune" (shakwa) which he endured for not fulfilling God's admonition (XX, 117 ff.). But in the kur'an the derivations from the root sh-k-w (shakwa itself is not found) are mainly used eschatologically: the "unhappy one" (shakhs) will find himself in the fire of Hell, in contrast to the "blissful" (sa'da), who will stay in Paradise (XI, 105/107 ff.).

In the hadith, this eschatological usage is taken up in the doctrine of God's predestination; following a prophetic tradition, "the blissful are placed [by God] in a position in which they are able to act as the blissful do, but the unhappy ones can only act as the unhappy do" (Muslim, Sahih, kitab al-kadar, no. 6).

The deterministic usage of shakwa is also taken up by Islamic theology, where distinction is made between the divine attributes al-kadda' wa t-kadar [q.v.], which determine the contents of the "preserved table" (al-lauh al-mahfuz [q.v.]) on the one hand, and "what is written down" (al-lawh al-mak-st) on the other; the latter is a human attribute "in the form of bliss or misfortune" (sa'data' az shakwata') which can be changed into its opposite by the acts of man (see Abu 'L-Layth al-Samarkandi, Sharh al-fikr al-abast li-Abi Hanifa, ed. H. Daiber, The Islamic concept of belief in the 4th/10th century, Tokyo 1994 [= Studia culturae islamicae], Arabic text, I, 301 ff., 319 ff.).

In his commentary on the Kur'an, the scholar al-Raghib al-Isfahani (d. 5th/11th century [q.v.]) connects the concept of shakhs in analogy with sa'da (cf. Daiber, Griechische Ethik in islamischem Gewande, in Historia philosophiae, ed. B. Mojsisch and O. Pluta, Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1991, 184-5), with the hereafter and with this world, and he divides the "unhappiness of this world" into three kinds: unhappiness of the soul (nafs), unhappiness of the body (badayyus), and existential (khudayyus) unhappiness (see Muqlid muqaddati alshik al-Kur'an, ed. Nadim Mar'ashli, n.p. 1972, 271, s.a.).

To sum up, the term shakhs is used both in the meaning of a person in this world and also of the situation in the hereafter, which is determined by God but for which man is responsible through his behaviour. The term does not therefore play a role in the Islamic discussions on theology (see E.L. Ormsby, Theodicy in Islamic thought, Princeton 1984).

In astrology, the concept of "misfortune" is described by nafs, pl. nuhas. The question is discussed whether unlucky stars (such as Saturn and Mars [see Al-Mirrikh]) dominate the hour of birth, and whether they are able to exercise their calamitous influence (nuhas). See Ras'id'il Mawaid al-Safda', ed. Zirikli, ii, Cairo 1928, 331, tr. S. Dilawar-Wilson, Arabicische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopedia Kitab Ihwan as-safa' (iii), Wiesbaden 1973, 468. See also Abu Ma'shar, The Abbreviation of the Introduction to astrology, ed. and tr. Ch. Burnett, Keji Yamamoto and Michio Yano, Leiden 1994 (= IPTS, XV), index of Arabic terms. s.v. According to Abu Ma'shar, the evil as well as good) influence of the planets does not exclude chance or freedom (see R. Lernay, Abu Ma' shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the twelfth century, Beirut 1962, 125 ff.).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(H. DAIBER)

1. In philosophy.

Here, shakhs, pl. ashkhs, is equivalent to the Greek ἀρουγος meaning an individual, a person. Philosophically, the ashkhs are to be distinguished from ousia (genera) and ousia (species), as well as Arabic words which may have connotations of the particular or individual such as khass and adhza; Individuality may be rendered in philosophy by the term ta'khukku. The term shakhs and its plural is used not only in Islamic philosophy (e.g. by al-Kindi, al-Fârâbî, Ibn Sîna, Ibn Rushd) but also in Arabic theological commentary. When Christian theologians like John of Damascus, talk of the Trinity, held that the second "Person" (al-shakhs) is born alive or even assumed to be alive (q.v.). The Abbreviation of the Introduction to astrol...
SHARKS — SHAKIKAT AL-NU’MAN

treated as having a legal entity that can inherit and be inherited from. Syrian Law, both the civil code (art. 31) and the law of personal status (art. 236/1, 2360/2) have incorporated an opposing legal view to that of Oxford. It has been argued that a deceased person can only be considered a person if separated from his mother’s body. The natural personality normally ends by natural death. Legally, it can be ended by a court injunction that assumes a missing person to be dead by estimating his life in comparison to his age when he disappeared. The legal responsibility (dżuma) of a deceased person can remain after his death until all his rights and duties are cleared.

Notwithstanding his Durūz origins, Arslān made his reputation as a staunch defender of Sunni Islam. He contributed regular articles to Islamic-oriented Egyptian and Le Monde Arabe journals starting from 1930. Although his status and position in the Islamic subjects. The purpose of his writings was to awaken among Muslims an awareness of their shared Islamic heritage and to summon them to political action against European imperialism in the name of Islamic unity.

More than any other figure of the era, Arslān endeavoured to bring together the leaders of the North African and Eastern Arab independence movements. He played a specially important role as political strategist and personal mentor to the group of young Moroccans associated with the Free School movement, and his orchestration of their international Islamic propaganda campaign against the French decree known as the Berber zaghr (1930) was one of the most successful interwar Arab protest movements.

Arslān’s final reputation was diminished by his association with the Axis powers. At the peak of his popularity, he endeavoured to coordinate an Italian-German alliance with the Arab world in order to generate leverage against Britain and France. His efforts generated much publicity but few results, and his continued pro-Axis stance during World War II discredited him. His death in Beirut in 1946 attracted little notice.

SHAKIB ARSLAN (1869-1946), a Duruz [q.v.] notable from the Shī'ī region of Lebanon and polemicist. During the first fifty years of his life, he established a reputation as an accomplished Arab poet and journalist and as an Islamic-oriented activist dedicated to the preservation of the Ottoman Empire. In the period between the two World Wars he became an anti-imperial agitator and a relentless spokesman for the cause of Islamic solidarity. His voluminous writings, his well-connected network of associates, and his knack for attracting publicity made him one of the most visible Arab figures of the interwar era.

The Arslāns were a powerful Durūz family whose members had the right to bear the title of amīr [q.v.]. Educated at Maronite and Ottoman secondary schools, Arslān at first eschewed the family tradition of politics in favour of literature. He published his first volume of poetry at the age of seventeen and continued to engage in literary pursuits for the next several years, earning the honorific title amīr al-bayān (“the prince of eloquence”) by which he was known for the rest of his life. Eventually, he assumed the role expected of an Arslān amīr by serving as kā'īn madīm of the Shī'ī [q.v.] on two different occasions (1902; 1906-11). He was elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1914 and devoted the war years to defending the Ottoman cause.

With the Ottoman defeat and the imposition of the mandate system, Arslān became an exile, barred by British and French authorities from entering the states under their control. Instead of becoming marginalised by his changed circumstances, Arslān emerged as an international figure during the interwar period. His residence in Geneva served as a gathering point for Arab and Muslim activists, and his position as the unofficial representative of the Syro-Palestinian delegation to the League of Nations afforded him opportunities to present the Arab case to the European community. His influence was expanded through the journal La Nation Arabe (1930-8), that he founded and edited with his Syrian associate, Iḥṣān al-Džāhirī. La Nation Arabe attacked all aspects of European imperialism in the Arab world, but devoted special attention to French policies in North Africa and Zionist activities in Palestine.


to have been so much enraptured by the beauty of the anemone that the flower was called al-nu'man after him, while gābika is said to have preserved the name of his mother gābika. This nu'man is described as being similar to the poppy (khashkhash); the difference is said to be recognisable from the fact that the edges of the petals of the nu'man are laciniate (kadīr al-tashnf), while those of the khashkhash are only slightly dentated (kadīr al-tashnf). The anemone exists in two kinds: a cultivated one, whose petals are red, white or purple and which spreads out on the ground with long stalks, and a wild one, which is bigger and more scarlet-coloured. It opens during the day, turns towards the sun and shuts at night. 'Abd Allah b. Sālih, Ibn al-Baytār’s teacher (see Dietrich, Discourses triunphans, i, 159), rightly recognised that anemones cannot belong to the species of the poppy plants (Papaveraceae), the nearest related family. On superficial inspection, the petals of some species of the Ranunculaceae show similarity with those of the Papaveraceae.

In Arabia, the anemone at present seems hardly to be used any more. In the drug bazaar in Cairo, pulverised petals of the anemone are sold as decoctions against ailments of the eye. According to the Arab authors, the anemone is above all useful against skin diseases, and it dissolves ulcers and supports their ripening. Its juice blackens the pupil, cuts off an incipient cataract, strengthens the eye and sharpens the eyesight. Boiled together with its stalks, anemones further the formation of milk. If a woman inserts the anemone with the help of a wooden tampon (sūf), she increases the flowing of the menstrual blood (i.e. if an abortive effect is aimed at). Ibn Riddān (in Ibn al-Baytār, Ḍāmī, iii, 65, 25-7) is even of the opinion that seeds of anemones, if taken during several consecutive days, would cure leprosy.

On the anemone in Arab poetry, see al-Nuwayrī, Naḥḥa, xi, 281-5, who gives many examples.


(Α. DIETRICHS)

SHĀKĪR, ĀHMAD MUHAMMAD (1892-1958), well-known Egyptian scholar and editor of classical Arabic texts dealing with poetry, ādab [q.v.] and especially ḥadīth [q.v.]. He received his religious education at al-Azhar [q.v.], whereafter he was appointed kātib in Zaqazig. Already during his lifetime Shakir was considered as the foremost hadith expert of his generation. He was particularly famous for his alleged expertise in the relationships between transmitters featuring in insāds [q.v.]. He died just before a stormy controversy on the value of Muslim tradition broke out which was to upset religious circles in Egypt first and then, in later years, to cause ripples also in other countries of the Middle East. Already in the period leading up to this event, in the course of which a certain ḥadīth scholar, Mahmūd Abī Rayya, had been accusing the Egyptian scholar of偏离ing from orthodox ideas on various vital ḥadīth issues, Shakir had occasionally made his strictly orthodox point of view on the matter very clear. For an analysis of this controversy, see G.H.A. Juynboll, The authenticity of Muslim tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt, Leiden 1969, 36-46, and idem, Islam tradition etc., Cambridge 1983, 190-1, 204-6.

Shākīr’s main editorial enterprise comprised a new edition of the Musnad of Ahmad b. M. b. Hanbal (d. 241/855 [q.v.], which he did not complete: only some two-thirds of the work were eventually printed, vols. i-xv, Cairo 1946-56, with a posthumously published vol. xix of 1980. For a survey of other texts which Shakir edited, see some of them in cooperation with his brother Mahmūd or with ‘Abd al-Salām Muhammadi (d. 1392/1972, see Juynboll, Ahmad Muhammad Shakir (1892-1958), and his edition of Ibn Hanbal’s Musnad, in Id., xlix (1972), 22-47.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(Γ.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

AL-ŠĀKIRIYYA (ʿ), a term denoting private militias fighting under the patronage of princes from the ruling dynasty, or commanders belonging to the class of military nobility, during the reign of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties. Classical Arabic lexicography does not provide a satisfactory explanation for this term, correctly associating it with the Persian term Čet. For a discussion of possible etymologies, see C.E. Bosworth, The History of al-Ṭabarī, xxxiii, 179 and n. 506. The institution of the šākirīya, from the historical standpoint, probably existed in the Iranian lands of Central Asia during the Sāsānid period and into the period after the Islamic conquest. According to Natshākhī, the Shakiriyas in Bukhāra were not a field military unit, but rather, a bodyguard at the court of Khaṭūn, the queen of Bukhāra in the late 7th century A.D. (Taʿrikh-i Bukhārā, ed. M. Rīḍāwī, Tehran n.d. [1939], 46, tr. R.N. Frye, The history of Bukhara, 39).

After the Arab invasions of Transoxania, the Arab commanders and governors in the eastern province
followed in the footsteps of the local princes and established their own units of shakiriyya, who served as bodyguards, and the combatants.

This was the result of growing pressure on the part of the Turgesh toward the end of the 7th century and the first and second decades of the eighth, when the Arabs in Central Asia were compelled to enlist the aid of the shakiriyya which were under the command of the local nobility. Prominent among the latter were two brothers, Thabit and Hurayth, sons of Kaffa. The phenomenon did not remain limited to the eastern provinces; it also spread westward to Iraq and Syria, where shakiriyya units operated as private militias under the command of Arab commanders and princes for the purpose of putting down the insurrections of the Kharijites [q.v.] alongside the semi-regular army of the Arab munafiqin. The struggle for power and disputes within the dynasty toward the end of the Umayyad period, encouraged and expedited the existence of such private units.

Under the 'Abbasids, the institution of the shakiriyya flourished, thanks to the growing tendency of the caliphs to eliminate their dependency upon Arab tribesmen and to rely more heavily upon the mauwālī element. Decisive steps in this direction were taken by al-Ma'mūn, and also al-Mu'tās'im, during whose reign the shakiriyya became a national military institution which, along with other ethnic groups, replaced the classical structure of the Arab tribal fighters. This was expressed in the establishment of a separate office, the diwān al-shakiriyya, and the shakiriyya troops received monthly salaries which were quite high in comparison with those received by their colleagues, the Turkish troops and the Mughāribān.

Because they were subordinate to the caliphs, the shakiriyya forces were stationed in the capital Baghdād, and latter in Sāmarrā. But the establishment of the dawān al-shakiriyya did not change the nature of the shakiriyya as a private militia; military commanders, kumārī, of both Arab and non-Arab origin, continued to keep shakiriyya as their own private militias, as witness the existence of shakiriyya militias in such cities as Kūfa, Medina, Raqqā and Malatya, as well as in such provinces as Ahwāz, Fārs, Ḥīdājz and Egypt.

In contrast to other militias, Arab sources do not indicate the ethnic identity of the shakiriyya, a fact which may point to their having belonged to a variety of ethnic groups, seen in traditions which speak of shakiriyya of Arab origin as well as shakiriyya from various nations and ethnic groups which lived within the borders of the former Sāsānīd Persia. Whatever their origin, their loyalty to their patron the caliph was the common denominator which united them; manifestations of this loyalty could be seen after the murder of al-Mutawakkil (247/861) by Turkish commanders, and also in the loyalty toward the deposed caliph al-Musta'in in 252/866 and the shakiriyya's support of al-Mu'tadil in his struggle against the Turkish commanders in 256/869.

**Bibliography:** W. Barthold, Turkestān, 180; J. Wellhausen, The Arab kingdom and its fall; Dāhīt, Manākit al-Abrāk, in Rasā'il Dāhīt, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 30; Māsūdī, Murūj, indices; 'Abd al-Mu'taṣim, Tābār, index; Fayrūzābdī, al-Kǔmārī al-muštūh, 2 Cairo 1344, ii, 63; T4, s.v. sh-kr. (KHALĪL AṬ-MĀNNA)

**SHAKK (Ar.)** "perplexity", "uncertainty", "doubt" in the philosophical sense (though not the religious). It is a sub-species of ignorance (al-Tahānīf, XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (šalāt) which is a kind of lack of seriousness (ṣalāt al-thānī) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowledge (shāk).
Al-Tahanawi (Kashshaf, 780-1) is proof, however, that al-Ghazali's distinction did not completely find favour, since he says, quoting al-Raghib ibn Isḥāq al-Saqqātī (al-Muṣaffāt, i, 388) “ṣakk is judging equal two antithetical notions and equipping or uniting one of ṣalāh or one’s circumstances, or intention, or divorce'" (Tahdhib al-asma', ii, 166-7; Abu l-Bākār, Kulliyāt, i, 63).

There is some suggestion that ṣakk refers to the objective fact of uncertainty and another word, rayb, to the state of perplexity consequent to that fact. Abu l-Bākār’s says in his Kulliyāt, i, 63, that "şakk is the cause of rayb ... şakk is the basis (maḥdah) of rayb, as knowledge is the basis of certainty;" and al-Nawawī (ibid.) says that şakk is "a waver of the mind" (tardudd al-siyāḥa).

Al-Nawwāf (676/1278) is judging equal two antithetical notions and equipping them. This may be al-Ghazali’s distinction did not completely find favour, or from the absence of signs." Al-Nawwāf (29; Ghāzali, Bīyā, Beirūt n.d.; Nawwāf, Tahdhib al-asma’ wa l-lughāt, Cairo 1927; al-Rāghib al-Isḥāqī, al-Muṣaffāt fi ghanb al-Qur’ān, Isbāhānī, Beirūt 1980/1400, i, 83; Badjī, Kilāb al-asma’ wa l-lughāt, Beirūt n.d., ii, 131; Muhammad Dzhawar Mughniyya, al-Fikhr al-Dīn Rāzī, Maḥābīḥ al-Maṣāḥīhiyya, Haiḍarābād 1924, i, m. M. Sharif (ed.), A history of Muslim philosophy, Wiesbaden 1963, i, see esp. ch. XXX "Al-Ghazālī: Metaphysics" by M. Saeed Sheikh, and ch. XXXII "Fikhr al-Dīn Rāzī" by Seyyed Hossein Nasr.

SHAKKAZIYYA (ʃakkaζiyya), the name given to the markings of a universal stereographic projection which underlies a family of astronomical instruments serving all terrestrial latitudes.

2. In philosophy.

In one of its senses, şakk is an appropriate rendition of the Greek ἀναφορά (defined by Liddell and Scott as “want of means or resource, embarrassments, difficulty, hesitation, perplexity"), however, the Ilkhwān al-Ṣafī in their Rasā’īl considered “doubt" (al-şakk) more starkly as a sickness of the soul while its opposite “certainty" (al-yaḥi) constituted that soul’s health. For Āl-Darraghī, şakk was a hesitation between two antitheses. It is also useful to go behind such map definitions and examine what “doubt" meant in terms of the development of Islamic philosophy. While no formal school of Islamic sceptics ever established themselves after the manner of a Pyrrho or a Timon, it is clear that monolithic “certainty” was no more to be observed in Islamic philosophy than it was in theology. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, indeed, gained a reputation as a doubter and a critic of both philosophers and theologians. Al-Ghazāli’s method has been described, detected, doubted or sceptical with antecedents both in the reductionist atomism of the Ashʿarīs and the thought of such Muʿtazīlīs as al-Nazzām and Abu l-Hudhayfī (q.v.) for whom knowledge began with doubt. As M. Saeed Sheikh puts it, "The most important thing about al-Ghazālī’s system of thought is its method which may be described as the careful re-examination of the evidence which underlay the seemingly sure foundations of the encyclopaedia of the conference and the courage to doubt. The best expression of it is given in his famous autobiographical work, al-Manṭiq fī min al-Dalāl." However, the archetypal paradigm of “doubt" in the whole of Islamic philosophy must surely be the eponymous hero of Ibn Tūfāyil’s (q.v.) Hayy b. Yaqẓān. The philosopher presents his hero intellectually “naked", free from all presuppositions, free to accept or doubt. Sāmī S. Ḥawī has put it in a nutshell: "By removing Hayy from the social situation of the desert, al-Tūfāyil had done what Descartes, Hume and Husserl did. He was attempting a hypothetical destruction of and universal doubt in the surrounding world of tradition and early education.”


(A.R. NETTON)
In spite of the research of various scholars over the past two decades, the details of the development of the various universal devices associated with Ibn al-Zarqalluh and 'Ali b. Khafaf, the relationship between them, as well as the nature of their respective contributions, remain somewhat unclear. What is clear is that Ibn al-Zarqalluh wrote treatises on two different universal instruments, both plates, and that 'Ali b. Khafaf wrote a treatise on a universal astrolabe. The safiha shakkaziyya bears a set of shakkaziyya markings with a graduated straight line drawn across it at an angle to the equator equal to the obliquity of the ecliptic (see p. 251) to represent the projection of the ecliptic. The circles of longitude for the beginning of each pair of signs are drawn for this second coordinate system. The ensemble can be used, together with a diurnal rule attached at the centre, to solve various problems of spherical astronomy, although the solution of the most important of these, the determination of time from celestial altitude, can only be achieved approximately. In other words, the instrument has some limitations. On the back are scales for finding the day of the month from the day of the solar year and others for finding shadow lengths. The safiha zarkalliyya consists of two sets of shakkaziyya markings superposed one upon the other, with their axes inclined at an angle equal to the obliquity. This results in a somewhat cluttered ensemble and these markings have but one use: to convert celestial coordinates from the ecliptic to the equatorial system and vice versa. The back of this safiha was marked with a trigonometric grid bearing an orthogonal meridional projection. This allows exact solutions to be found for all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy. There is also a curious small circle offset from the centre (see below).

The universal astrolabe consists essentially of a plate with shakkaziyya markings and a rete with the same; the latter can then rotate over the former. The combination can be used to solve any problem of spherical astronomy, since one can consider the two sets of markings as representing a horizon-based or equatorial or ecliptic coordinate grid. 'Ali b. Khafaf further restricted the shakkaziyya grid on the rete to one-half of the rete, leaving the other free for a celestial mapping of both the northern and southern halves of the ecliptic superposed one upon the other. With this problems relating to the sun and various fixed stars could be solved using the shakkaziyya plate below. The universal astrolabe is no longer an analogue computer like the standard astrolabe.

Mainly as a result of the influence of the 15th-century Libros del saber de astronomia, in which these three instruments were featured, European astronomers learned of the shakkaziyya grid and called it safra or saphea after the Arabic safiha (see Poule, 1969). It is found on several European astrolabes after the 14th century. The universal astrolabe of 'Ali b. Khalaf, called limina universal in Old Spanish, was "reinvented" in England in the late 16th century by John Blagrave of Reading. For details of the various treatises on them, as well as their rôle in the transmission of astronomical knowledge to Europe, the reader is referred to the secondary literature listed below.

The utility and aesthetic appeal of the shakkaziyya markings led to their application on a celestial map, contained in a 15th-century manuscript of the Libros del saber. On this the coordinate grid is identical with that of the shakkaziyya plate (Madrid 1992 exhibition catalogue, 229, listed under Puig, 1992 below).

On the trigonometric grid on the back of the safiha zarkalliyya there is a small circle set below the centre. Only recently has the function of this been understood (Puig, 1989). With remarkable ingenuity of conception the apparently simple device serves to calculate the lunar distance and hence the lunar parallax for any position of the moon on its orbit.

The Aleppo astronomer Ibn al-Sarrāдж also reinvented the universal astrolabe of 'Ali b. Khafaf some 250 years before Blagrave. He was clearly aware of at least the single shakkaziyya plate, but he stated that he invented the instrument himself and boldly labelled it al-Sarrāджiya. There is no (other) known direct evidence of the influence of 'Ali b. Khafaf's astrolabe west of the Maghrib. However, Ibn al-Sarrāдж then went several steps further and produced a quintuply universal plate, fitted with additional plates and astronomical markings. In short, he produced an instrument that can be used universally in five different ways. An example of this remarkable quintuply-universal astrolabe, made by Ibn al-Sarrāдж himself in 729/1328-29, is happily preserved in the Benaki Museum, Athens. It is the most sophisticated astrolabe ever made, and astronomers in Renaissance Europe would have been hard put to understand him. Fortunately a treatise on the use of this instrument survives, written by the Cairene astronomer 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Waftī (ca. 850/1450), whose mark of ownership is engraved on the Benaki astrolabe. He complained that Ibn al-Sarrāдж failed to provide any instructions on its use, and proceeded to provide these himself, admirably completing the task to the very last detail.

Other Mamlûk astronomers in the 8th/14th century wrote on the simpler variety of universal astrolabe, which they called al-asturlub al-mughni ['as al-safīhā th], "the astrolabe that does not need any plates". They also developed the single and double shakkaziyya quadrant. With the former (see Samsû, 1971 and Samsû and Català, 1971) the problem of determining time from celestial altitudes is solvable only approximately. With the latter (see King, 1974) the solution is exact for any latitude. No such Islamic instruments survive; they are known only from texts. A double shakkaziyya quadrant from late-16th-century Louvain, now in the Adler Planetarium, Chicago, shows that Renaissance European instrument-makers, if only the most ingenious, were interested in the same kind of device.

Closely related to the shakkaziyya and zarkalliyya plates, and certainly inspired by their utility, was the more flexible universal plate (al-safiha al-sidgîma li-djam al-'arîd) of Abû 'Ali al-Husayn Mahammad b. Bâgo of Granada (fl. ca. 675/1275). Only recently has it become known how this plate, a common feature on later Andalusian and Maghribi astrolabes, and occasionally also on Mamlûk Syrian and even on one Mughal Lahore astrolabes, functions (see Calvo, 1992 and 1993). The underlying notions reflect an almost incredible skill with the problems of spherical astronomy. Essentially, the plate is used with different arguments (such as terrestrial latitude, solar or stellar declination, and solar or stellar altitudes) entered on different families of circles, and the appropriate operations yield, for example, the time of day or the azimuth of the sun or a given star. A single plate of a similar kind is found on a 15th-century German astrolabe, now in Columbia University, New York City; it proves that European astronomers later approached the same problem in the same way.

The development of these universal instruments in al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century testifies to the remarkable abilities of astronomers there at that time. The interest of Muslim astronomers in universal instruments in general is part of their fascination with and
mastery of universal solutions to diverse problems of spherical astronomy (see King, 1987 and 1988). These, attested from the 3rd/9th to the 10th/16th century, represent a particularly sophisticated tradition in Islamic astronomy.


---


The usual boundaries of Shaqak were: on the east, the Gökçay which separates it from Şirwan; on the west, the Alazan (Turk. Karlık?) and its left tributary the Kasgha-çay, which separates Shaqak from Georgia (Kakhetia) and the Georgian cantons. The Alazan is said to have taken its name from a village more to the east (Sultan Nikhā in NE); its name is only found from the 18th century.

2. The zarkalliyya plate illustrated in the *Libros del saber*. 
4. The front of the quintuply-universal astrolabe of Ibn al-Sarrādī, showing a semi-circle of shakkaziyya markings laid over the shakkaziyya plate. (Courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.)
5. The back of an unsigned astrolabe in the tradition of Shams al-Din al-Mizzi from 8th/14th-century Damascus. The šukkāzīya markings are here without the scale for the ecliptic. (Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, photo from the archives of Alain Brieux, courtesy of Dominique Brieux.)

6. The zarkāliyya markings on an astrolabic plate by 'Ali al-Wadā'ī (Syria, ca. 650/1250). (Time Museum, Rockford, Ill., photo courtesy of the late Alain Brieux, Paris.)
SHAKKI

onwards, unless it is connected with lekhni (name of an Albanian canton, according to the Armenian geographer). When the Arabs talk of towns of Arrán built by the Sásândids, they probably only refer to the rebuilding of ancient sites; thus Kubāb b. Fīruz (488-531) is credited with the building of Kabala (Ibn al-Faẕḥ, 288; Yākūt, iv, 32) and his son Khusraw Anūrjūrān (531-79) with Abwāb-Shakkan, Kambizān (Kamūsoy, Kambečan in Kakhetsia) and Abwāb al-Dūndiyya (al-Baladhuri, 194).

Under the caliph 'Uthmān, Salmān b. Rabi'a, having crossed the Kura, conquered Kabala, but confined himself to concluding a treaty of peace with the chiefs of Shakkan and Kambizan. Later, al-Djarādī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hakāmi halted at Shakki on his return from the Dāghishtān campaign.

We have a certain amount of information on Shakki in mediaeval Islamic times from an anonymous history of Darband, the Te'rīdī Bāb al-Awsāb, known from citations in the late Ottoman historian Mūnīqī, Bābī's (q.v.) Qods al-dawāl (gathered together, with translation and detailed commentary, by Minorsky in his A History of Shariah and Darband). From this, it is clear that Arab control in the first centuries was only light. A revolt in 505/820-1 killed the deputy of the Ma'mūn's governor. At this time, Arrán and Shakki were controlled by the vigorous Armenian prince Sahl b. Sunbāt, who surrendered the fugitive Bābak al-Khurrami (q.v.) to the Ma'mūtān (see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1222-6, tr. Bosworth, The History of al-Ṭabarī, xxiii. Storm and stress along the northern frontiers of the Abbasid caliphate, Albany 1991, 76-80; Minorsky, in BSOAS, xv [1953], 505-10).

The Christians of Shakki remained for a long time in the majority. According to al-Masṭūdī, loc. cit., the principality of Shakki, adjoining that of Şanūrī (Podlēmy, v, 9; Ẓavār, Dziar, in the valley of the river Samur), was inhabited by Christians and Muslims, who worked as merchants and artisans. The king was called Adarnarse b. Humān. The next district on the east was Kabala, "haunt of robbers and bad characters", the town of which had a Muslim population while the environs were inhabited by Christians. The king (Malak) of Kabala was called 'Anbasa al-'Awar (Athdr-i Daghistan; al-Baladhuri, 194), the principal of the four chief tribes of the Ulus (erist'aw). Ewliya's notes on the tribe of Kaytak to belong to Georgia, "because the Georgians had preceded its name of one of the four chief tribes of the Ulus of Çağhatāy.

A punitive expedition sent by Timur (796/1393) drove him from his office. Although a "good Muslim", he joined the Georgians and perished in a skirmish under the walls of the fortress of Alindjak (near Nakhchivan). All in 1014/1606, through the intervention of Arūm Shāhī ibn Shāhwān (who had originally been a humble landowner in Shakki), Šīdī Ahmad, son of Šīdī 'Alī, was re-established as chief of tribe and governor of Shakki. İbrahim and Ahmed afterwards acted in concert (Yazīdī, Zafar-nāma, Calcutta 1885-9, i, 731, ii, 204, 218, 222).

To judge from the dates upon tombstones found by Yanovski in the cemetery of Kabala (890-901/1474-85), this town must have no longer existed towards the period of the Kara-Koyunlu and Ak-Koyunlu dynasties.

At the beginning of the Safawīd period, Shakki was ruled by the hereditary chief Husayn Beg, a scion (according to the Gulustān-i Iram) of the Shīrwānshāh dynasty. Hard pressed by the Georgians, he appealed for help to Shāh Ismā'il, but was killed in a battle against Lewān I, king of Kakhetsia (1520-74). When Shīrwān was conquered by Shāh Tahmāp (in 945/1538), Darvāzh Muhammād, son of Husayn, availed the last Shīrwānshāh against the Persians. In 958/1551 Shāh Tahmāsp, with the help of King Lewān, besieged Kīš and the fort of Gelesin-goresin ("come and see it") near the modern Nūkhā. Shakki was then annexed by Persia.

When in 984/1578 the Ottoman troops under Lālā Muḥtafī Pāsha (q.v.) fought a battle at Kanīk against the Khāns of Gūndja, Erwān and Nakhchivān, King Alexander II of Kakhetsia, an ally of the Turks, occupied Shakki without striking a blow, and it became an Ottoman sanjak. The Turks re-established at Shakki the son of the former governor Ahmad Khān (Hammer, GÖB, ii, 494) but an Ottoman governor (Kaytās Pāsha) was placed in Ārēṣ.

When the Safawīd again became masters of Transcaucasia, Shāh 'Abbās appointed the Georgian prince Constantin Minūrä (son of Alexander II of Kakhetsia) ūdī of Shīrwān (in 1014/1606). Shāhmir Khān of Shakki became his faithful vassal. Later, the Safawīds removed their protection from the kings of Kakhetsia, who were turning towards Moscow, tried to reduce their possessions and towards 1643, Shakki fell into the power of local makhsūs and sultāns. Under 'Abbās II, Ewliyā Čelebi visited Shakki (ii, 286-93). At this time (about 1057/1647), the sultan of Shīrwān was under the Khān of Ārēṣ. The town had 3,000 houses although he puts the stronghold of Shīrwān and the āqlat of Shīrwān. Ewliyā adds that it is considered to belong to Georgia, "because the Georgians had founded it". Ewliyā's notes on the tribe of Kaytāk whom he met near Mahmūdābād (Kabala?) are very curious; these people talked pure Mongol (ii, 291), which has now completely disappeared from these regions.

Nādir Shāh (q.v.) and his troops several times traversed the territory of Shakki and Kabala (in 1147, 1154). To be able the better to resist him, the local petty chiefs chose as their leader (Ağhā-i Dāghishtān, bāshči), the former tax-collector Hādjičī Čelebi, son of Kūrbān. In 1157/1744 Nādir Shāh besieged the fortress of Gelesin-goresin without success. After the death of Nādir (1160/1747), local dynasties arose again throughout the Eastern Caucasus. Hādjičī Čelebi consolidated his position and only allowed authority to the sultans of Ārēṣ and Kabala. On two occasions he inflicted defeats on King Ikralı of Georgia. This period was marked by two remarkable features, played a considerable part in Transcaucasia (Brosset, Hist. de la Géorgie, ii, 2, 131). Hādjičī
Celebi, a grandson, we are assured, of the priest (Kara Kashfsh) of the former church of Kfsh, was a zeal-ous Muslim and converted to Islam forcibly a large number of his Christian subjects. He died in Darband (Fath Ali Khan) or Karabagh (Ibrahim Abd al-Kadir), relying alternately on their neighbours and the Turks of the region for a short time. It was recaptured in 140/757 by Alfonso I of Astuvias or his son Fruela I at the same time as Zamora, Salamanca and Avila. It was, like those towns, recaptured, but only for a very brief period, by the kadif al-Manṣūr Ibn Aḥī ʿAmir in the second half of the 4th/10th century.

After the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 478/1085, Shakkūbiya, in a rearguard position facing the Muslims, was "re-peopled" by the Castilians in 1088, although recent Spanish historiography has called into question whether the region had previously been completely depopulated. It then became the seat of a small Muslim community subject to the Christian ruling power as Muđejares (q.v.), shown, in the mid-15th century, by ʿAbd al-Dāhir (Iṣa al-Gurra), author of the Suma de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos y artículos de la Ley y Cunna, the first attempt at Muslim literature in the Spanish language.


SHAKUNDA, arabised form of Secundus, name of a little town opposite Cordova on the left bank of the Guadalquivir. According to Al-Makkarf and Ibn Ghālib, it was originally surrounded by a rampart. It was here that a decisive battle was fought in 129/747 between the Maʿaddī clan under Yusuf al-Ḥifrī (q.v.) and the al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim (q.v.) and the Yanamī clan commanded by ʿAbd al-Qaṭār, who was defeated. Later, at the zenith of the Umayyad caliphate, Secunda became one of the richest suburbs of Cordova and was also called the "southern suburb" (al-nabād al-ḥanib). The celebrated Abu ʿL-Walid Ismāʿīl b. Muhammad al-Shakundi (q.v.), the most famous man of letters in al-Andalus in his day, was born in Secundus; he was appointed kāfī of Baeza and Lorca by the Almohad sultan Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr and died in 629/1231-2. It was he who wrote the famous epistle (risāla) on the merits of his native country as a companion piece to that which the author Abī Yaḥyā b. al-Muʿallim of Tanger had composed on the excellence of North Africa. The text is given almost in full by Al-Makkarf in his Kitāb al-Sakkūbiyya.


(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)
AL-SHAKUNDI, Abu 'l-Walid Isma'il b. Muhammad (d. at Seville, 629/1231-2), scholar of al-Andalus, originally from the village of Shakunda, which faced Cordova, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, and who functioned as kadi of Baeza, Lorca and Ubeda. He was at the court of the Almohad al-Manṣūr, and addressed to him a poem of congratulation on his victory at Alaroco (591/1195). He was a great friend of the father of Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi [q.v.], who sought out his company and transmitted the sparse biographical information which we possess on him. He is above all known for his Risāla (see below).

His works comprise:
1. R. fī fals al-Andalus, an epic on the merits of his land and its superiority over the Maghrib. The text is cited by Ibn Sa'id, Maghrib, and by al-Maḳkārī, Naḥf, and there are mss. at Tunis (Ahmadiyya, majmu'a, 4551) and the National Library there (Ṣādiqiyah, 8845, under the title of R. fī taṣfīl barr al-Andalus 'alā barr al-‘abasa); at Madrid (Acad. de la Historia, 29), and in the Mingana collection, 1379 (same title as the preceding). Ed. S. al-Munajjed, Faddīl al-Andalus (Beirut, 1943). See also al-Makkarf, Jāmi' al-tadālib li-Ibn Hazm wa-Ibn Sa'id wa 'l-Shakundī, in Le patrimoine hispano-mauresque, M. al-Habīb, Andalucia contra Berberia, his Cazorla. The highest points are the Yelmo de Seguar (1,809 m/6,000 feet) and the Blanquilla (1,830 m/6,100 feet).


3. Jāmī' al-durar wa-mandīb al-zuhar, a famous university since the close of the Middle Ages.


5. A few verses from his poems preserved by Ibn Sa'id.


SHAKURA, a Spanish Arabic place-name corresponding to the Spanish Segura. This last name is now only applied to the river which waters Murcia and Orihuela and flows into the Mediterranean near Guardamar. In the Muslim geographers, this river is usually called the "white river" (al-nahr al-abyad). It rises, like the Guadalquivir, in the range called Djabal al-Mansur, and addressed to him a poem of congratulation on his victory at Alaroco (591/1195). He was a great friend of the father of Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi [q.v.], who sought out his company and transmitted the sparse biographical information which we possess on him. He is above all known for his Risāla (see below).

His works comprise:
1. R. fī fals al-Andalus, an epic on the merits of his land and its superiority over the Maghrib. The text is cited by Ibn Sa'id, Maghrib, and by al-Maḳkārī, Naḥf, and there are mss. at Tunis (Ahmadiyya, majmu'a, 4551) and the National Library there (Ṣādiqiyah, 8845, under the title of R. fī taṣfīl barr al-Andalus 'alā barr al-‘abasa); at Madrid (Acad. de la Historia, 29), and in the Mingana collection, 1379 (same title as the preceding). Ed. S. al-Munajjed, Faddīl al-Andalus (Beirut, 1943). See also al-Makkarf, Jāmi' al-tadālib li-Ibn Hazm wa-Ibn Sa'id wa 'l-Shakundī, in Le patrimoine hispano-maurisqe, Rabat 1993, 47-88.


3. And Manakil al-durar wa-manābiḥ al-zuhar and al-Mu’jam, according to the very dubious attribution of al-Zirīkī.

4. A few verses from his poems preserved by Ibn Sa'id.


SHALAMANKA or SHALAMANTRA, the modern Salamanca, provincial capital in the autonomous Commune of Castile and León and the seat of a famous university since the close of the Middle Ages.

We have no information on what happened in the ancient Roman, then Visigothic town and its region at the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain. One may posit the establishment there of Berber groups, as in other parts of the Meseta of the north, who must then have fallen back southwards after 740, leaving the region depopulated, at least substantially so, if not totally. The policy of leaving a desert zone practised by the nucleus of Hispano-Christian resistance in the Asturias must also have contributed to this. Salamantica appears amongst the civitates taken and cleared of their population by Alfonso I (739-57); omnes quoque Arabes gladio interfecerunt, Xipanos autem suavis ad patrimonium ducens, according to the chronicle of Alfonso III.

Ibn al-Athfr and Ibn Khaldūn confirm the Christians' conquest of Segovia, Salamanca, Zamora and other towns of the north-west of the peninsula in the course of the 8th century, but attribute this not to Alfonso I but rather to his successor Fruela (757-68), a divergence possibly explicable by mention in the Christian texts of a Fruela, brother of Alfonso I, who is not his successor of the same name; the Arabic texts have doubts mixed the two up. Then there is total silence about Salamanca for a century and a half; a notice in the text of the Cronica Abeldense according to which Ordoño II (850-66) is said to have seized Salamanca probably results from a confusion with Talamanca, in the modern province of Madrid.

Although we have a series of names of the bishops of the town for the 9th and 10th centuries, we cannot assume a priori that they effectively occupied their see, as in the case of Dulcidius, captured in 932/933 at the battle of Valdejunquera in Navarre and brought in captivity to Cordova. However, for much of the 10th century, it is clear that the town existed and was in Christian hands, with inhabitants and with a Leonesc count. After his victory of 327/939 over 'Abd al-Rahmān III at Simancas and Alhàndega in 327/939, Ramiro II (930-51) led an expedition on the banks of the Tormes, and repopulated its deserted towns: et civitates desertae ibidem populavit, amongst which Salamanca figures prominently. In 942 Bernardo Núñez, count of Salamanca, was defeated, with 1,800 knights, by the Muslims when he attacked the Berber town whose site remains uncertain—of Saktan, at a
place called Fadjdj al-Masadjid, clearly one of the entries to the Middle Marches. In 953, Ordoño III, king of León, gave to the bishop of his capital the churches of the region of Salamanca built, in Ramiro II's time, which he received at Cordova. In the time of the hadjib ecclesias in alhauce de Salamanica quantas hediftcaverunt ibidem populatores patris 

In 360/971 the envoys of met qui juerunt de Legiones. 

In 367/977, the Muslims entered around Burgos, Soria and La Rioja, 

there to assure its reintegration in the Islamic sector. 

It is possible that al-Mansur's campaigns led to an abandonment of the town, a "second depopulation", which would explain why the Christians had, at the very end of the 11th century, to undertake a new repopulation of the town, when the capture of Toledo had repelled towards the south the danger of a Muslim counter-offensive. Whilst the authors speaking of this repopulation (Jiménez de Rada, Lucas de Tuy) give no date, the award in 1102 by Count Raymond of Burgundy to the church of Salamanca, for its restoration, which involved also the repopulation of a quarter of the town, ut populetis ilium., is a useful reference point. The gift involved mills, fisheries and fields of which the Count held seisin (aprendiciumus, accipiemus), and has been variously interpreted. Sánchez-Albornoz saw in this presura proof of a preceding depopulation; Barvero and Vigil have retorted that already the existence of these installations and agricultural workings proves the existence of a prior population, which is said precisely to have been expropriated, whilst neglecting the fact that the mills and fisheries were to be constructed (pro facie) and the fields to be ploughed and sown (pro arare et pro seminare).

The fuero of Salamanca attests the presence of Mozarabs [q.v.] in the town after the beginning of the 11th century. But the origin of these "Arabised" Christians cannot be established with certainty, and there are on the question almost as many opinions as scholars: some supposing a local origin, and others an immigration from Andalusia or the adjacent part of Extremadura before the arrival of the Almohads and then Almohads, or then from the Shark al-Andalus [q.v.] at the time of the fall of the Calif's principality at Valencia, or an arrival from the Mozarab centres of the León region, as part of a movement of Christian colonisation. The traces left by the Mozarabs of Salamanca are, moreover, minimal, and not to be compared with their equivalents in León or above all in Toledo, amounting only to a few toponyms, often of dubious interpretation, the clearest apparently being Coreses and Cordovilla, evoking a migration from the south, from the nearby Coria and from the more distant Cordova. One theory sees in the Seranos, known as an element in the repopulation of Salamanca, as also of Ávila, nor Castilians from the sierras around Burgos, Soria and La Rioja, but people from the sierras of the Middle March, who had remained in place. This accords ill with the texts' distinction between them and the Mozarabs.

Salamanca was from the first a town and military base for the Christians, the departure point for expeditions against the remaining part of al-Andalus to the south of the Middle March, until the conquest of the modern Spanish Extremadura and the definitive union of León and Castile in 1230. Thereafter, the development of the universities and laborious establishments and, from the 13th century, plus the consolidation of a nobility, gave Salamanca its constitution lasting till the verge of modern times. The subjugated Muslims (Mudéjars [q.v.]) do not figure there any more than in all the northwestern sector of modern Spain, in contrast to the Castilian lands and the modern Extremadura. But Arabic was taught at the University of Salamanca at the beginning of the 16th century.


al-azrak (another version al-ayyad al-azhar), i.e. of a ruddy complexion combined with fairness. He is also known as al-Shalawbfn al-kablr to distinguish him from another grammarian, Abū 'Abd Allah Muham- mad b. 'Ali al-Anṣārī al-Malāki, also called al-Shalawbfn al-Dibbdj, (d. 660/1262). 'Umar al-Shalawbfn was born in Seville, where his father was a baker, and from child-
hood devoted himself to the study of grammar. At the age of 22 he had mastered Sibawayhi's Kitāb al-
Marraḳuṣhī records a complete list of his teachers, two of whom, Abū l-Kāsim b. Hubaysh and Abū Bakr b. Khayr, gave him the idjahāt, together with his only non-Andalusian teacher, Abū Ẓāhir al-Silāfī of Alexandria. Al-Shalawbfn is described as naṭīs al-naḥḥīt and idmā ṣīb al-naḥḥīt in al-Andalus, and his mas-
tery of the Arabic language was such that it was said none of his contemporaries could rival him. His work and fame reached Syria and ʿIrāq in his own life-
time. He started teaching at a very young age, around the year 580/1184, and continued until 640/1242, stopping not only because of his advanced age but, especially, owing to the serious political circumstances of the moment, with the advance of the Christians, who had conquered Córdoba, Valencia and Murcia. He died in Seville during the siege of the town, which fell into Christian hands a year later (646/1248). During his life he seems to have won the favour of the Almohad rulers (he visited Marrakush in the times of the Almohad rulers (he visited Marrakush in
the year 580/1184, and continued until 640/1242,
noting centuries. Often confused with Sala
or Sale, [q.v.

SHALLA, current fort Chella, an ancient
town of Morocco, whose ruins are to be found
on a height which dominates the Bouragrag river to
the north-east of Rabat at some 3 km/2 miles from
the sea. The site, its situation, the presence of an
abundant and perennial spring, and fertile land, explain
the antiquity of habitation there. Archaeological exca-
vations have shown traces of several occupations
(Mauretanian, Phoenician, Roman and Islamic), and
the site has yielded artifacts going back to the 7th
century B.C. Shallā was a Phoenician port between
Lucus and Mogador before becoming a Roman town.
As the capital of Jāfā II, the town was given a royal
status in the year A.D. 140 and seems to have formed
part of the fortified line of the limes before being
abandoned in the 4th century.

It is difficult to follow its evolution over succeed-
ing centuries. Often confused with Salā [q.v.] or Salé,
Shallā figures in the succession of Idrīs II; Ṭūb b. Idrīs inherited it before rebelling against the ruler of Fās. Once the Idrīṣids were eliminated, Shallā became the capital of the Maghribī Banū Ifrān [q.v.], but we know nothing of its role in the warfare against the Burgbars.[4]. After the foundation of Salā,
Shalla was partially abandoned before being destroyed by the Almoravids.

At the end of the 7th/13th century, the Marinids [g.v.] transformed Shalla into a royal necropolis. The princess Unum al-'Azzī, wife of Abū Yūsuf Yaḥyā and mother of Yūsfūs, was the first to be buried there in 682/1284, and when he died at Algeciras two years later, Yūsfūs was brought back there. The first edifice was confined to a simple mosque with the tombs. It was the Marinid Abu 'l-Hasan who undertook vast works there and created the monumental necropolis; the protective wall, with its three gates, was completed in 706/1309. The whole ensemble included, funerary chapels, two mosques (one of which minaret, still surviving, is decorated with polychrome tiles), a madrasa and a library; substantial abkās were allotted for its upkeep. After he died in the mountains of the Hiniṭa, Abu 'l-Hasan was buried at Shalla, where his tomb became an object of a curious popular veneration. He was the last monarch to be buried in the necropolis.

Some Sufis installed themselves there, and Stīt al-Kalbī 'Abd Allāh al-Yahūdī founded "a ziggurat inside the necropolis of Shalla to the left, as one enters" (P. Nuyòu, Ibn 'Abd al-Rażīd al-Kānūni, Beirut 1956, 58). It was there that Ibn 'Asqīr [g.v.] settled when he entered the region. But economic crisis seems to have preceded a political one, and according to Ibn 'Abbād, commercial activity at Shalla, which had had two famous fairs each year, was only a memory (al-Rāzīd al-Kānūni, ibid. Fas 1320). The necropolis was plundered during the anarchy after the end of the Marinids. Al-Liyānī set aside some works from the library, which he stripped of their precious ornamentation. Its royal abkās were the subject of a legal consultation, giving some idea of their importance (al-Wanṣharīfī, Miʿyar, vii, 18-21). In the 17th century, the Sāḥibī tribe transformed Shalla into a fortress and used it as a base for plundering the region.

It was not till the beginning of the 20th century that excavations were undertaken at Shalla. The Roman town has largely been revealed, and the Marinid monuments, which partially cover the classical ruins, have been identified. In a remarkable article, H. Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal described the necropolis, brought to light its inscriptions and gathered together the legends and accounts of the cults, of varying degrees of orthodoxy, which have grown up around Shalla (Chella, une necropole marinide, in Hespéris (1922), 1-92, 255-316, 385-425). Despite its age, this study has never been surpassed.

At the present time, Shalla, with its gardens and its ruins inhabited by storks, has become an important tourist spot.


AL-SHALLAMAGHANI [see MUHAMMAD B. 'ALI].

SHALTISḤ. Saltés, a town of southwestern Spain (lat. 37° 12′ N., long. 6° 59′ W.), opposite Huelva, in the marshes of the mouths of the Tinto and Odiel rivers. The Island of Saltés is made up of three zones of lands and sands (El Amendaral, El Acebuchal and La Casacajera), covered with low vegetation and a quality emphasized by al-Idrīsī. The highest point (15 m) is on El Acebuchal; El Amendaral is no higher than 7 m—at the site of the Almohad fortress—despite the man-made accumulations of the Islamic town.

Shaltisḥ is not mentioned by Ibn Hayyān, al-Mukaddasī and Ibn Hawkal, although all three mention the nearby hīn of Gibrālīt (Qābal al-Uyun) or the neighbouring town of Niebla (Labla); al-Rāzīf no longer mentions the site. However, the place name appears in al-Idrīsī in the story of events during the amir 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's reign (3rd/9th century), in regard to the campaign of 219/834, during which the Norsemen, after a raid on Seville (al-Bīšībī), "swept down... as far as the Island of Saltés" (Fragmentos, 100, 175). From the end of the 4th/10th century, the position of the island and the site are known from the Arab geographers (J. Vernet, España en la geografía de Ibn Sā'id al-Maghribī, in Hesperis [1958], 314; al-Idrīsī, Los caminos de al-Andalus en el siglo XII, ed. and tr. of Dhikr bilād al-Andalus, Madrid 1983, i, 178-216) mentions the island site of the town, but also the existence of a well-used port, a market, a dense urban pattern and an iron-working industry; whereas Yākūt and Ibn Saʿīd (early 7th/13th century) mention it only as a small town (Yākūt, Baldūn, iii, 359) and an important centre for fishing, where fish was salted before being sent to Seville and other towns of al-Andalus (al-Makkārī, Analectes, i, 104; Ibn Saʿīd, Mughrib, i, 342-3, 346, 357). A little later, al-Hīmīyārī gives us a more detailed picture of the town, its agricultural hinterland and its economic life: the urban area was built up, without any empty space between buildings, but the town, which had an arsenal, lacked any protective wall (al-Rawd al-miṣrī, 44, 135-6). Shaltisḥ is still mentioned in the 8th/9th-14th/15th centuries.

At the opening of the 5th/11th century there was constituted a principality of Saltés-Huelva, which Abu Zayd Muhammad b. Ayyūb (399-402/1008-12) governed, followed by his son 'Abd al-'Azzī (403-43/1012-51). When the latter abdicated, his son 'Abd al-Azīz al-Bakrī, the great geographer, who was born at Saltés, was 30 years old [see Aṣr ʿubayd al-bakrī]. In the 'Abbāsid kingdom of Seville, Saltés was merely an administrative district (M. Alarcon and C.A. González Palencia, in Miscelanea arabe, Madrid 1915, 459-60). It was during the Almoravid period that the town saw its most splendid growth, according to al-Idrīsī and al-Hīmīyārī. From 539/1144-5 onwards, Saltés became part of a new geopolitical complex which embraced, as well as Niebla and Huelva, the mudūn or ḥarāt of Silves, Mértola, Évora and Beja, which became in Almohad times the economic bases for the new power. After a period when Saltés was closely linked with the Portuguese Algarve (6th/12th century and the first half of the succeeding one), there followed a phase of about a century (1151-1257) during which Saltés and Huelva were districts of the province of Niebla (A. Huici Miranda, Historia política del imperio almohade, Tetuán 1956, i, 240-2). However, Christian pressure increased. The Portuguese took the town in 1179 and captured numerous prisoners. It was partly destroyed, but again became active and prosperous in Almohad times, before being attached to the principality of Niebla towards 655/1257; at the time of the Christian reconquest, it became rapidly depopulated and was never re-occupied.

From 1495 to 1970, Saltés was the object of excavations aimed at discovering the site of Tartessos. Little has been published of the oldest ceramic fragments are apparently of Punic type, but most are of "Arab" type, mixed up with some Roman tegulae, the
latter recalling the fact that, according to Strabo, III. 5.5, confirmed by al-Himyarī, there was a sanctuary dedicated to Hercules. F. Wattenberg put forward the hypothesis, after several visits there, that Salṭs was possibly the mythical Tarentos, and there have been found traces of activity stretching over several hectares. At the northern point of El Almendral, the Islamic town of Shaltīsh shows traces of its last phase of occupation (end of the 6th/12th century and first half of the 7th/13th). A kasaba, of quadrangular plan (70 m by 40 m), with six bastions, including four at the angles, covers 3,500 m². Excavations made since 1988 confirm al-Idrīsī and al-Himyarī on the urban structure, with streets and lanes—1.30 m to 1.60 m wide and with a sub-orthogonal orientation—marking out the "islands" of houses; this regular urban pattern gives the lie to the "traditional" view of the anarchic structure of the Hispano-Muslim town.

In the high period, the pottery shows two phases of occupation, one 9th-10th century and the other at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. Then traces of later building, with the Almohad houses built upon foundations of the older levels, silos, rubbish-filled ditches and workings where earth was extracted for tibāyi, mark the active period of the 11th and 12th centuries. The final stage, Almoravid and Almohad, is well preserved: a symmetrical, almost square plan, 12th and 13th-century houses built round a patio on to which open at least two large rectangular rooms with alcoves, which seem to correspond to an oriental mode of habitation. There is also a tendency towards the specialised use of space (kitchens, storerooms, latrines); brick paving and wells of sweet water and channels for running off surplus, waste dirty water complete the arrangements. Construction materials include, predominantly, earth, used in shuttering on stone bases. The Almohad level shows much re-use of earlier materials and foundations. All over the site there are numerous deposits of metallic slag and ashes showing the existence of metal-working: the workshops were situated slightly to one side (the north-east of the madīna, where the prevailing winds could carry away smoke and sulphurous emissions. The island location of Shaltīsh facilitated the transport of materials and fuel.

The Christian conquest of the mid-13th century meant the disappearance of the Muslim population, and texts are henceforth limited to mentioning the kasaba; as for the town, it was not even used for building material. To explain this abandonment, it has been suggested that there might have been an irreversible salinisation of the water in the wells of the Muslim town.

In 1957, he was appointed by presidential decree to the position of Vice-Rector (wakīl), and in October 1958 to that of Shaykh ul-Alam (tahtīb), and in October 1958 until his death on 13 December 1963, an influential author of Islamic reform [see iṣlaḥīyāt] in the tradition of Muhammad 'Abduh [q.v.] and his school of thought.

He was born on 23 April 1893 in Minyat Banī Manṣūr, a village of Lower Egypt, in the province of Buhayra [q.v.]. In 1906 he was enrolled at the muḥād dinī of Alexandria, a religious institute founded in 1903 and affiliated to al-Azhar (for details see Lemke, 34-46). He received his diploma (gihāda al-ʿālimyā) in 1918, and early in 1919 started teaching at the Shaltūt, which was transferred to Cairo in order to lecture at the Higher Division (al-bīsīn al-ʿālī) of al-Azhar.

Having developed some ideas of a reform of al-Azhar (including steps to achieve greater independence from the state) as early as 1924, Shaltūt fervently supported Shaykh Muhammad Mustafā al-Marāgī and his reform programme when the latter became rector in 1928. After Marāgī’s resignation and the appointment of Shaykh Muhammad al-Ahmād al-Zawāhrī as rector in October 1929, Shaltūt was one of those who resisted the new Shaykh al-Azhar and his course of action, which he considered to be more or less reactionary. This led to his dismissal in September 1931. Until 1935, when he was reinstated following Marāgī’s second appointment as rector (1935-45), Shaltūt worked as a lawyer in the Shārtā courts. Back at al-Azhar, he became Vice-Dean (wakīl) of the Kulliyat al-Shārtā and, in 1939, inspector of the religious institutes (mustafîth bi l-muḥād al-alimyā).

In 1937 Shaltūt was one of three scholars representing al-Azhar at the Deuxième Congrès International de Droit Comparé held at The Hague. The lecture he gave there on civil and criminal liability in Islamic law was well received, not only by many participants of the congress but also in Azhar circles. It paved the way for him to become, in 1941, a member of the Qur'ān-kāf kāf al-īslāma? (see Lemke, 116-20, and Ahmad Fātīḥ Bahnasī, Ṣāḥib wa-taṭlīk ‘alā rīsālāt al-māḥtūm al-ānim al-ṣaykh Shaltūt an al-māsī ālīyā al-mādāniyya wa l-dīnīyya fi l-ṣhārtā l-īslāmiyya, Cairo 1407/1987).

In 1946, he was elected to the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo (see the obituary by ‘Abd al-Rāżīk and Muḥammad Mahdi ‘Allām in the Academy’s journal, Muḥ. Muṣtrima’ al-Luqāwa al-ʿArabīyya, xiix [1965], 147-53 and 155-62, respectively). In November 1957, he was appointed by presidential decree to the position of Vice-Rector (wakīl), and in October 1958 to that of Shaykh al-Azhar (Zebīrī, 12). Soon after taking up office, Shaltūt announced his determination to work for a far-reaching reform of al-Azhar. He praised the Reform Law passed by the National Assembly in June 1961 (for an analysis and evaluation of that law, see Lemke, 166-232), but as a result of what he saw as constant interference in Azhar affairs by the government, he became increasingly dissatisfied with its implementation (‘Abd al-‘Azīm, 202 ff.; Zebīrī, 28-31). During the last two years of his life, poor health forced him more and more to withdraw from public life. His funeral on 14 December 1963 was attended by huge crowds of mourners.

To a considerable extent Shaltūt’s popularity was due to his outstanding oratorical skills. He is said to have been the first Azhar scholar to use broadcasting regularly for religious sermons and for answering


SHALTUT, MAHMUD, Egyptian Sunni religious scholar, rector (shāhiḍ) of al-Azhar [q.v.] from October 1928 until his death on 13 December 1963, an influential author of Islamic reform [see iṣlaḥīyāt] in the tradition of Muhammad ‘Abduh [q.v.] and his school of thought.
queries (partly printed as *Ahddith al-sabah fi 'l-midhydc*, with Muhammad Muhammad al-Madanl, i, Cairo 1959, and *Fattat, dirasa li-mughãli al-muslim al-mu'ãsir ft haybati al-ya'miniya al-'lamma*, Cairo 1964, 1991. In both publications Shaltut amply discussed problems of contemporary Muslim society such as family law (strongly defending the principle of polygamy), birth control, private property etc. (for a commentary on the first two, see a further article by Y. Linant de Bellefonds, in *Orient*, Paris, no. 19 [1961], 27-4; for details, Zebiri, index). His booklet on *dîjâd* [*q.v.*], *al-Kîlal ft 'l-islâm*, written in 1940 and published in 1948, has been translated into English (R. Peters, *Jihad in medial and modern Islam*, Leiden 1977, 26-79). Shaltut's Kur'ân commentaries, especially his *Tafsîr al-kur'ân al-karim: al-âçîz al-âçâhara al- sûla*, Cairo 1959, 1988, and its characteristics, are described by Zebiri, pp. 50-5. For further titles of Shaltut's works from 1961 (Djabal, 388-9, and Lemcke, 261-2), who in addition lists articles which appeared in *Maqallalat al-Azhar* or elsewhere (see also Zebiri, 188).

Especially among Shi'a, Shaltut is well remembered for his zeal to promote a rapprochement between the Muslim schools of law in general and between Sunnis and Shi'a in particular, i.e. to overcome misunderstandings, avoid polemics and establish a basis for discussion and cooperation—without, however, merging all the madháhib into one (Zebiri, 24-6). In this connection, he actively supported the *Qamâs al-Takrib bagn al-Madhâhib al-Islamiyya*, founded in Cairo in 1947, and its institute there, the *Dîr al-Takrib*. He kept up a correspondence with Shi'i religious leaders such as *Ayatalliâh Burjûrdî* [*q.v.*] in Suppl. In summer 1959 Shaltut issued a *fatwâ* to the effect that worship according to the doctrine of the Twelve Shi'a was valid and that this school was a recognised madhâhib within Islam (for the Arabic text, see, e.g. *'Abd al-'Azîf, 188*; for translations into other languages, Ende, 312, n. 13). The *fatwâ*—originally an answer cut out from a newspaper interview and distributed by the *Dîr al-Takrib*—was greeted with enthusiasm in the Shi'i world, but also kindled sharp criticism on the part of certain circles of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*]. Its effect at al-Azhar and elsewhere, however, was soon counteracted by both internal and external opposition as well as by international developments, such as the outbreak of a crisis between Persia and Egypt in summer 1960 (Ende, 314 ff.). For all Muslims striving for a rapprochement, however, Shaltut's *fatwâ* remains a source of inspiration [see further, *Takrib*].


**AL-SHAM, AL-SHÂM, Syria, etymologically, the “left-hand region”, because in ancient Arab usage the speaker in western or central Arabia was considered to face the rising sun and to have Syria on his left and the Arabian peninsula, with Yaman (“the right-hand region”), on his right (cf. al-Mas'ûdî, *Murâdh* iii, 140-1 = § 992; al-Mukaddasî, partial French tr. A. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces*, Damascus 1963, 155-6, both with other, fanciful explanations). In early Islamic usage, the term *bi平坦 al-shâm* (cf. *al-takrib* above) denoted dynastic and political usage became known as “Greater Syria”, including the modern political entities of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel and the West Bank of Palestine, in the north spreading into the modern Turkish *ibs* or provinces of Hatay (the former *sangîd* of Alexander [see *IKANDARUN*], Gaziantep [see *AYNÂT*] and Diyarbakr [see *DIYAR BAKR*]. As often happened in the earliest Islamic times (cf. *Mîr*—both Egypt and its capital), al-Shâm could also denote the historic administrative capital of the region, Damascus [see *ĐIMASQ*].

For the modern component countries of this Greater Syria, see *FALÂSYN, LÜBÂNân, AL-URDUNN*. The modern Syrian Republic is known as Suriyâ or Suriyya. The geographical section 1. below deals with the region of modern Syria. The historical section 2. necessarily deals with the Greater Syrian region as a whole for the earlier Islamic centuries, when the modern political divisions had little distinctive history as such until the approach of modern times. By then, however, such a region as Lebanon, with its own long-standing separate cultural, religious and political traditions, began to pursue a historical role of its own; this is considered in LÜBÂNân.

**1. Geography.**

Modern Syria falls naturally into a western, Levantine section bordering on the Mediterranean, characterised by mountain ranges and hills with valleys and depressions between them, and with a maritime climate; and an eastern one, in which these hills and valleys gradually subside into a table-land, steppes and deserts, naturally bounded by the Taurus Mountains to the north, crossed by low ridges of hills and having a more continental climate. In its north-east, it is crossed by the Euphrates [see *AL-FURAT*] and Khâbûr [*q.v.*] rivers.

The western section contains rivers running into the Mediterranean like the Orontes or al-'Âşî [*$q.v.*], the Nahr al-Kabir, the Nahr al-Sinn and the river of Hîms. Inland from the narrow coastal plain are mountains and hill ranges running roughly north-south. In the far north are the Amanus Mountains or Gavar Dağ and the Djabal al-Akrad or Kurt Dağ, then the Orontes river valley, and then the classical Cassius or Djabal al-Akrâ (*bald mountain*), from its white appearance). To the south of the Nahr al-Kabîr valley is the gently-folded limestone plateau of the Djabal al-Ansarîyya (highest point, Nabi Yûnus, 1,583 m/5,194 feet). To the south of the River of Homs the Djabal 'Akkâr marks the beginning of the much higher Lebanon Mountains (highest point, al-Karma al-Sawda, 3,086 m/10,131 feet).

To the east of these ranges lies the northermost section of the depression of the Great Rift Valley of East Africa, the Red Sea, the Dead Sea and its Syrian continuation: in the north, the *Arûk depression* [see *AL-'ÂMEÊ*], and in the classical Islamic *Bukhara Anjâkîya, modern Amûk Gölî*; the long valley of the Orontes, forming the Gháb, regulated by the Lake of
Homs, and south of Hims forming the Bika'at [q.v.] or Bekaa between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains. Finally, to the east of this series of valleys and depressions lies a further line of hills and mountains: the Djabal al-Zawiya to the east of the Ghâb (highest point, Djabal Ayyûb, 935 m/3,068 feet), and then south of Hims, the much higher Anti-Lebanon range, al-Djâbal al-Sharkî, culminating at its southernmost tip in Mount Hermon or Djabal al-Shaykh (2,814 m/9,232 feet).

From the eastern sides of these hills and mountains begin the steppes and deserts, with the great cities of Syria—Aleppo [see ʽAlyan], Hamâ, Hims [q.v.] and Damascus—lying in the agricultural zone of the foothills and with cultivable lands in their rain shadow. The steppelands run eastwards to the Euphrates banks and beyond, with a purely artificial frontier separating Syria and Irâk. There are various low, broken ridges within the northern part of these plains, such as the series of low hills stretching north and south of Homs, the much higher Anti-Lebanon range, al-Djâbal al-Sharkî, culminating at its southernmost tip in Mount Hermon or Djabal al-Shaykh (2,814 m/9,232 feet).

The eastern slopes of these hills and mountains begin the series of low hills stretching north-eastwards from Damascus and ending in the Djabal al-Bîghîr. Here in this semi-arid steppeland, crops have for long been possible where springs and wells can be found; but extensive dams and irrigation works along the course of the middle Euphrates have made possible a great extension of agriculture there at the present time. South of the ancient desert caravan station of Palmyra [see ʿAmmar], however, is the true Syrian Desert, the Hamâd, where springs are almost unknown and the few wells have only a limited supply of water. To the south of the agriculturally rich Damascus basin (the classical Islamic Ghûta [q.v.]), there runs from the base of Mount Hermon the Golan Heights [see al-Qawawîs] a basal-slab, volcanic zone, such as lava-fields as the Ladjât [q.v.], classical Trachonitis, to the south of Damascus; the Saftâ [q.v.] to its south-east; and then, running southwards beyond ʿAlkhkât [q.v.] into modern Jordanian territory, the Hawran [q.v.], classical Aurumús, or Djabal al-Durûz (highest point, 1,734 m/5,687 feet).

2. History.
(a) To 1918.
Syria had become a Roman province in 64-63 B.C., when Pompey annexed it after the decline of the Seleucids. It became one of the most important provinces of the Roman empire, as the key to the defence of the empire's Asiatic territories. Administratively, it was divided by Septimius Severus into the two provinces of Syria Coele in the north and Syria Phoenice in the south, but by the early 5th century, various local, hitherto autonomous principalities had been brought under direct rule, and Syria was subdivided into at least five provinces. The land frontiers of Roman and Byzantine Syria were under continuous pressure from formidable military powers of the east, first the Parthians and then, from the 3rd century onwards, the Sassanids [q.v.]. Hence the importance of the times there, an elaborate system of defences in depth, with strongholds connected by a network of roads across the country, running roughly from Bostra (Bozrah [q.v.]) in the Hawrân northeastwards to the Euphrates, crossing the river at Circumce (the later Islamic Karakshiyâ [q.v.]) and then on to the Singara (Djâbal Singjar [see ʿAyn Surq]).

For the manning of this broad defensive zone, the Romans and Byzantines relied on native auxiliaries as well as their own professional troops. These auxiliaries were in a treaty relationship with the empire, hence called foederati or symmachoi, and included various Arab tribesmen who figure in the Islamic accounts of the Arab conquests as the Mustûrîbî. Tribes represented in their ranks included the Kalb, Bai, Djuhdâm, Lakhâm, Taghûtib, Tanîkâh, Iyâd, etc., many of whom became at least superficially Christian. Especially notable here was the Arab kingdom of Ghassân, of South Arabian origin but from ca. A.D. 500 enthusiastic Monophysite Christians, who promoted and controlled much of the economic and cultural prosperity of the rural and desert fringes of Syria [see ʿUmayyad]. Their florescence was bound up with that of Byzantium, and they went down with the Byzantine cause in the Arab-Islamic conquest period, fighting in the Emperor Heraclius' forces at the Battle of the Yarmûk (see below) under their last king Djâbal b. Ahyâm [q.v.], in his last years a fugitive in Byzantium. For the detailed history of the relations between the Arabs of Syria and the Romans and Byzantines, see the works of Irfan Shahid, including his Rome and the Arabs, Washington D.C. 1984; Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century, Washington D.C. 1984; Byzantium and the Arabs in the fifth century, Washington D.C. 1989; Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century, Washington D.C. 1995.

The caravan route up the west coast of Arabia, connecting Mecca with Syria, was familiar to the Prophet Muhammad and the first Muslims. The youthful Muhammad's trading trip with his uncle Abû Tâlib to Bozrah and his alleged meeting with the Christian monk Bâjrâ, who recognised him as a future prophet, figures in the accounts of the Sîra (see, e.g. Ibn ʿIshaq, tr. in W.M. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, Oxford 1953, 36-8, and nabîrâ). It should also be recalled that Jerusalem [see ʿAqsa] was a city of Syria and that it was the original hikmat of the new faith and traditionally identified with the masjd al-ʿašâr of the Kur'anic isra' or night journey [see mišrâq], was of great religious significance to Muhammad and the early Muslims. The whole province of Syria was in fact to be famed in subsequent Islamic times for its innumerable masjids, holy sites, tombs and places of pilgrimage, identified above all with the Old Testament prophets and patriarchs, a Holy Land par excellence (see the eulogies of al-Mukaddasî, tr. Miquel, 117-20, 145-52, 228; the minor genre of the katah al-ʿzâyîrî, such as the K. al-ʿzâyîrî of ʿAlî b. Abî Bakr al-Harawî [q.v.], French tr. Janine Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, 6-74; and the extensive faddîl al-Kuds literature [see ʿAl-kuds, II.1.3]).

Hence military probes in the direction of Syria began in the Median period of Muhammad's prophet-hood, but a large-scale expedition to Mu'ta [q.v.], to the east of the later Karak, in 8/629, was decisively defeated by Byzantine defence forces. Hence the definitive onslaught on Syria by the Muslims did not begin until the last months of Abî Bakr's caliphate and the beginning of ʿUmar's one, after the safety of Medina. At the outset, there seem to have been four main Arab leaders operating against Syria, ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs [q.v.] in southern Palestine, Surâbîbî b. Hasanî in Jordan,
Yazid b. Abü Sufyân in the Balkâ [q.v.] to the east of the Jordan, and Abü 'Ubayda [q.v.] in the Djâlân, and from the information in such sources as Ibn Aţham al-Kâfi, al-Tabâri and Ibn 'Asâkir, it seems that the Muslim forces numbered some 24,000, the siege settled Hīdajâs, from Mecca and Medina, nomads from the Hīdajâ and tribesmen from Yemen. The real breakthrough came with the arrival of a fifth group, via 'Irâk, under the Meccan general Khâlid b. al-Walid [q.v.]. The first major battle took place at Ad-Dhârijn [q.v.] between Ramla and Bayt Dhibûn in Palestine (Djumâdâ 1 I/23 July 634 or Dhû 'l-Ka'dâ 13/January 635). The defeated forces tried to reform behind the marches of Shânân. Dislodged, they crossed the Jordan, to be again defeated at Fîjîr or Fâjîr [q.v.] (Pella). Palestine was definitely lost to the empire.

In Muharram 14/March 635, the Arabs took up their position under the walls of Damascus. Abandoned by the Greek garrison, the citizens capitulated in the following Radjab/September. The army collected by Heraclius to raise the siege arrived too late. The Arabs established themselves in Djiâbiya [q.v.], then retired through the Syrian desert toward the borders of Yemen. The year 18/639 was marked by the plague of 'Arwâs [q.v.]. Abü 'Ubayda died, and Yazid b. Abü Sufyân, governor of Damascus, perished in the epidemic and was replaced by his brother, Mu'âwiya. 'Umar rigorously maintained the political inequality of the conquerors and conquered. The latter, the Abâl-Ki'tâb [q.v.] or Dhimmîs "protected peoples" [see DHIMMA], formed the majority of the population. The privileged race of Arabs, the Kâfidhûn or warriors, was to form the framework of a military and salaried aristocracy. Syria was divided into ad-Djânîd or military districts: Damascus, Hîms, Palestine and al-Urdunn or the province of Jordan. Yazid I later added the ad-Djânîd of Kinnârin for the north of Syria. From their military cantonments—the chief of which was Djiâbiya—the conquerors controlled the country and collected the taxes. Besides the land tax or dqâda [q.v.], Mu'âwiya paid a personal or poll-tax, the dqâda [q.v.]. In Syria, as in the other conquered provinces, "organisation was confined to a military occupation for the exploitation of the natives. The Arab government was confined to finance; their chancellery was an audit office" (Wellhausen, Das arabische Reich u. sein Sturz, 20, Eng. tr., The Arab kingdom and its fall, 32).

At the beginning of his administration, which under 'Uṯmân extended over all Syria, Mu'âwiya realised the necessity of giving the support of the Arab tribes of Syria, politically more developed than the Bedouins of the Arabian peninsula. For his policy and military operations, see MU'ÂWIYA.

'Ali, 'Uṯmân's successor, wanted to dismiss him, but the Syrians took the side of their governor. The encounter between Syrians and 'Irâkîs on the battlefield of Sîfin [q.v.] being indecisive, arbitrators were appointed to decide between the two parties. The conference at Adhrûh [q.v.] between Ma'ân and Petra did not reach a clear decision, but the outcome was clearly unfavourable for 'Ali. Profiting by this diplomatic success, Mu'âwiya sent 'Amr b. al-Âjî, his lieutenant, to conquer Egypt. On 17 Ramadan 40/24 January 661, 'Ali fell victim to a Khârdijî dagger, and the field was left clear for his rival. Umâyяд Syria. The field was now clear for Mu'âwiya to found a dynasty, that of the Umâyядs [q.v.].

He was acclaimed as caliph at Jerusalem by the troops and 'amîrs of Syria. By taking up his residence in Damascus, he made it the capital instead of Medina or Kûfâ. Whether deliberate or not, this step dis-
placed the centre of gravity of the caliphate to the advantage of Syria, and the Islamic capital never returned to the Arabian peninsula. Mu'āwiya made the Syrian Arabs, and especially those of the South Arabian or Kalb group, supreme, and under the early Umayyads they held all the principal offices. He tried to besiege Constantinople. For a verdict on the policy and character of the sovereign, who was with 'Umar I the real founder and organiser of the caliphate, see MUSAYYAR. He died at Damascus in Rajib 60/April 680, aged 75.

His son and successor, Yazīd I, had to face a rebellion, which the ability of his father had been able to prevent breaking out. Al-Husayn b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], nephew of 'Ali, the prophet's widow, refused to recognise Yazīd and took refuge in the inviolable territory of Mecca. Al-Husayn renounced allegiance and left the sanctuary, to fall in the massacre of Karbalā' [q.v.]; in 61/680 Medina quarrelled with Syria, and its inhabitants proclaimed Yazīd deposed. After futile negotiations, recourse was had to arms. Victorious on the day of al-Ḥarrā' [q.v.], the Syrians marched on Mecca, where Ibn al-Zubayr had declared himself independent. His headquarters were in the great mosque. A scaffolding of wood covered with mattresses protected the Ka'ba from the Syrian catapults. The carelessness of a Meccan set it on fire (Rābi' I 64/November 683). The news of the death of Yazīd at this point decided the Syrian army to retreat. Yazīd was not a worthless sovereign, still less the tyrant depicted by anti-Umayyad, pro-Abbāsid and Shi'i annalists. He continued his father's policy. The patron of artists and poets, and himself a poet, he completed the administrative organisation of Syria by creating the qur'tān of Kinnarīn (see above). He perfected the irrigation of the Ghūṭa of Damascus by digging a canal which was called after him. The Continuatio Byzantino-Arabica calls him iucundissimus et canenis nationibus regni quis gratissime habitus ... cum omnibus civitatis civitati. "No caliph," says Wellhausen, "ever had such praise; it comes from the heart."

His younger son, the valetudinarian Mu'āwiya II [q.v.], who was apparently carried off by the plague which was raging in 684. His brothers were all equally very young. The fact that they were minors compelled the Syrian chiefs of the Kalb to give their support to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [q.v.], first caliph of the Marwānid branch (June 22, 684). The Kaysā of northern Syria and the Dārāṣṭra, having refused to recognise him, were defeated at Mardj Rāḥīt [q.v.]. His reign was a continual series of battles. A rapid campaign secured him Egypt. Exhausted with his exertions, the septuagenarian caliph returned to Damascus to die in Ramaḍān 65/May 685. His eldest son 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.] succeeded him. He had to retake the eastern provinces and Arabia from the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr, and at the same time repel an invasion of the Mardādites of Dārāṣṭa [q.v.]. In Jerusalem, we owe him the building of the mosque of al-ʿAqṣā [see AL-MARDĀD AD-ʿAQSĀ]. 'Abd al-Malik's reign sees a shift to a more centralised form of government and uniformity in its execution, after the Second Civil War had shown the fragility of loyalty to the Umayyads even amongst the tribesmen of Syria and the Dārāṣṭra, and after there was taking place an acceleration in the numbers of the Syrian population converting to Islam and becoming mawṣūlī [see MAWLĀ] or clients of the ruling class of Arabs. For the first time, something like a standing army of loyal Syrian troops appears during the Mardānid period, additional to the older tribal contingents. At the same time, a certain process of Arabicisation in the state is observable, with the nakl al-dīnāwī or change from local languages, Greek in the case of Syria, to Arabic as the chief administrative language, although the process was not completed till some decades later [see DĪWĀN I]. Similarly, there was the appearance of a specifically Muslim, purely epigraphic form of coinage after earlier reliance, in the case of Syria and Egypt, on the older Byzantine gold coinage pattern [see SIKKA. 2], and a decisive proclamation of the triumph of Islam, seen in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem [see AL-RUDS. I, and RUBĀṭ AL-SAQĪBA], perhaps as part of the building-up of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage centre at the side of Mecca and Medina. All in all, it now becomes possible to speak of the emergence in Syria of a distinctive Arab-Islamic state rather than what had been, in many respects, a successor-state to Byzantium.

His successor in Shawwāl 86/October 705, al-Walīd I, brought to the throne an autocratic temperament and a display of religious fervour unknown in his predecessors. He was the great builder of the dynasty. According to the earliest evidence, it seems that the Christians of Damascus had been allowed to retain the splendid Basilica of St. John the Baptist. In his reign, the Arab empire attained its greatest extent. Al-Walīd was singularly successful in his enterprises. His autocratic mood revealed itself in a diminution in tolerance to the conquered peoples. The great administrative offices were definitely taken from the Christians. By his fondness for magnificence, al-Walīd secured undisputed popularity with the Arabs of Syria. He died in Ramaḍān 127/February 715.

His brother, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.], founder of al-Ramlā [q.v. in Palestine, succeeded him. He perished on the way back from the disastrous siege of Constantinople. He was succeeded by his cousin 'Umar II b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz [q.v.] who was replaced by the incapable Yazīd II. From the time of al-Walīd I, the Umayyads had begun to forsake Damascus and to reside more and more on their rural estates [see UMMAYYAD]. However, in the later years, which he passed largely on his desert estates of al-Ruṣāfā near the Euphrates [see AL-RUṢĀFĀ. 3], were clouded by succession troubles. He was succeeded in 125/743 by his nephew, Walīd II, son of Yazīd II. This prince, an artist and poet, lived contentedly in the desert, where he began the building of the splendid palace of Mghāṭī [q.v.]. He died at the hands of an assassin before finishing it (126/744). His successor, Yazīd III, was the first caliph born of a slave. He died five months later, having designated as his successor his insignificant brother, Ibrāhīm, who did not succeed in getting himself acknowledged.

In the midst of the general anarchy, there came on the scene the energetic governor of Mesopotamia, Marwān b. Muhammad [q.v.], grandson of the caliph Marwān I. The victory of 'Ayn al-Djār [q.v.] or 'Angār in the Bābk broke the resistance of his adver-
saries, the Syrian Yemenis. Becoming caliph in 127/744, Marwan II moved his capital to Harran (Mesopotamia), which brought him nearer to the troubled region of the Dājrāt but alienated the Syrians from him. He exhausted himself in putting down such rebellions as those of the Khāridjīt. The ʿAbbāsids were now secretly conspiring against the Umayyad dynasty. Taking advantage of the disaffection in Syria, Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Saffah [q.v.] had himself proclaimed caliph at Kufa (132/749). After his defeat on the Great Zāb (132/750), Marwan had to evacuate Mesopotamia, and then Syria. Abandoned by the Syrians, he took refuge in Egypt, where he died at Matmata in 132/June 750. The Umayyads were everywhere pursued and exterminated, their tombs desecrated, and their ashes scattered to the winds. The Syrians tried in vain to regain their lost ground. They raised the “white flag” of the Umayyads in opposition to the “black flag” of the ʿAbbāsids. They found too late that by indifference to the fall of the Umayyads they had thrown away the future and supremacy of Syria. They hoped henceforth for some chiliasm coming of al-Sufyān [q.v.], a national hero and champion of Syrian liberty. As his name shows, al-Sufyān, was to be a descendant of Abū Sufyān and the line of Muʿawiyah. He was to bring back the golden age and the happy days of the dynasty, the memory of which his name perpetuates.

The Umayyad court at Damascus, and the caliphal residences scattered up and down Syria, became lively cultural centres once Arabic literature revived after its period of quiescence during the period of the early Arab conquests [see sūra 1. (a)]. The Monophysite Christian al-Akhṭal [q.v., and Blachere, HLA, iii, 466-74; Salma Jayyusi, in Camb. hist. Arabic lit., i, Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period, Cambridge 1983, 396-401], the tribe from the Rabīʾa group of Taghlib [q.v.], was the eulogist of the caliphs from Muʿawiyah to al-Walid I; ʿAbd al-Malik later brought the support of Syrian and especially of his own tribe of Tamūm, under several rulers from ʿAbd al-Malik to Highmān. Their poetry also reflected the fierce tribal rivalry of South and North Arabs which at times racked the Syrian countryside and was to contribute to the fall of Umayyad power there. The achievements of Umayyad art and architecture, concentrated in Syria, are described in Umayyads, Art and architecture.

We also have the first appearance of sectarian currents within the mainstream of the Islam of the time, such as that of the Kadariyya [q.v.], which had representatives in Syria and which came to attract the wrath of Highmān and subsequent caliphs; and Damascus seems to have been a lively centre of Muslim-Christian debate and polemics, even though the correspondence allegedly between ʿUmar II and the Byzantine Emperor Leo III is presumably the work of a Syrian Muslim rather than of the caliph himself.

Agriculture remained flourishing in spite of the greed of the exchequer. As a result of the war with Byzantium, maritime trade had considerably diminished. On the other hand, the fall of the Persian empire had opened up possibilities in Persia and the east to the Syrians, but they were soon to meet the competition of the commercial cities of Irāk, notably Baghdad, during the time of Justinian, became dormant under the Arabs. When maritime relations were resumed, it was the western peoples who secured the advantage from it, at the time of the Crusades. From the time of the Marwānīs, the great towns of inland Syria—Damascus, Hims, etc.—began to be Islamized as a result of the abolition of the military cantonments. The subject races learned Arabic, without, however, abandoning Aramaic or Greek. Descended by epidemics, famine, civil strife and foreign wars, the Arab population of Syria grew slowly. If we neglect local outbreaks of fanaticism, there is no evidence of systematic persecution or proselytizing encouraged by the authorities. The latter only exercised pressure on the Christians of Arab race, the Tanūkh and Taghlib. The Kalb and other Syrian tribes had already been converted.

In spite of their position as second-class citizens, this was a period of marked tranquillity and tolerance for non-Muslims, if we compare it with the troubles that awaited them under the ʿAbbāsids. For the Arabs, paid and fed by the state, it was a golden age, a continual feast, and their chiefs, growing rich in exploiting the provinces, acquired enormous fortunes.


ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid Syria. With the fall of the Umayyads, Syria lost its privileged position, and ceased to form the centre of a vast empire. It found itself reduced to the rank of a simple province, and jealously watched on account of its attachment to the old régime. The capital of the caliphate was moved across the Euphrates. Straining under a power, the hostility of which they never ceased to feel, the Syrians found themselves systematically excluded from all share in government affairs, as they continued to be under the Fāṭimids and succeeding rulers. The caliphs of Baghdad only intervened in Syria to make it feel its position of inferiority by inflicting increased taxation on it. Driven to extremes by the exactations of the caliph’s agents, the Christians of Lebanon attempted without success to gain their freedom in 759-60. On the occasion of the Pilgrimage or of the war against the Byzantines, the caliphs al-ʿAnsūr, al-Mahdī, Hārūn al-Raḍīd and al-Manṣūr passed through Syria. In the midst of the troubles that preceded the accession of al-Manṣūr (813-833), the position of the Christians became intolerable and many of them migrated to Cyprus.

In the later 2nd/8th century and the early 3rd/9th one, Syria became the centre of power of the family of ʿĀli b. ʿAli [q.v.], uncle of the caliphs al-Saffah and al-Manṣūr, who took over the Umayyad estates there and married the widow of Marwan II. He and his descendants were prominent in the frontier warfare with Byzantium in northern Syria, the region of the ṣawād and ḫaghṭūr [q.v., and sāʿdīa 1]. ʿĀli’s son ʿAbd al-Malik later brought the support of Syrian troops to the side of al-ʾAmīn in the civil warfare with the latter’s brother al-Manṣūr.

The misfortunes of their country, the loss of their autonomy, could not induce ʿĀliyā and Yamanī to forget their regrettable differences, which ended by weakening the Syrians and dooming to failure their efforts to shake off the ʿAbbāsid yoke. A descendant of Muʿawiyah, ʿĀli b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sufyānī, raised the “white standard” which had become the symbol of Syrian independence. But to get the support of the
Kalbīs, he alienated the Kaysis (193-7/809-13). Another rising was no more successful. An Arab of obscure antecedents, named Abū Ḥarb of Yamānī origin, called al-Muhārīṣī, the "veiled one" [q.v.], proclaimed himself the Sufyānī (see above). The indifference of the Kaysis once again brought about his defeat in the reign of the caliph al-Mu'taṣīm (218-27/833-47). The caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-27/847-61) thought of shifting his capital and living in Damascus. A mutiny in his guard forced him to return to Mesopotamia. His reign was a period of severe trial for the Christians of Syria. From his reign dates, for the most part, the intolerant legislation, which became traditionally but implausibly attributed to 'Umar I: the wearing of a special dress, the prohibition of riding on horseback, etc. [see GIVĀR]. Numerous churches were turned into mosques. At this date, there were no longer any Christians of Arab stock in Syria. Under the Umayyads, the Tanūḥīs had resisted all advances of the government. The caliph al-Mahdī (138-69/775-83), however, forced them to consent.

In 258/970 an agitator claiming to be the Sufyānī was arrested. This was the last attempt at an Umayyad restoration; it failed before the apathy of the demoralized Syrians. A Turkish Mamlūk, Aḥmad b. Tūlūn [q.v.], already caliphal governor of Egypt, invaded Syria under pretext of defending it against the Byzantines, and ruled it as an autonomous province. The dynasty which he founded had only an ephemeral existence (254-92/968-905), as had that of the Ḥīdhādīs (323-38/935-67), who repeated the experience of the Tūlūnīds. In the interval, the fringes of Syria and Palestine as far as Damascus and Ramla had been devastated by the Carmathians [see KARMĀṬĪ], who left behind them the germ of Ismā'īlī doctrines. From the time of the Tūlūnīds, the country may politically speaking be considered lost to the 'Abbāsids. Their power was only felt there during a few brief periods of restoration.

In their turn, the Bedouin tribes wished to take their share in plundering an empire in decay. A Taghḥūbī clan, the Banū Hamdān [see ḤAMDĀNIDS], found themselves entrusted with the reconquest of Syria for the Ḥīdhādīs and checking the Byzantine advance. They installed themselves as masters of the north of the country, without, however, breaking with the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. The most famous of these Ḥamdānīūm amīrs was Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.], who in his court at Apamea, himself a convert, patronized the arts and letters (333-56/945-67). After the fall of the Ḥamdānīūm (394/1004), in spite of a brief 'Abbāsīd reaction at Damascus (364-6/975-7), Syria fell into and remained for over a century (366-491/977-1098) in the hands of an 'Ahd, or more accurately, Ismā'īlī, dynasty, that of the Fāṭimīds [q.v.].

Having conquered Egypt, the Fāṭimid armies invaded Syria (358/969), and conquered Palestine and then Damascus, without encountering any particular resistance. In the centre and north it is difficult to say what form the Egyptian conquest took. The direct authority of the Fāṭimīds was enforced so long as their troops occupied the region. After their departure, the local amīrs did as they pleased without openly breaking with the suzerain in Cairo. Fāṭimid rule was only kept up in Syria by continually dismissing the agents to whom it was forced to delegate its authority, thus perpetuating administrative instability. In Palestine it had to reckon with the Dīṣarrībīs [q.v.]. These amīrs of the tribe of Ṭayyīr arrogated to themselves over a century a regular hegemony over the nomad Syrians. In the reign of al-Ḥākim (386/411/996-1021 [q.v.]), the Banū ʿDīṣarrībīs amused themselves by appointing an anti-caliph, and then sending him back to Mecca, whence they had brought him. In Tyre a humble boatman succeeded for a time in declaring himself independent (387/997).

Taking advantage of the anarchy, the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963-9) had conquered Northern Syria. His successors, John Tzimisces (969-76) and Basil II (976-1025), easily conquered the valley of the Orontes and the Phoenician coast. Of all these conquests, all that the Byzantines were able to keep for over a century was the "duchy" of Antioch, which included northern Syria, except the amirate of Aleppo. We have already mentioned that the caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, from whom is connected the origin of the Druze [see AL-DURAT]. This prince quarrelled with the Christians and ordered the Basilica of the Resurrection in Jerusalem to be destroyed. Syria gradually detached itself from Egypt. In the midst of the political disorders, the pernicious influence of the Bedouins increased. In 415-1024, the Banū Mirdās [q.v.] of the Kaysī tribe of Kilībī established themselves in Aleppo, and held it with interruptions until 472/1082.

By this time the Saʿdījūkīs [q.v.] had already gained a footing in Syria. The provinces of Syria fell into their power, Damascus in 467/1075. At Jerusalem a Sādījūkī amīr, Artūk b. Ekseb, founded a local dynasty (479-80/1086-7). In 477/1084, the Greeks lost Antioch (479-80/1086-7). In 477/1084, the Greeks lost Antioch, their last possession in Syria. Syria was now divided into two Sādījūkī principalities, that of Aleppo and that of Damascus. Sādījūkī amīrs more or less independent commanded at Aleppo and Hims, all at war with one another [see SALDJUKIDS. III. 4]. At Tripoli, a humble kāfī founded the dynasty of the Banū ʿAmmār [q.v.]. To the south of this town, the towns on the coast remained in the hands of the Egyptians. Into the midst of this confusion, this piece-meal distribution of territory, came the armies of the Crusaders.

The persistent hostility shown by the 'Abbāsīds to the intellectuals of Syria, the political anarchy, the rule of Turkish adventurers, were all circumstances unfavourable to the progress of literature and learning, but a few poets gathered at the court of the Ḥamdānīūm and Mirdāsīūm of Aleppo. The patronage of Sayf al-Dawla encouraged the preparation of the celebrated Kitab al-Aghlānī and supported the poet al-Mutanabbi [q.v.]. Less tolerant than the Umayyads, the authorities began to encourage conversion to Islam. The Christians were slowly began to take the place of Aramaic as the spoken and written language of the original inhabitants, who began to speak and write in it. The end of this period coincides with the spread of the madrasas [q.v.], which appeared under the stimulus of the Sādījūkīs, especially in Aleppo and Damascus. The lack of respect into which the 'Abbāsīd caliphate had fallen adversely affected orthodox Islam; this backlash favoured the growth in Syria of sects practising imitation and following the Shiīta: the Druze, Ismā'īlīs, Naṣayriyyīn and ʿImāmīs.

The exactions of the 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimīd agents diminished without, however, destroying the great vitality of the country. In 311/923, a governor of Damascus was sentenced to pay 300,000 dinārs to the treasury.

The northern fringes of Syria naturally suffered from the effects of the Byzantine-Arab frontier warfare there, and there were additionally the ravages of the Bedouins in northern and central parts of the land, which secured an increased ascendency in the countryside over the desert and over the population. The failure of the Fāṭimīds to establish lasting authority there. The ascendancy of the Kilībī in
Aleppo and northern Syria has been mentioned. The exactions and confiscations of the Hamdanids in northern Syria and the Ḍajzara are denounced by the traveler Ibn Hawqal, in particular, those of Nūr al-Dawla al-Ḥasan (317-58/929-69) as causes of agricultural decline. There were, however, compensatory economic trends. Al-Muḥammadī testifies to the vitality of the Syrian cities and their artisanal activities. Sugar cane cultivation was introduced into Syria in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, and became extensive along the Mediterranean coast and in the Jordan valley, with factories or refineries (matāliḥ) springing up there [see Sunnā]. Syria also became a major manufacturing centre of the Middle East for paper, and Nūr-ʾī Khuwarwī [q.v.] described the paper of Ṭripoli as even better than that of Ṣamarkand, the original centre of the industry in the Islamic world [see Kāqājād]. See in general, Muḥsin D. Yusuuf, Economic survey of Syria during the tenth and eleventh centuries, Berlin 1985. A demographic factor in the history of Syria in mediaeval times was the incidence of plague outbreaks there, and wahdāʾ azin is mentioned at such times as 469/1076-7, 537/1142-3, 558/1163 and 566-7/1258-9, culminating in the notorious Black Death of the 8th/14th century. See M.W. Dols, The Black Death in the Middle East, Princeton 1985. A demographic factor in the history of Syria in mediaeval times was the incidence of plague outbreaks there, and wahdāʾ azin is mentioned at such times as 469/1076-7, 537/1142-3, 558/1163 and 566-7/1258-9, culminating in the notorious Black Death of the 8th/14th century. See M.W. Dols, The Black Death in the Middle East, Princeton 1977, 32-5, 143 ff.

Syria under the Franks. On 21 October 1097, the army of the Crusaders appeared before the walls of Ṭabūl. After a very laborious siege, they entered it on 3 January 1098. Then following the valley of the Orontes through the mountains of the Nūṣayrūs and along the coast, the Franks, now reduced to 40,000 men, debouched before Jerusalem. The city, which the Fāṭimids had just retaken from the Artūkīs, was taken by assault on 15 July 1099, and Godfrey of Bouillon, king of Jerusalem from 1100 to 1104, formed the bold project of seizing the heritage of the Anti-Lebanon. The great cities of the interior, Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥims, Baʿlabakk and Damascus, which agreed to pay tribute, remained independent. The kingdom consisted of a confederation of four feudal states: 1. On the east, the county of Edessa lay along the two banks of the Euphrates. 2. In the north the principality of Antiṭioch included in its protectorate Armenian Cilicia. 3. In the centre the county of Ṭripoli stretched from the fort of Margat (al-Marjāb [q.v.]) to the Nahr al-Kalb. 4. Lastly came the royal domains, or kingdom of Jerusalem, strictly speaking. It included all cis-Jordan Palestine and, in Transjordan, the ancient districts of Moab and Edom, which became the seigneurie of Crac (Karak [q.v.]) and of Montlélé [see giwbak] “in the land of Oultre-Jouarda”. For a time it had a dependency, the port of Ayla-ʿAkaba. To defend these possessions, the Crusaders built strong castles: the Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥṣān al-ʿAkrād [q.v.]), Caesarea, Beirut and Ṭripoli (1109-10). This brave leader, the most remarkable of the crusading sovereigns, died during an expedition against Egypt (1118). His successor, Baldwin II du Bourg, captured Tyre in 1124; he failed before Damascus, but the town had to promise to pay tribute.

It was towards 1130 that the Latin kingdom attained its greatest extent, stretching from Dīyarbakr to the borders of Egypt. In Syria its frontier never crossed the valley of the Upper Orontes nor the crest of Anti-Lebanon. The great cities of the interior, Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥims, Baʿlabakk and Damascus, which agreed to pay tribute, remained independent. The kingdom consisted of a confederation of four feudal states: 1. On the east, the county of Edessa lay along the two banks of the Euphrates. 2. In the north the principality of Antiṭioch included in its protectorate Armenian Cilicia. 3. In the centre the county of Ṭripoli stretched from the fort of Margat (al-Marjāb [q.v.]) to the Nahr al-Kalb. 4. Lastly came the royal domains, or kingdom of Jerusalem, strictly speaking. It included all cis-Jordan Palestine and, in Transjordan, the ancient districts of Moab and Edom, which became the seigneurie of Crac (Karak [q.v.]) and of Montlélé [see giwbak] “in the land of Oultre-Jouarda”. For a time it had a dependency, the port of Ayla-ʿAkaba. To defend these possessions, the Crusaders built strong castles: the Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥṣān al-ʿAkrād [q.v.]), Caesarea, Beirut and Ṭripoli (1109-10). This brave leader, the most remarkable of the crusading sovereigns, died during an expedition against Egypt (1118). His successor, Baldwin II du Bourg, captured Tyre in 1124; he failed before Damascus, but the town had to promise to pay tribute.

During an expedition against Egypt (1118). His successor, Baldwin II du Bourg, captured Tyre in 1124; he failed before Damascus, but the town had to promise to pay tribute.

After the death of Baldwin II (1131), the decline of the Latin state began; it was hastened by the isolation of the Crusaders and their lack of unity. The Byzantines claimed the rights of a suzerain over the north of the kingdom. The Armenians sought to form a national state for themselves in the region of the Taurus. Instead of coming to an agreement, Franks, Byzantines and Armenians only succeeded in enfeebling one another to the advantage of the Muslims, who were gathered round remarkable leaders like Zangi, Nūr al-Dīn and Saḥāl al-Dīn [q.v.]. Baldwin III (1144-62) resumed the siege of Damascus (23-8 July 1148). The greatest of the Fatimids, the first to become independent in Egypt, and founded the Ayyūbid dynasty [q.v.] there, then seized Damascus from the sons of Nūr al-Dīn. On 4 July 1187, at Hāṭṭīn [q.v.], between Tiberias and Nazareth, the whole Christian army under Guy de Lusignan fell into the hands of Saḥāl al-Dīn. Jerusalem capitulated on 2 October following. Deprived of their defenders, the other cities, except Antiṭioch, Ṭripoli and Tyre, had to surrender.

The preaching of the Third Crusade brought to the camp before Acre, which the Crusaders had been besieging for two years, Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England. The town surrendered on 19 July 1191. A truce between the belligerents ceded the coast from Jaffa to Tyre to the Crusaders. In default of Jerusalem, which they had been unable to reconquer, Acre was henceforth the capital of the kingdom. The death of Saḥāl al-Dīn produced dissension among his numerous heirs. The Emperor Frederick II took advantage of the discord to negotiate with al-Malik al-Kāmil [q.v.], Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, for the cession of Jerusalem and other places of no strategic importance. Threatened by the sons of Saḥāl al-Dīn, who had made an alliance with the Franks, their uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil called in the help of the Khārazmians, who crushed the combined Syrian and Frankish forces near Ghazza (1244) and enabled the Egyptians to occupy Jerusalem, Damascus and Hīmā. The Seventh Crusade brought St. Louis to Syria after the check to his expedition to Egypt. For four years (1250-4) he was engaged in fortifying the towns of the coast. It was the Mamlūk sultans, Baybars, Kālāwīn and al-Malik al-Ashraf, son of the latter, who dealt the last blow to the Latin kingdom. Acre fell (31 May 1291) after a heroic defence. In the course of the next months, Tyre, Ḥṣayfā, Ṣaydā, Beirut and Ṭartūs were taken or evacuated. Aṭṭālı[pt. q.v.], the imposing fortress between Ḥṣayfā and Caesarea, was the last to surrender (14 August 1291). The Frankish colonies in Syria were at an end.

The Crusades introduced into Syria the feudal organisation of contemporary Europe. The elective character of the kingship soon gave place to dynastic succession. The king only ruled directly the Palestinian kingdom of Jerusalem. His authority was limited by the privileges of the three orders: the clergy, nobility and bourgeoisie. "He cannot," notes Usama b. Munkārī, "be the king of a kingdom without the Court of Seigneurs." The authority of the great feudatories within their principalities was circumscribed in the same way. Agricultural servility was retained, as had
been the custom in Syria. The name "poulains" (pul-lani) was given to the issue of marriages between Franks and natives; the etymology of this word is still obscure. The army was recruited not only from Franks but also from Armenians and Maronites. The Turcopoli (q.v.) were the Muslim auxiliaries. The position of Muslims and Jews recalled that of the Dimanis in Muslim lands, with this difference that they were not so heavily taxed. According to Ibn Djubayr, his co-religionists did not conceal their satisfaction with Frankish rule.

Every singularity had its own silver coin. There were also gold ducats, "beants sarracens", or "sarrasins" with Arabic inscriptions. Commerce, more or less dormant since the Arab conquest, again became active as a result of maritime relations with the west, which were never greater. The principal ports were Acre, Tyre and Tripoli. In the principalities of the north, the terminus for continental trade was La Liche (q.v.), now called Port St. Simeon. We have to go back to the time of the Phoenicians to find a period of so great economic activity.

The state of war hampered, but did not put a stop to intellectual activity among the Muslims of Syria. In Damascus, Ibn al-Kalanis! was busy with his history, and Ibn 'Asākir finished his monumental encyclopaedia, the Ta'rikh Dimanis, devoted to individuals who had a more or less remote connection with Syria. At the end of his troubled career, the amir of Shuyayr, Usāma b. Mūsāqīh, produced an autobiography which is very valuable for the study of the relations which existed between Franks and Muslims. Barhebræus, a Syrian and Mesopotamian, wrote Arabic and Syriac with equal elegance. It was in this last language that the Jacobite cleric wrote a voluminous Chronicle [see IBN AL−IMR]. Muslims, Christians and Jews studied medicine with success. Never, except in the Roman period, had there been so much building. The fortresses built by the Crusaders are wonderful specimens of Syrian and Mesopotamian, wrote Arabic and Syriac. The majority of the able-bodied inhabitants were carried off into slavery, especially artists, architects, workers in steel and glass. They were almost all taken to Samarkand. Fire was then set to the city, to the mosque of the Umayyads and other monuments. Mīrūd led back his army and left Syria a prey to epidemics and plagues of barbarous hordes. The plateaux of Anatolia, the power of the Ottomans was gathering. The capture of Constantinople (857/1453) had increased their ambition. Death alone prevented Mehmed II Fāṭih from invading Syria. His successors did not cease preparations. Kâthābī (872−901/1468−96) and Bāyezid II (q.v.) signed a treaty of peace, but it was only to be a truce.

The destruction of Baghdis by Hulegu and the fall of the Abāsids caliphate had shifted the centre of the Muslim world to the west of the Euphrates, and the cultural and religious pre-eminence within the Arab world of Cairo and, to a lesser extent, Damascus, was irrevocably established. Arabic literature entered into one of its most active and quantitatively significant phases during the Mamluk period, although this literary production still needs fuller evaluation (as does that of Turkish writers within the ethnically Kipčak Turkish Bahri Mamluk society). See MAMLUKS. Bibl., section (i) (b). It is, however, true that it tended to be an age of epitomisers, compilers, authors of handbooks and encyclopaedists, but many were interested in collecting knowledge and learning it by heart. Among the encyclopaedists a special place must be given to Jordania). See for details, M. Gaudefoy-Demobynnes, La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes, Paris 1921, lxxxvi, 175, 434.

The past history of Damascus assured its nāṭib, or viceroy, not only authority over his Syrian colleagues, but a special prestige of his own. This high official had little difficulty in persuading himself that he had the same rights to the throne as his suzerain in Egypt. To guard against the ambition of the Syrian nāṭib, Cairo took care to change them continually (Ṣāliḥ b. Yāḥyā, Ta'rikh al Bahar). Never did instability of government and greed of rulers, uncertain of the morrow, attain such proportions. Lebanon continued to enjoy a kind of autonomy. The dissenting Muslims of the Lebanese highlands—Druze and Imāms—took advantage of the troubles of the Mamluks, occupied with the Franks and Mongols, to proclaim their independence. All the forces of Syria had to be mobilised, and a long and bitter war followed (692-704/1293-1305), which ended in the complete destruction of the rebels and the devastation of central Lebanon.

The Mongol Il Kāhan continued to avenge the military defeats which the Mamluks had inflicted upon them. The most energetic of these sovereigns, Qhazan (694-703/1295-1304), in 698/1299 secured the support of the Armenians and Georgians as well as of the Franks of Cyprus, and routed the Mamluks near Hīmṣ. The troops occupied Damascus, and advanced up to Ghazzā. The Egyptians having again invaded Syria, Qhazan recrossed the Euphrates to meet them, but he was defeated in 502/1303 at Mādjid al−Suffar (q.v.) near Damascus. Syria had nothing to gain by the coming of the Burgīs, who in 784/1382 replaced the Bahārī dynasty. They "preserved," Ibn Iyās tells us, "the old laws", that is to say the anchracular rule of their predecessors. Sultan Faradj (801−15/1599−1412 (q.v.) had to begin the reconquest of Syria no less than seven times. The year 1401/803-4 coincided with the invasion of Tīmūr (q.v.). After the capture of Aleppo, which they sacked, his hordes appeared before Damascus. The town having agreed to surrender, the Tīmūrid forces plundered it methodically. The majority of the able-bodied inhabitants were carried off into slavery, especially artists, architects, workers in steel and glass. They were almost all taken to Samarkand. Fire was then set to the city, to the mosque of the Umayyads and other monuments. Tīmūr led back his army and left Syria a prey to epidemics and plagues of barbarous hordes. The plateaux of Anatolia, the power of the Ottomans was gathering. The capture of Constantinople (857/1453) had increased their ambition. Death alone prevented Mehmed II Fāṭih from invading Syria. His successors did not cease preparations. Kāthābī (872−901/1468−96) and Bāyezid II (q.v.) signed a treaty of peace, but it was only to be a truce.

The destruction of Baghdis by Hulegu and the fall of the 'Abbasids caliphate had shifted the centre of the Muslim world to the west of the Euphrates, and the cultural and religious pre-eminence within the Arab world of Cairo and, to a lesser extent, Damascus, was irrevocably established. Arabic literature entered into one of its most active and quantitatively significant phases during the Mamluk period, although this literary production still needs fuller evaluation (as does that of Turkish writers within the ethnically Kipčak Turkish Bahri Mamluk society). See MAMLUKS. Bibl., section (i) (b). It is, however, true that it tended to be an age of epitomisers, compilers, authors of handbooks and encyclopaedists, but many were interested in collecting knowledge and learning it by heart. Among the encyclopaedists a special place must be given to...
the worthy Shihab al-Din Ibn Fadl Allah al-Umar, author of the Ma'dlik al-ahdär, a voluminous compilation of a historical, geographical and literary character for the use of officials of the Mamluk chancellery. We may next mention Abu 'l-Fida' [q.v.], historian and geographer, and the geographer Shams al-Din al-Dimashkī (d. 727/1327), markedly inferior to his predecessor al-Mu'addasī [q.v.]. The versatile al-Dhahabī [q.v.] was born in Mesopotamia but lived and died in Damascus (784/1348 or 753/1352). Ibn 'Arabghā (d. 854/1450) was the author of a history of Timūr. Al-Safadī (d. 764/1363 [q.v.]) compiled a great biographical dictionary, Sālīḥ b. Yahyā (d. 890/1484), the champion of the Mamluk Bahrī; let us, in this work on the Amūrī of the Gharb, the best contribution to the history of the Lebanon and a valuable supplement to the annals of the Frankish states. Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil Ibn Kayyīm al-Dajwizzī [q.v.] were amongst the most original figures of this period. Their writings covered the whole field of Islamic studies. They were eager polemists and controversialists, concerned with what they viewed as both internal and external threats to Islam; they were particularly important for transmitting the Ḥanbalī legal and political heritage into later times [see ʿANĀBILA], when it was subsequently picked up by the 12th/18th century Arabian reformer Muḥammad b. Ābd al-Wahhāb [see IBN ʿĀBD AL-WAHHĀB] and by various traditionalist-inclined elements in North Africa [see SALAFIYYA. 1.], Egypt and Syria [see SALAFIYYA. 2.], and Northern India, loosely but not always entirely accurately called Nusayrīyya [see SALAFIYYA. 2.].

The departure of the Crusaders marks the end of a period of astonishing economic prosperity. Syrian commerce fell back into stagnation. Little by little, however, necessity forced the resumption of relations with Europe. The decline of Acre, Tyre and Tripoli, ruined by the Mamlūks, and the fall (748/1347) of the Little Armenian kingdom of Cilicia [see CUS].

Syria under the Ottomans. With the opening of the 10th/16th century, the rule of the Mamlūks had begun to break up. Their exactions had exacerbated the popular. The Ottoman sultan, Selim I [q.v.], resolved to take advantage of the opportunity to invade Syria. Taking the initiative, the Mamlūk sultan, Kānsūsh al-Ghawrī [q.v.], mobilised his forces, and marched via Damascus and Aleppo towards Anatolia. The two armies met at Dābik, a day's journey north of Aleppo. The Turkish artillery and the Janissary infantry scattered disorder through the Egyptian ranks. Kānsūsh disappeared in the disaster of Dābik (25 Rabī' 2/24 August 1516 [see MA'RĀSH]). Aleppo, Damascus and the towns of Syria opened their gates to the conqueror who went on to Egypt and put an end to Mamlūk rule. The Turks retained at first the territorial divisions or nīābāt. The Mamlūk Ghazālī, nāʿīb of Damascus, had gone over to the Ottoman camp after Dābik. The renegade was in return given the administration of the country except the nīāba of Aleppo, which was reserved for a Turkish Pasha.

On the death of Selim I (926/1520), Ghazālī had himself proclaimed sultan under the name of al-Malik al-Aṣghāfī. He was defeated and killed at Kābūn at the gates of Damascus (927/1521). Before the end of the 10th/16th century, Syria had become divided into three great pāghālis: 1. Damascus, comprising ten sandqāqs or prefectures, the chief of which were Jerusalem, Ḥazāza, Nābulus, Ṣāyda and Beirut; 2. Tripoli, including the sandqāq of ʿHims, Ḥamā, Salāmiyya and Dājbah, i.e. Aleppo, including the former North Syria, except ʿAyūnsh, which was included in the pāghālī of Marāṣh. In the century following, the pāghālī of Ṣāyda was created to include Lebanon. In its main outlines, this administrative division lasted till the middle of the 18th century, when the central government of Ṣāyda was moved to Acre.

The Imperial Dīwān in Istanbul was only interested in Syria in so far as it enabled it to watch Egypt, and to levies upon its resources contributions to the expenses of the palace and for foreign wars. The taxes, which were put up to auction, went to the highest bidder, who became the multazim [see DULŪZH]. According to a Venetian Consular report, the pāghālīc was worth 80,000 to 100,000 ducats (probably the silver ducat, the Venetian grosso, whence kirgh pl. kirgh or piastre = 5 francs). The Pashas only administered directly the important towns and their immediate neighbourhood. The interior of the country was left to the old feudal lords, whose number and influence had increased since the Mamlūks: Bedouin amīr, Turkomans, Mutawawīlī, Druze and Nuṣayrīs. The Porte only asked them to pay the tribute, or mīrī, without worrying if it saw them fighting with its own representatives. Every year the Turkish Pasha, at the head of his artillery and Janissaries, set out to collect the taxes. The force lived on the country and laid it waste if the inhabitants resisted. It is not therefore remarkable that agriculture, the principal resource of Syria, declined, the population diminished, and the country districts emptied in favour of the Lebanon and mountainous districts, where the harassed people could find asylum.

The instability of their position increased the rapacity of the Turkish functionaries. Damascus saw 133 Pashas in 180 years. This period saw the rise of Faḥr al-Dīn Muḥammad [q.v.], the champion of Syrian independence (1583-1635), the Mutawawīlī amīr, the Banū Rāshīd and the Banū Bākī, the Banū Manṣūr b. Fūrâykh, Bedouin sheikhs, who carved out for themselves an appanage in Palestine and in the
region of Nabulus. These feudal lords were fairly well-organised in spite of their cupidity, and they were able to defend their gains from the arbitrary Turk. By the beginning of the 19th century, the traffic of the Middle East, the Portuguese occupation of India adversely affected Syria. The harbour of Beirut remained empty. Tripoli at first, then—thanks to the initiative of Fakhr al-Din—Sidon attracted European ships, which came for cargoes of silk and cotton. Aleppo, thanks to its location between Mesopotamia, the sea, and the Anatolian provinces whose market it was, and the situation there of a factory of the English Levant Company, remained the principal depot on the direct route to the Persian Gulf and was for three centuries the chief commercial centre of Northern Syria.

The decay of the Ottoman administrative system in Syria, with its concomitant rapid turnover of governors in Damascus, had the effect of increasing the power of the Janissary garrison troops of the Ottomans there, and subsequently, by the end of the 17th century, in Aleppo also. The Janissaries came in fact to be divided into two groups, the older-established ones being designated şehr-i milli (the Janissary 'local'), whilst the new contingents sent out from Istanbul were known by various local corruptions of the Turkish term Kâpi Nişanı "slaves of the Porte".

The governorship of Naşif Pasha (1708-14) was a turning point in the history of the Ottoman province of Damascus, in that his first was a series of longer tenures of office, giving the province a degree of stability which it had previously lacked. A powerful family, the 'Azms, then emerged in the 18th century, and extended its quasi-dynastic power from Damascus as far as Tripoli, Sidon and, at times, Aleppo. The rule in Damascus of As'ad al-'Azm (1743-57) was an unprecedentedly long governorship, later to be remembered by the people as one of justice and peace.

After the fall of As'ad in 1757, the power of the 'Azms had passed its peak, and the centre of political gravity in Syria shifted westwards to the coastlands, seen in the rise of Zahir al-Umar al-Zaydanî (Syrian pronunciation of the first name, Dâhir). Dâhir, a Bedouin, lord of the land of Safad, extended his authority over Galilee, and settled at Acre, which he fortified and raised from its ruins. He resisted the Porte (1750-75) with assistance lent by the Egyptian Mamûlûk 'Ali Bey and Muhammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab and a Russian squadron cruising in Syrian waters. Besieged in Acre, he was forced by the Egyptian to surrender on 27 May 1832, after a siege of seven months. On 8 July at Hems, Ibrahim routed the Turks.

The new rule proved in many ways enlightened and tolerant. It admitted Christians to the communal and police and the tribunals. The reclamation of waste lands was encouraged, and agriculture was promoted, even in the semi-independent regions of the Lebanon. Rebellions broke out among the Druze of the Lebanon and of the Hawrân, among the Nusayris and in the never properly-subjected hill region of Nabulus. Ibrahim exhausted himself in suppressing these risings. The Ottomans thought the moment had come for the reconquest of Syria. They were completely defeated (27 June 1839) at Nisib, north of Aleppo. European diplomacy then intervened at the instigation of Great Britain, which was disturbed by the ambitions of Muhammad 'Ali. British policy had at this time as its aims the maintenance of the Ottoman empire, the confinement of Muhammad 'Ali to Egypt and the extension of its influence in Syria. France had since the 16th century a historic role as protector of the Maronites and Uniate Churches of the Eastern Christians, hence Britain could only try to exert a parallel influence amongst the Druze, a policy which was never, however, very successful. A further element in the Levant was Imperial Russia which, by stretching the provisions of the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) [q.v.], claimed as its suzerainty over all the Christians in the Ottoman empire in general, which in Syria meant aid to the Orthodox communities of
the Antioch and Jerusalem Patriarchates. The European powers banded together. An allied fleet shelled Beirut (September 1840). Acre surrendered in November, and Ibrahim Pasha agreed to evacuate Syria, successfully withdrawing his army of 60,000 men from Ghazza by January 1841. Ibrahim's collaborator Bashir II Shihab fell from power at this point, being deposed and sent into exile. A period of some twenty years' internal conflict opened in Lebanon, involving inter alios the great Maronite landowners and their increasingly restive peasantry, and a growing tension between the Druze and Maronites who had migrated from Kisrawân in central Lebanon to the Druze province of Libanon al-Sharqi. From 1856 to 1860 there took place the third şimpiyya, a Maronite peasant revolt against the landlords in Kisrawân.

From the reign of Mâhmmûd II [q.v.], the Porte had inaugurated a policy of administrative centralisation, and decreed the abolition of local autonomies and feudalities. After the departure of the Egyptians, it moved to Beirut, whose importance was steadily increasing, the administrative centres of the ancient pâshâliks of Acre and Sidon, in order to prepare for the annexation of Lebanon. With the same object, it declared the old line of princes of the Lebanon, the Shihab Amirs, deposed. The only result was to perpetuate anarchy there. The Christians who had fought against the Egyptians claimed to be treated on terms of equality with the Druze. In the southern Lebanon, several had acquired the confiscated lands of the Druze chiefs banished by Ibrahim Pasha. The latter, coming back from exile, demanded a return to the status quo and the restoration of their ancient privileges. In taking their side, Turkey paved the way for new conflicts and sanguinary fighting. The Syrian Muslims showed no less animosity to the Christians, whom Egyptian rule had partly enfranchised. They took no account of the intellectual and material progress made by the Christians, nor of the political equality promised by the rescripts of the sultans as part of the Tanẓimât [q.v.] reforms. The khâlîlah tashâliyân [q.v.] of Sultan 'Abd al-Mâjid [q.v.] communicated to the Congress of Paris (1856), and tacitly placed under the guarantee of the Powers, scandalised Muslim opinion, but inspired confidence among the Christians. At Damascus and in the large towns, they took advantage of the occasion to enrich themselves commercially. A secret agitation began to stir up the Druze and Muslims, and waited for the events of 1860 to burst forth.

The Druze of the Lebanon, combining with their co-religionists of the Wâdi 'A-Taym and of the Hawrân, spread fire and death through the villages of the Maronites, who were at that moment in turmoil in the aftermath of the peasant şâmiyya of the previous year (see above). The anti-Christian movement reached Damascus, which the Muslims pillaged and then set fire to the prosperous Christian quarter, after massacring its inhabitants. In this city, in the Lebanon, and in Beirut, the Turkish authorities intervened only to disarm the Christians, and their sympathies were clearly with the Muslim and Druze perpetrators of the massacres. Amongst the Muslims, the only effective protector of the Christians in Damascus was the exiled former leader of resistance to the French in Algeria, the Amîr 'Abd al-Kâdir b. Muḥîf al-Dîn al-Ḥasanî [q.v.]. Inevitably, there was a reaction from the European powers. France landed troops at Beirut in September 1860, and the Porte sent its Foreign Minister, Fu'âd Pasha to Damascus with draconian powers to suppress disorder. Soon afterwards, an international commission began work in Beirut and then Istanbul; the aim of British and Ottoman diplomacy was now to prevent a permanent extension of Napoleon III's influence in Syria and Lebanon. The outcome was an Organic Regulation/Règlement organique in 1861, which abolished the dual khâlimânat of Christians, ámbians of northern Lebanon and Druze in the south and established an administration for Lebanon under a Christian mutasarrîf directly responsible to the sultan. The system gave Lebanon peace for over half-a-century; for the subsequent history of the region, see LUBNÂN. In Syria, Fu'âd Pasha shot or hanged a considerable number of guilty soldiers and civilians, and a collective fine of £200,000 was levied on Damascus and another £160,000 on the provinces of the Lebanon. In 1861-2, France and Beirut united in two wilâyât: Aleppo and Damascus. In 1888 Beirut, the chief port, the centre of the commercial life of Syria, was made a separate wilâyet.

Syria now gradually began to enter the modern age. The ports of Beirut and Jaffa were improved; the main ports and cities were in the 1860s linked by telegraph with Istanbul and Europe; a postal system was introduced; carriages roads were constructed between Beirut and Damascus, and a railway was laid between Beirut and Damascus, and Jaffa and Jerusalem. The improvements in communications made possible increased centralisation of the Ottoman administration, with curbs on Bedouin brigandage and increased security. Such measures as these, plus the opening in 1869 of the Suez Canal, contributed to an increase of commercial confidence and activity, although trade was temporarily affected by the American Civil War and the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian Wars. Eventually, too, railways appeared; with the exception of the north Syrian section of the Berlin-Baghdad railway and the Pilgrimage line from Damascus to Medina, financed by the Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamîd II and internal Ottoman contributions [see şuţaz RAILWAY], these were largely constructed with French capital. Nevertheless, it was in the post-1860 period that emigration—mainly of Christians—above all from Lebanon, and from Syria, grew, a good proportion of it to the New World (for the Arabic literature of this diaspora, see MâHRÎJ). Lebanon and Syria also became the focuses of the Arabic literary revival known as the Nahhâ [q.v.]. Since the 17th century, the Christians of Syria had had presses for printing works in Arabic and, for the Eastern Churches, for printing religious and liturgical works in both Arabic and Syriac; a bilingual Psalter appeared in 1610 from the press at the monastery of St. Anthony at Kûzhâyâ in Lebanon, and a Melkite press started up at Aleppo in 1706 [see maṭrân'a, B. 2]. In the 19th century organised Protestant Christian missionary work came to Syria, with American Presbyterians working from Beirut and Anglicans from Jerusalem. The Americans organised their converts into the Syrian Evangelical Church, with an Arabic press at Beirut in 1843, and their activity culminated in the foundation in 1866 of the Syrian Protestant College, after 1923 the American University of Beirut. The Jesuits, for their part, set up the Imprimerie Catholique at Beirut in 1853 and founded the Université de St.-Joseph in 1875. Both Universities were to make distinguished contributions to the revival of Arabic studies and to the training of an Arab intellectual elite throughout the Near East. Towards the end of the century, when Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary efforts amongst the Christians of Syria seemed to be reducing the Orthodox representation there, Russians interested in the Near East and, especially, in Jerusalem, founded in 1882 the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society, which functioned until the Russian Revolution of 1917.
work included the running of village and urban elementary schools in Christian areas and some colleges; the Mahjar writer Miktahil Nu‘ayma [q.v.] received his first education at the Russian school in his Lebanese home village of Biskinta, eventually going to study in Russia itself. See on this Russian religious and cultural interest in the Near East, D. Hopwood, The Russian presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914. Church and politics in the Near East, Oxford 1969.

Whereas the missions and schools in Syria and Lebanon aimed at making converts from the indigenous Eastern Christian Churches or at educating them, the Anglican Mission at Jerusalem aimed at converting the Jews of Palestine. The Jews of Syria did not, in fact, experience a national, cultural and educational revival as did the Greeks, Armenians and other indigenous Christian Churches of the Ottoman empire during the 19th century, and lost social and economic ground to these last. The emancipation of the Jews in Western and Central Europe did, however, lead to the appearance of protectors for the Oriental Jewish communities. Thus Sir Moses Montefiore visited Palestine several times, and intervened in 1840 to protect the Jews of Damascus after an accusation of ritual murder; and in 1860 the Alliance Israélite Universelle was formed with the aim of promoting Jewish education, primarily in the Islamic lands. Above all, in connection with the Jews, there begin in the last two decades of the century the rise of Zionism and Zionist immigration into Palestine; and even though there were still only about 85,000 Jews in Palestine by 1914, their presence was to make itself felt. See N.A. Stillman, The Jews of Arab lands in modern times, Philadelphia and New York 1991, 3 B, 80-91, 231-5.

With the conceding of the first Ottoman constitution in 1876 [see DUSTUR. ii], Syria acquired representation in the newly-established assembly in Istanbul. In this first Medjlis-i Umûmi it was represented by nine persons: three Muslim Arabs and one Armenian Christian from the province of Aleppo, two Muslim and two Christian Arabs from the province of Haurâs and (the former province of Damascus), and one Muslim Arab from Jerusalem, all of them from leading families of Syria. Medhat Paşa [q.v.] was governor of Syria for some twenty months in 1878-80, and it was at this time that the first faint glimmerings of incipient, proto-nationalist Syrian Arab discontent against Ottoman Turkish rule became discernible, with hopes of some sort of autonomy for the region. A number of anonymous, handwritten placards appeared in the main cities of Syria at the end of Medhat's governorship, asserting some basic Arab rights. Such sentiments can nevertheless only have been those of a tiny minority, but were significant for the beginnings of Arab nationalism there, slow though this was to develop [see KAWMYYA. i]. Not long afterwards, such views were temporarily submerged by Muslim Syrian enthusiasm for 'Abd al-Ḥamîd's promotion of Pan-Islamism [q.v.], a movement in which several Syrians were prominent, such as Shâkh Abî '1-Hudût from Aleppo, who promoted the sultan's claim to the universal caliphate, and the sultan's second secretary, Ahmad 'Izzat Paşa al-'Abbâ, who became involved in the project of the Hidjaz Railway. On the other hand, the Syrians 'Abd al-Râhîm al-Kawâkibî [q.v.], from Aleppo, and Muhammad Rashîd Rîdâ [q.v.], from Tripoli, voiced from the safety of Cairo opposition to 'Abd al-Ḥamîd's religio-political claims. The Hamîdîan censorship covered all literary output, including even the textbooks used in foreign mission schools, and caused a considerable emigration of writers to Egypt and elsewhere.

Agitation for the restoration of the 1876 constitution was of course primarily associated with the "Young Turks" and the Committee of Union and Progress [see ÙÞÞÅÐ Â ÊÌÒÄÇÊ ÔØÌØÎÝÍYÊ], but the Syrian Arabs hoped for equal rights in the empire with the Turks, some degree of administrative decentralisation which would give Syria a hand in its own affairs, and recognition of the Arabic language at the side of Turkish in education and administration. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 brought about the deposition of 'Abd al-Ḥamîd. The reinstated constitution of 1876 and its parliament were greeted in Syria with enthusiasm as the dawn of a new era, and societies were formed there to promote the Arab course within the Ottoman empire, such as the Arab-Ottoman Brotherhood (al-Ilkâh). This illusion was of short duration. The Young Turks, whom the Syrians had trusted, were not long in resuming once more the process of turkicising begun by 'Abd al-Ḥamîd. With more method and continuity, they declared war against all who were Arab by race or language. They insisted everywhere in Parliament and in the government offices on the employment of Turks only, and removed the Syrians from high offices and important military commands. This provocative policy brought together for the first time Muslims and Christians in Syria. It awakened amongst all the desire to come to an understanding in regard to a common policy, and to take joint action. Their demands were limited to reforms of a decentralising nature. They asked that, in the allotment of public offices, regard should be had to the progress which had been made by Syria, the most civilised province of the Empire, and that in the imposition and spending of taxes regard should be paid to the needs of their country. They thought the time had come to grant it a certain administrative autonomy. It was the obstinacy of the Young Turks in rejecting these moderate demands which opened the door to separatist ideas, and finally convinced the Syrian nationalists (the Muslims amongst whom for long had had a lingering sympathy for the Ottoman sultan, especially after the disaster of the Ottoman-Mussulman cause of the loss of Tripolitania to the Italians in 1911 and the loss of almost all the Ottoman Balkan provinces after the Balkan Wars) that their aspirations were unlikely to be fulfilled within the Empire.

On 29 October 1914 Turkey entered the First World War on the side of the Central Powers. It began by suppressing the administrative autonomy of Lebanon, and imposing on it a Turkish governor, Djmâl Paşa took into his own hands the government of all Syria with discretionary powers. He at once proceeded to hang the principal patriots, whether Syrian Muslim or Christian. Hundreds of others went into exile. Soon afterwards, famine and disease decimated the population, principally of the Lebanon. Energetic but presumptuous, dreaming of the conquest of Egypt, Djmâl proceeded unsuccessfully to attack the Suez Canal (February 1915). He now gave more attention to Arab opposition in Syria, suppressing and deporting to Anatolia many notables and publicly hanging eleven Muslim leaders in Beirut, until diplomatic pressure from Turkey's ally Germany brought a relenting in what might well have proved a counter-productive policy. Perhaps as a sop to Arab opinion, Djmâl in 1915 founded the Salahiyya College in Jerusalem under the Pan-Islamic enthusiast Shâkh 'Abd al-'Azîz Shâwîsh. But a second Turkish attack in August 1916 on Egypt failed, and British forces advanced into Ottoman territory as far as Ghazza, but were temporarily checked there. The Ottoman
forces in Palestine were now placed under the command of the German general Von Falkenhayn, but British forces under Allenby broke through at Beersheba.

By November 1917 the British, French and Italian forces of the Allies had become masters of the southern portion of Palestine, and on 11 December, they entered Jerusalem, which the Turks had evacuated. The latter defended themselves for a further nine months on a line extending to the north of Jaffa as far as the Jordan. The decisive action took place on 19 September 1918, on the plain of Sarona near Tel Aviv, the forces of Allenby broke the Turkish front. It was a rout. At the end of the month the British forces, without meeting with any resistance, arrived in the neighbourhood of Damascus. The advance was delayed for a few days, in order to allow the Amir Faysal, the son of the Sharif Husayn of Mecca, time to hasten from the remote end of Transjordania and to make on 1 October his entry into Damascus at the head of a body of Bedouins. On 31 October, the Turks signed an armistice. A week later, the last of their soldiers had repassed the Taurus.


(b) From the end of the First World War to the end of the Mandate.

The Sharif Husayn's son Faysal [see FAYṢAL I] hoped that the French Government in Greater Syria based on Damascus, on the basis of the exchange of correspondence in October 1915 between Husayn and Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, which had defined how far the British were prepared to go in conceding Arab independence. But this had in effect been superseded by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 16 May 1916, dividing Greater Syria into British and French spheres of influence, with an internationalised Palestine. The publication of the Agreement by the triumphant Bolsheviks in 1917 had not surprisingly caused the Sharif and other Arab leaders to doubt the sincerity of the British government's undertakings, and assurances had also to be given to Husayn concerning the significance of the Balfour Declaration of November 1917.

With the outbreak of the War, the whole of Greater Syria was occupied by Allied troops, with British troops throughout the area, a small French force on the Levant coast and the Arab army of the Sharif (now King of the Hijāj) Husayn in the interior. There were already grounds for conflict between the Arabs and the French government, since the latter regarded the whole of the northern half of Greater Syria as lying within its sphere of influence, as provided for in the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and did not consider itself bound by any British promises to its ally Husayn. It was also influenced by the attitude of the Lebanese Christians, who had no desire to become part of an Arab kingdom under a Muslim monarch from the ruling family in the Hijāj. Faysal's position in Damascus was affected by the Anglo-French Agreement of September 1919, which provided for the withdrawal of British troops from Greater Syria excluding Palestine. The action of a congress of Syrian notables meeting at Damascus in March 1920 in offering the crown of Syria and Palestine to Faysal was repudiated by Britain and France in favour of a mandate [q.v.] of Britain over southern Greater Syria (i.e. Palestine) and of France over the northern part (i.e. Syria and Lebanon). French forces under General Gouraud marched on Damascus, defeated the Arabs at Maysalûn [q.v.] in the Anti-Lebanon and entered Damascus on 25 July 1920. Faysal left for exile and, eventually, a new throne in 'Irāk. The San Remo Conference duly allotted the mandates of Syria and Lebanon to France, confirmed by the League of Nations in July 1922. In the early years of the French mandate, the frontiers of Syria were gradually delimited: those with 'Irāk, Palestine and Transjordania by two Anglo-French agreements, but the more contentious northern frontier with Turkey, with its mixed population of Arabs, Turks and Kurds, was not finally settled until 1930 and was to have a substantial modification in 1939 when the so-called Sanjak of Alexandretta [see ISKANDARŪN] was ceded to Turkey (see further, below).

Under the de facto control of the French High Commissioner Gouraud, Syria was officially proclaimed to be a "federation of Syrian states": the State of Aleppo, with its dependent Sanjak of Alexandretta; the State of Damascus; the "Territory of the 'Alawis", sc. Nusayris [see NUSAYRIYYA], centred on Latakia [see AL-LĀQHĪYYA]; and a Druze state in the Djabal al-Durūz with its centre at Suwayda (1921-2). But the system never came to life, and from 1 January 1925 there was established a unitary state of Syria, which was, however, to exclude the 'Alawī and Druze territories and Greater Lebanon. Meanwhile, a preliminary census was instituted as a basis for the voting groups of the first general elections (to be conducted by indirect voting) planned by the new High Commissioner General Weygand in 1923. Excluding Greater Lebanon, the census was executed in mid-1924 and produced the following picture. The nomads in the district of Aleppo and of Damascus were not included in it. The State of Aleppo,
including the independent Sanjak of Alexandretta had 604,000 inhabitants. The number was made up as follows: 502,000 Sunnîs, 30,000 'Alawîs, 52,000 Christians of diverse denominations, 7,000 Jews and 3,000 foreigners. The state of Damascus contained 595,000 inhabitants, of which 447,000 were Sunnîs, 8,000 Isma'îllîs, 5,000 'Alawîs, 4,000 Druze, 9,000 Mutawâwîs, 67,000 Christians of different denominations, 6,000 Jews and 49,000 foreigners. In the state of the 'Alawîs, there were 60,000 Sunnîs, 153,000 'Alawîs, 3,000 Isma'îllîs and 42,000 Christians of different denominations, in all 261,000 inhabitants. The state of the Djabal al-Durûz was remarkable for the homogeneity of its population. There were 45,000 Druze against 700 Sunnîs, and about 7,000 Greek, Catholic or Orthodox Christians.

It is not easy to draw up a balance-sheet of the achievements and failures of the French mandatory power. On the positive side, there was the establishment of law and order; improvements in communications and harbour facilities; order was achieved in the public finances, with the budget generally balanced and, after 1933, the burden of the share of the Ottoman Public Debt which had fallen upon the mandated territories was at last paid off so that no public debt remained; some tentative steps towards land reform were made through the introduction of a modern system of land registration and a land survey, although the pattern of actual land ownership changed little and there was a very clear continuity in the high level of political and economic power of the Syrian landowning elite from late Ottoman times to the post-Second World War years. A system of state schools was created from almost nothing; the University of Damascus expanded and the Arab Academy in Damascus acquired a solid reputation throughout the Arab world. An Antiquities Service did sterling work in preserving both the ancient and the Islamic sites and monuments of Syria. In agriculture, there were moves to improve crops and produce, with substantial increases in cotton production and the export of citrus fruits. Irrigation works were undertaken, such as the completion of the first phase in 1938 of the Lake of Homs barrage, although achievements here lagged behind those of Ibrâîm in the same period. The world depression of the 1930s sharply reduced Syria's potential as an exporter; there was a slowing-down of Lebanese and Syrian emigration as remittances home by existing emigrants decreased sharply.

On the debit side, in the early years of the Mandate at least, France ran Syria as a colonial possession, with commercial and financial policies which benefited the mandatory power. French companies, banks and individuals were favoured by the grant of industrial concessions and the provision of subsidies, and the League of Nations' mandatory system requirements of free trade and open competition for the provision of goods and services circumvented, annoying France's European and American trade competitors and frustrating the indigenous population which suffered from the lack of competition. Local Syrian industries were not given adequate protection by the High Commissioner, and French customs policy favoured the import of French goods and furthered the decline of local industry and handicrafts, causing, e.g. unemployment in the towns amongst handloom weavers and silk spinners.

The great failure of French rule—one which was probably inevitable, whatever the mandatory power could have done or not done—was to win the approval of the bulk of the Syrian and Lebanese people. The nationalists, backbone of the movement for independence, were naturally intransigent, resenting what they saw as the encouragement of separatism and what they believed to be French financial dominance through the Banque du Syria du Grand Liban. Thus it was widely believed that the French deliberately drained the country of gold which it had possessed in Ottoman times. In 1923-5 there were local risings in northern Syria (under İbrâîhm Hanânî and in the Djabal al-Durûz (under Sultan al-Atrash), the latter spreading to the Druze areas of southern Lebanon and the district of Damascus as far as Hîmîs. The mandatory power had to revise the constitutional arrangements for Syria, although martial law, censorship and the special tribunals were not abolished till 1928, when a general amnesty was issued. An indigenous Syrian government, more acceptable to public opinion, after 1928 under the moderate nationalist Shâykh Tâdı al-Dîn al-Hasanî, was installed, with elections for a constituent assembly. The drafting of a constitution began, one on Western lines and with provision (as in Lebanon also) for the representation of minorities and a unicameral legislative assembly. Because of disagreements between the more moderate majority in the assembly and the more extremist nationalist bloc, al-Kutla al-Wataniyya, under Hanânî, a constitution for the State of Syria was finally refused by the High Commissioner Henri Ponsot.

It was also hoped to institute a Franco-Syrian Treaty, on the lines of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty which had terminated the British mandate over 'Irâk, but the negotiations for this were likewise bedevilled by party disputes in the assembly, until in November 1934 the High Commissioner Comte Damien Charles de Martel adjourned the Chamber of Deputies sine die, with provision for rule by decree. As may be inferred from the turbulent politics of the period, there was a proliferation of political parties in Syria in the 1930s; see for these, e.g. i, at III, 522-3. Not until 1936, when there came to power in France a left-wing coalition, the Popular Front, slightly more favourably disposed to French-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese aspirations than the outgoing government, were Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese Treaties achieved, defining what were to be the relations between France and the local Arab powers after the end of the mandate and, in the meantime, handing over certain administrative functions from the High Commissioner to the Syrian government. The National Bloc achieved an overwhelming majority in the 1936 elections. Soon afterwards, the 'Alawî and Druze regions were annexed to the Syrian State. But difficulties grew as Turkish claims to the Sanjak of Alexandretta were increasingly pressed; separatist movements grew (in the Djabal al-Durûz, 1937-9; in the 'Alawî region, 1939; and amongst the Kurds of the Djaizra, sc. in northeastern Syria, in 1937). The accession to power in France in 1936 of a less sympathetic government, which now feared for the long-term safety of the minorities in Syria, above all, of the Christians there, led to the failure of the French Parliament to ratify the 1936 Treaty. Within Syria, confidence in the National Bloc had ebbed, and political instability and insecurity in the country at large made it difficult to find a government acceptable to a broad spectrum of Syrian interests. Hence in July 1939 the High Commissioner Gabriel Puaux suspended the constitution and appointed a council of directors to rule by decree under his own guidance; at the same time, the separate administrations of the Druze and 'Alawî areas, abolished in 1936, were restored, and a separate
administration created for the restive Djazira.

The outbreak of the Second World War on 3 September 1939 marks the beginning of the last period in which the French could hope to do more than hold their position in Syria. The fulfilment of any of their aims as the mandatory power had to be abandoned for a policy of survival as a weak outpost of a metropolitan power soon to be largely occupied by the German enemy. The surrender of France in June 1940 found the French Army of the Levant obeying the order from Vichy to cease hostilities. The adroit and circumspect Puaux was recalled from Syria because of his tepid attitude towards Vichy's orders; he was replaced by the respected but defeatist General Henri Dentz, whose tenure of the High Commissionship was to be uniformly unfortunate. Local Syrian nationalists could not but be affected by contemplation of the French débâcle; some of the more extreme elements, as in 'Irak, began openly to look for an Axis victory as German propagandists proclaimed in Syria ostensibly pan-Arab and anti-Zionist policies. Economic hardship, involving food shortages and black market, price rises and unemployment contributed to popular discontent, with a general strike in Damascus and Aleppo and similar disorders in Lebanon in February 1941.

A leader of the nationalist movement now emerged in the person of Shukr al-Kuwatli. Meanwhile, the attitude of General Dentz, on orders from Vichy, was made clear to the British High Command in Cairo; that France would not regard the appearance of German forces or aeroplanes in Syria, en route as reinforcements for Rashid 'Ali al-Gaylani's [q.v.] pro-Axis régime in Baghdad, as a hostile act, whereas any British intervention would be opposed by force. No message could have been clearer. Britain reluctantly—because its Middle Eastern military resources were already highly stretched in opposing the Axis forces in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean—decided to intervene, once it was clear that the French administration in Syria would not promise, as similar administrations in other parts of France's colonial empire had in fact promised, to remain neutral and to maintain a defensive stance (which would have been in accordance with the terms of the Franco-German Armistice). The Free French movement under General Charles de Gaulle had to be accommodated in any military measures, and forces under General Legentilhomme took part in the invasion of Syria which began on 8 June 1941 and was strenuously opposed by General Dentz's troops. Offers of help from the Germans and Italians were distasteful to Dentz and were refused by the Vichy government. He surrendered on 14 July, most of his troops being repatriated to France.

General Georges Catroux, de Gaulle's Délégué-Général in Cairo, had promised in leaflets dropped by air into Syria on 8 June that the mandate would be terminated and that the population would become free and independent. In fact, it was going to be difficult to say when France's mandate ended; General Catroux did not transfer power to the Syrians till early 1944, and the obligations of the mandate could still be invoked by the French in the protracted negotiations leading to the final withdrawal of French troops in 1945-6 (see below). In these years, there were also to be tensions between the more adaptable Catroux and the intransigent de Gaulle, whose mind was closed to the new political and psychological realities of the post-War years; they were also to remain bitterly critical of what they regarded as British perfidy in encouraging Syrian national aspirations in an area regarded as a purely French responsibility. Britain was regarded by de Gaulle as hopelessly Arabophile, and the French authorities in Syria fought a long-drawn out, but ultimately unsuccessful, battle to concede the minimum towards independence and to retain for France as many rights and privileges there as possible.

Meanwhile, within Syria, there was intense political activity among the parties, in which the Communists (though at this point profoundly favourable to the nationalist cause and the war effort) were making their name heard in both Syria and Lebanon. The Druze and 'Alawi territories were in February 1942 transferred to Syrian authority, this time for good. Elections were held in the summer of 1943, entailing the decisive return of the National Bloc to power, and the Assembly elected Shukr al-Kuwatli as President of the Republic of Syria (17 August). From December 1943, the French authorities ceased to challenge any constitutional changes which the governments of Syria and Lebanon might make, and in January 1944 the Assembly members took the oath of allegiance to a constitution which ignored all mandatory ties. Even so, disputes between the two sides continued, especially over Catroux's refusal to cede control of the Syrian Legion, the Troupes spéciales, recruited largely from the minorities and from rural Sunni Muslims, and over the continued existence of French regular army garrisons. The despatch of Senegalese troops by de Gaulle to Beirut in May 1945 was regarded as an attempt to reinforce the French military presence, provoking a general strike, and demonstrations and armed clashes as far as Deir al-Zor, and entailing the French shelling and bombing of Damascus with hundreds of casualties. There followed a threat of British military intervention, since Britain was still at war with Japan and the Levant lay across supply lines to the East. Only in the summer did France begin at last to withdraw troops, a process not completed until April 1946. Inevitably, there was now no hope in the foreseeable future of any Franco-Syrian Treaty favourable to France. The Syrian government had announced its adherence to the League of Arab States [see AL-ŠAM'A AL-ʿARABĪYYA, in Suppl.], formed in March 1945, and nominally declared war on Germany and Japan. But as events were to show in the post-War years, political stability was to elude the new, faction-ridden state.


(c) Independent Syria.

Syria in its contemporary borders, comprising the central parts of the historic Bilād al-Šām, was established under the French Mandate [see MANDATES]. It gained formal independence in 1943 and full sovereignty in 1946, when the last French soldiers left the country. According to its constitution, independent Syria was a parliamentary democracy. De facto, power was concentrated in the hands of the landlord and merchant monopoly, and, increasingly, of the military establishment. The upper class elite mistrusted both the first Arab-Israeli war, and it largely failed to solve the country's domestic political and social problems.
From 1949, the country experienced a series of military takeovers and attempted coups. In the mid-1950s, Syria became the focus of a regional conflict concerning the establishment of a Western-oriented military alliance, the Baghdad Pact. Syria's neutralist stance made it subject to strong Western pressures. While failing to push Syria into the Pact, these pressures destabilised the country and contributed to its hasty and ill-prepared unification with Egypt in 1958. When the leadership of the so-established United Arab Republic (UAR) embarked on an outspokenly socialist course in 1961, launching a wave of nationalisations that included some of the largest Syrian establishments, a group of conservative Syrian officers assumed power in Damascus and terminated this first unification experiment in contemporary Arab history. Syria re-emerged as a sovereign state, with the political elite of the 1950s back in power for another year and a half.

On 8 March 1963, the ancient régime was overthrown by a group of young military officers with strong Arab nationalist and in a larger part, socialist convictions. The faction connected to the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party (hizb al-ba'th al-'arabi al-ijtihādī) soon asserted its power, and the Ba'th party became the ruling party in a quasi-single-party system. The "revolution" of 1963, as it was henceforward called, was followed by an unstable period of army-and-party rule. The régime ventured to put the country on what was understood to be an Arab socialist development path, thereby trying to liquidate the economic basis of the old ruling elite which they had already removed from political power. Land reform, initially introduced under the UAR, was considerably speeded up. In 1964 and 1965, after a series of violent clashes between the régime and conservative oppositional forces, a large number of industrial and commercial establishments was nationalised. The radical social policies of the régime and a no less radical rhetoric confronting both the West and the conservative Arab states left it regionally and internationally largely isolated; only relations with the Soviet Union and the other then socialist countries were expanded.

At the same time, the political leadership was internally divided into different factions, each having their own basis in the army and the party. Internal frictions broke up along both political and sectarian lines. In February 1966, a radical wing of the party, led by officers of mainly middle class, rural and minority, particularly 'Alawi origin, gained the upper hand by military force. Caught in internal struggles, the régime had to face the 1967 war unprepared; Israeli forces were able to occupy the Golan heights [see GĂłLAN] without major resistance. In November 1970, after further years of open conflict within the power élite about internal and foreign policy directions, General Ḥāfīz al-Asad (b. 1930), an 'Alawi Ba'thist who had been Commander of the Air Force since 1964 and Minister of Defence since 1966, assumed power in another coup. In 1971, he was elected President of the Republic in an uncontested popular referendum. By the time of writing, he has been re-elected three times, last in 1991 for another seven-year term of office.

Only after Asad's takeover or "corrective movement" (al-harakah al-taṣḥiḥiyah as it had since been called) did stable political structures emerge, enabling Syria to develop into a veritable regional power. Thus a parliament (majlis 'al-taṣawwuf) was established in 1971; and the Progressive National Front (PNF) (al-djawhār al-taṣawwufiyah al-takaddumiyah), an institutionalised coalition of the Ba'th party with a group of tolerated, smaller parties, was set up in 1972. In 1973 a new constitution was promulgated, largely tailored to suit the personal rule of President Asad, who also occupies the positions of Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, President of the PNF, and Secretary-General of the ruling party. The parliament, elected once every four years, has to share its legislative functions with the President. Aside from the PNF parties, only individual candidates are allowed to stand for election; the Ba'th party is guaranteed an absolute majority. Any constitutional amendment needs the approval of the PNF. The political system is authoritarian; no major policy decision, particularly in the fields of foreign policy and security, can be taken without the President's personal involvement and consent.

Under Asad's rule, the socialist orientation of the first Ba'thist régimes, though maintained as a tenet in the rhetoric of the ruling party, has been gradually abandoned. The state was still supposed to lead economic development, but conditions for the private sector have been considerably improved from the early 1970s onwards. Rapid economic growth rather than social reform has become the main objective of development policies. Both the state economic sector and the bureaucracy, as well as the armed forces, have grown at unprecedented speed. The new régime has also re-arranged the foreign policy orientation of the country. Good relations with the socialist bloc were maintained, but the régime sought to improve its relations with the West and with the conservative Arab states and strengthened its ties with Egypt. In October 1973, Egypt and Syria launched a coordinated military attack against Israel. Though not resulting in a military victory, the October War (harb Ṭiğrīn)—proving Arab military capabilities and their ability to coordinate military action with economic pressure, namely the imposition of an oil embargo against Israel's international allies—has generally been viewed as a political victory of the Arab States. Syria was able to regain parts of the occupied Golan heights in the course of the US-sponsored troop disengagement negotiations following the war.

The combination of internal stability, national success, and economic growth made Asad enjoy a high degree of popularity and legitimacy for several years. Only from the second half of the 1970s did the régime have to face veritable domestic threats. General disenchanted with the régime's regional policies, in particular its open military involvement, from 1976, in the Lebanese civil war [see LUBNAN], the spread of corruption and nepotism, unrestrained behaviour of the security forces, the sectarian composition of the régime's core, and growing social inequalities, all contributed to an increase of tension. Oppositional forces were not able to organise themselves politically and were thus driven into violence. In the years 1979-82 Syria experienced a situation close to civil war. The anti-régime opposition was led by Islamist forces, particularly the Syrian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood (al-İkhwan al-Muslimūn [g.5.]), who tried and partly succeeded in giving the conflict a sectarian (Sunni majority against 'Alawi minority) character. The opposition was only crushed after a brutal crescendo in Ḥamāt, where in February 1982 government troops put down a rebellion by military force, destroying large parts of the city. In the summer of the same year, the Syrian army and air force suffered a heavy blow at the hands of Israeli forces in Lebanon. Though not driven out of Lebanon, the Syrian forces were unable to prevent Israel's laying siege on the Lebanese capital Beirut. In late 1983, President Asad suddenly suffered severe
health problems, and the country seemed to face an internal military struggle for his succession.

During the later part of the 1980s, the main threat to the regime and its legitimacy came from a deep economic crisis that revealed the flawed nature of the Middle Eastern collectivisation policy change began, giving form to a more market-oriented economy and reducing the relative weight of the state sector. A major liberalisation of the political system, as some domestic quarters had expected in the course of economic liberalisation, did not occur. Minor changes included the enhancement of the role of parliament and a relaxation of political repression.

By the mid-1990s (at the time of writing), the economic situation has improved, both as a result of the reform process and of increased oil production (by 1993, Syria's oil production ranged around 550,000 b/d). President Asad's regime no longer faces any domestic opposition worth mentioning. There has been some uneasiness, both domestically and internationally, concerning the eventual succession process and the prospects of a post-Asad Syria, but the regime itself is stable. Internationally, Syria has managed to cope with the loss of its main ally and arms supplier, the Soviet Union. It has considerably improved its relations with the USA both by participating in the US-led coalition against Iraq in 1991 and by joining the US-sponsored Middle East peace process. Syria has also asserted its regional position. Its hegemony over Lebanon has been internationally tacitly accepted, and Syria is generally perceived as the key Arab state to a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

By entering into bilateral negotiations with Israel in 1991, Syria clearly stated its preparedness to peace, its main condition for a peace treaty being the full withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Golan heights.


3. The Arabic dialects of Syria. The Bilād al-Shām does not constitute, from a linguistic point of view, a genuine unity. The history of the population of the region has been such that nomadic and sedentary dialects are adjacent there or are in contact there, as is demonstrated by reciprocal borrowings of lexical and grammatical elements. Thus in zones of close contact, sedentarisation, rural exodus and urbanisation have given rise at all times to a range of dialectal varieties, and it is not always easy to determine whether it is a case of "sedentarised" Bedouin dialects, or of "Bedounised" sedentary dialects. Contacts with the major neighbouring dialectal groups (Egyptian, Arabian, Mesopotamian) are, at least on the external fringes of the domain, no less tight. Today, tourism and above all, the spectacular diffusion of radio and television, promote contacts of a different type, the effect of which is tangible.

Finally, the region has experienced the presence of languages which, while they have not in general directly affected the majority of the population, have nevertheless, to decidedly differing degrees, exerted an influence, on vocabulary at least: Turkish, in particular in the Ottoman period; and European languages, in the era of the Crusades (for a long time also through the specific intermediary of the lingua franca, at least on the shores of the Mediterranean) and more recently (French and English) during and after the colonial or mandatory period. Among others, these elements explain the wide dialectal diversity of the region; but its history and the emergence of the linguistic crucibles constituted by nation-states, and the augmented role of certain major metropolises, also confer on many Shāmī dialects, sedimented ones in particular, common elements, an intercomprehensibility which in many cases mediates to excellent effect a specificity in general immediately perceptible to those who speak them, as it is to speakers of dialects belonging to other groups.

Since pre-Christian times, and then stimulated by the Muslim conquests, "Arab" populations, admittedly most often linguistically Aramaicised, had been installed in the Fertile Crescent. It was probably from the 7th century onward that this presence became more significant; soon, apparently rapid Arabisation was definitively to establish Arabic as a majority language. Aramaic was to survive, however, in small enclaves, and is still in use today in three villages of the Anti-Lebanon: Ma'llilā, Baklā' and Dābb Adīn (Western Neo-Aramaic). If the influence of this substratum has sometimes been exaggerated, it is nevertheless real (see e.g. W. Arnold and P. Behnstedt, Arabisch-Aramäische Sprachbeziehungen im Qalamün [Syrien], Wiesbaden 1993; and see, for present-day Neo-Aramaic in Syria, ma'tola).

The dominant position of Arabic should not obscure the existence of other languages, spoken by diverse communities, in some cases long-established in the region: Kurdish and Armenian in particular, Circassian and Turkish. For the populations concerned (in most cases, when they have preserved their own language, bilingual and even trilingual), the relation between this heteroglossia and the components, religious or ethnic, of their identity, is complex, and its configurations diverse and essentially variable. Finally, the presence of Israeli Hebrew has, over several decades, created an unprecedented situation for the Palestinians "of the interior", many of them being bilingual.

Conversely, Shāmī emigrés have transplanted their dialects, into North and South America in particular, where they have thriven to varying degrees [see al-maṭara]. A particular case is that, currently moribund, of Kormaṭā in Cyprus, the last representative of the dialects imported by Maronite communities of Lebanon, in several waves, the most significant dating back to the end of the 12th century. In Turkey, while the majority of the Arabic dialects still spoken belong to the kelṭa group of Anatolian dialects, some are to be associated with Syrian dialects (Adana, Antiöch, Alexandretta).

Documentation concerning the dialects of the Bilād al-Shām in their ancient form is largely defective; it is possible to gain an impression of them through their traces, direct or indirect, in texts in "Middle Arabic" (see the studies of J. Blau, in particular, A grammar of Christian Arabic, based mainly on South Palestinian texts from the first millennium, Louvain 1966), also by means of documents of various kinds: correspondence, archives, etc., written in the same type of linguistic register, phrase-books, Turkish-Arabic for example, accounts of European travellers, manuals written by missionaries, etc. The ancient texts which have survived most often comprise a poetry of dialectal or dialectalising expression, as such composed in a dialect-
tal koine and in a literary register involving conventions and archaisms. While it is thus difficult to compose a history dialect by dialect, it is nevertheless possible to identify the major trends of their overall evolution (see, for the sedentary dialects, I. Garbell, Remarks on the historical phonology of an East Mediterranean Arabic dialect, in Word, xiv/2-3 (1958), 303-37).

Possibly in part as a result of the attraction exerted by the Holy Land, the Şâm dialects are without doubt those for which documentation is most abundant. However, for the speech of some relatively important cities (Latakia, Homs, Tyre, Baalbek, 'Akka, Nablis, etc.) and for the majority of the dialects of rural (and of mountainous) areas, it is practically nonexistent. Among the works which have appeared since the composition of the article of H. Fleisch (see 'Arabya, iii, 2. The oriental dialects), the following should be noted: for Syria, M. Cowell, A reference grammar of Syrian Arabic based on the dialect of Damascus, Washington D.C. 1964; H. Grotfeld, Syrisch-arabisch. Grammatik, Wiesbaden 1965, A. Ambros, Damascus Arabic, Malmö, Calif. 1977; A. Sabouri, Laut- und Fernsnellen des Arabischen (Frankfurt a.M. 1980); B. Lewin, Arabische Texte im Dialekt von Hama, Beirut 1966; idem, Notes on Cababi. The Arabic dialect spoken by the Alawis of "Jebel Ansariyye", Göteborg 1969; for Lebanon, H. Fleisch, Études d'arabe dialectal, Beirut 1974; F. Abu-Haidar, A study of the spoken Arabic of Baskinta, Leiden 1979; M. Jiha, Der arabischen Dialekt von Bishmizzm, Beirut 1966; idem, Motes on Cabali. The Arabic dialect spoken by the Alawis of "Jebel Ansariyye", Göteborg 1976; see also below, Bibl.

The problems of classification of the dialects of the region are far from being resolved. For the speech of sedentary populations, the division proposed by G. Bergsträsser in his Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina, in QDPV, xxviii (1915), 169-222, amended and supplemented on a number of points by later works, remains largely valid: three parallel bands from north to south (North Syria; Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon; and Palestine, Transjordan, Hawrân), with zones of transition of course (such as that of Galilee between the south of Lebanon and the rest of Palestine). J. Cantineau (Remarques sur les parlers de sedentaires Syro-Liban-Palestiniens, in BSL, xl [1939], 80-8) also identifies three groups, but different, since he takes as the sole criterion the realisation of the correspondent of baktob, q., or k. He has also made the observation that, on the other hand, the dialects are distinguished thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1st pers. sing.</th>
<th>3rd pers. masc. sing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>baktob</td>
<td>byaktab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>baktob</td>
<td>baktob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type A is encountered essentially in the central zone, type B elsewhere, to the north (Aleppo) but most of all in Palestine and in Jordan, in urban speech (Jerusalem) but also rural and even Bedouin speech (Negev), if only to the extent that they have borrowed the "sedentary" pre-verbal particle kâ(s). This discriminant has validated to some extent the revived division of Bergsträsser, and the following groupings are generally accepted (Handbuch, 28 [see Bibl.]): northern Syria, Lebanon/central Syria, Palestine/Jordan.

Finally, J. Cantineau has also proposed a distinction between "differential" and "non-differential" dialects; in the first group, a sound in an unaccented open syllable is better preserved than the correspondents of i and u: byaktab ("they work") v. byaktaba ("they write") in the first case, but byaktabu like byaktaba in the second (thus in the majority of Lebanese dialects of the centre-north).

But no typological feature has, any more than those mentioned above, an absolute discriminant value (especially so since, for each one, dialects can almost always be found which present a mixed system). Thus the diphthongs ay and ay are preserved in numerous Lebanese dialects but also, to the north of the Lebanese border, in a swathe of Syrian territory extending almost as far as Aleppo, or furthermore in a region of Kalamîn (Anti-Lebanon); mixed systems are common: diphthongs preserved only in open syllables (for example, lam "colour" v. la temasu "his colour" in Tripoli, or 'ansayy "my eyes" v. 'amsu "eyes" in Zaymni, an 'Alawi mountain dialect). But no typological feature has, any more than those mentioned above, an absolute discriminant value (especially so since, for each one, dialects can almost always be found which present a mixed system). Thus the diphthongs ay and ay are preserved in numerous Lebanese dialects but also, to the north of the Lebanese border, in a swathe of Syrian territory extending almost as far as Aleppo, or furthermore in a region of Kalamîn (Anti-Lebanon); mixed systems are common: diphthongs preserved only in open syllables (for example, lam "colour" v. la temasu "his colour" in Tripoli, or 'ansayy "my eyes" v. 'amsu "eyes" in Zaymni, an 'Alawi mountain dialect).
coalescence can affect /a/ and /i/ (Kfar £Abida) and many mixed systems are attested. All of this has an effect on the radical vocalisation of verbs. For the many mixed systems are attested. All of this has an effect on the radical vocalisation of verbs. For the...<br/>

The examples, taken here primarily in the domain of phonology, could easily be multiplied and extended to morphology and to syntax. They would all show that a single discriminator—were it considered typically Şāmi—is always encountered at different points of the domain (see Fleisch). In morphological terms, this could lead to a recasting of the system of nominal derivation. In dialects where interlingual spirants have coalesced with the corresponding obstruents, these borrowings have determined the integration of a new phoneme (/z/) as well as the creation of doublets of another type (dahab “gold”, zahab “going, departure”; dahr “back”, zahir “apparent”; tsh “bull”, saura “revolution”, etc.).

It is nevertheless possible to give examples of regional features which can, to a certain extent, be considered as characteristic since they are present in a sufficiently large scale, even if some of them are found episodically in other dialectal groupings, or if their presence is not general in the region. It is also possible to regard as characteristic those features which are not encountered (in the current state of knowledge) in any other dialectal group. Pronouns. In the series of personal pronouns, to be noted are forms of the type homa(n) (3rd pl.), hon (2nd pl.) and hon (3rd pl.).

Alongside the reflexive is käf-: Genitive particle. Tabd (variable or invariable) seems to be peculiar to the region, but is not alone there (gt, gīt, etc.). Preverb. The preverb (dative, progressive, of concomitance) am(mal) has numerous variants (probably of different etymologies): an, man, ma..., (am yekhō “he is writing these days”, “he is in the process of writing”, etc.). Active participle. In certain dialects an embryonic form of conjugation is found in the three persons of the feminine singular (kumīlī “she holds it”) [Hawrān]; šewīlīna “you (fem.) have seen her” [Damascus]; ana màqūtūk “I (fem.) have combed your hair” [Dūn, Lebanon].

In the other hand, the form fa‘lān is quite often used, not only for verbs of quality, where it is generally the only one possible, and can in certain cases alternate, either freely or in terms of semantic value, with fa‘ (sam‘ān-ə “I have heard it”). Negation. Alongside the forms ma, ma... (shī, also), found, although less known elsewhere, are ‘a... shī and a... shī. Among conjunctions, worth mentioning is ta (‘shtab) and its variant tan (‘soon) and personal pronoun suffix “so that”, “in such a way that”, “that”. Auxiliaries and pseudo-auxiliaries. Typical is ba‘sid-: personal pronoun suffix “to wish” (waId in its Bedouin version), also used for the expression of a type of future. Ḩisīn “to be capable, in a position to” is an equivalent of kidr, as is fī-: personal pronoun suffix: ma fina nraḥ “we cannot go there”. Alongside lassa, known elsewhere, also found is bad-: personal pronoun suffix, “still, always” and other values (Lebanon). Adverbs. Ḥallūk (and numerous variants) “now” is very widespread (it is also found, at the edge of the region, at certain points east of the...
Vocabulary. The poetry of Bedouin tradition has its own genres, among the words relatively characteristic of the region, it is possible to distinguish those which derive from the Arabic lexical stock but have become specialised, have phonological or morphological peculiarities, or are even canonical creations: *samūn* "grocer", *miswaqad* "bottle", *dâfî* "sick", *fâsî* "small change (money)", *fâl* "to enter", *mâkîn* "solid", *îwâd* "foot, leg", *timm* "mouth", *dâdhip* "to leave", *fârdh* "to show", *masârî" money" (Sing. *marîjî*, name of a coinage formerly in use in Egypt), etc., from those which derive, more or less directly, from the Aramaic (Syriac) substratum, or from borrowings from Turkish (and from Persian): *fâshâ* "to push", *zâddâ* "to die of cold", * sûm* "sausage, soup", *shâwâb* "heat (of the weather)", *fâsî* (chick), *fâshâ* "to float", *lâdîr* "late (adj.)", *nâhîg* (and *nâsî*) "late", *fâshâ* "to box", *tâf* "taint", *bûzâ* "ice", *sârîhâb* "cloth", *sâhîb* "cook", *âkîl* "lock", etc. The evolution of vocabulary often faithfully reflects social and political changes, for example: *çekele* > *şamâr* > *naşîrat* "spectacle".

Writing dialects; dialectal literature. There is no doubt that dialects have always been written down, as is confirmed by the dialectising or dialectal literary works which are available for study (in Arabic script or in the Syriac script known as *karshîf* [gaz] which has long been in use in the Maronite community in particular) and the orthographical norms (still observed today) which have controlled their putting into writing, even though variations are noticed, according to which is the dominant influence: the classical norm and etymology or a closer adherence, deliberate or not, to dialectal linguistic realities.

In parallel with its measured and to some extent ornamental utilisation in the codified genres of dialectising poetry such as the *muwashshahât* (see, e.g., M. Rahîm, *Muqawwâlât fi Bilâd al-Shâm min nashrîhât il-karn il-gâmiyya o'zaghra, Beirut 1987*), the dialectal language is, today as yesterday, the means of expression of an entire literature, "popular" and learned, and, more broadly, of an entire culture, the importance of which is partially disguised by the scant legitimacy accorded to it. Its manifestations are diverse: poetry of various types (*zâdîf*, *mu'ând*, *maswâil*/*musâîlah* and its divisions: *al-sad*/*fûjin*, etc.), sometimes (*'âbâbâ* sung (S. Jargy, *La poésie populaire chantée au Proche-Orient arabe*, Paris-The Hague 1970). The poetry of Bedouin tradition has its own genres, and remains the repository and transmitter of the memory of its society (among recent works reference may be made, besides Palva, *Narratives and poems*, which has already been mentioned, to C. Bailey, *Bedouin poetry from Sinai and the Ngeg, mirror of a culture*, Oxford 1991). In sedentary circles, to take just one example, the Lebanese *zâdîf* has a long and rich history (M.L. Wualhaya, al-*Zâdîf*-i-riqâ'ûhu, *adabahu wa-l-dâmahu kadam* (*zâdîf*), Harîsa 1952; J. Abdel-Nour, *Etude sur la poésie dialectale au Liban*, Beirut 1957, 1966). Since the beginning of this century, freed from ancient forms and from certain traditional themes which are still practiced elsewhere—including on television—this poetry has taken on a new appearance. It is also a dialectal form of expression which is used for the composition and transmission of tales and proverbs, and today the majority of theatrical pieces and the dialogues of films and serials on radio and television. The art of the song, very much alive, carries beyond the Bilad al-Shâm the dialects of the region, some-times in the texts of its best poets. Palestinians are now carrying this on with militant songs. Until not long ago, dramas of the shadow-theatre with its heroes Kharköz (*Nussîn min bâyâî al-zil*, ed. S. Kâtyâ, Damascus 1977; M. Kayyal, *Ma'llâm bâbî ma'ârîf al-zil*, Beirut 1995; see also KAYAL, *AL-ZIL*), and until more recently still the story-tellers (*hakawâtîb*), transmitters of the marathon tales which are the *sîras* (g.v.) of legendary heroes (Sayb b. Dhib Yazan, *'Antar, Bânû Hîlîl, Baybars, etc.*), perpetuated, before a generally exclusively male audience, the tradition of a living patrimony. The language of these legendary tales, some of which were partially in verse, could be dialectal or mixed. All these works were put into writing, at least in the form of *aides-mémoires* for the professionals of popular literature, also probably for the gratification of a public which had a particular liking for this kind of material. Today, the cassette and the video-cassette are the perfectly appropriate supports for this literature which is primarily oral and thus presupposes the presence of an audience. Dialectal poetry is published, however, in newspapers and magazines especially in Lebanon, sometimes in specialised journals. Since the 1960s, however, the press has only exceptionally accepted satirical columns in dialectal language, which were hitherto published in reasonable quantities. Literary prose as such in dialectal language has made little impact, in spite of a few isolated attempts in former times (Kûshî *Fâyûnâ* by Shûrîh al-Khîrî, São Paolo 1902, repr. Beirut [1929, etc., and 1952, with transcription and French tr. by E. Lator; and *Rasîîl Šâmîne* by Hâmîn al-Khîrî al-Feghîlî, published in book-form by the *al-Dabbîr* review) or more recently (*Yûsuf al-Khîl and Mûris* *Awâdî*).

Finally, attention should be drawn to the isolated attempt on the part of the Lebanese poet (in classical and dialectal languages) Sa'dî *'Alî (b. Zahlîje, 1912) to devise a transcription (in Latin characters) of the dialect, in which he published, besides certain of his own *dauta*, translations of works of universal literature, including classical Arabic, and a newspaper (see H. Grotfeld, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxii [1973], 37-51).

syntace of Palestinian Arabic, Jerusalem 1966. The
Dictionnaire arabe-frangais. Dialectes de Syrie, Ajou, Damas, Liban, Jerusalem of A. Barthelamy, Paris 1935-69, is
supplemented by the very useful Dictionnaire des
ports arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine compiled by C. Denizeau, Paris 1960. Bedouin type dialects are still awaiting their dictionaries. Dictionaries or catalogues of words and dialectal expressions are regularly published in the countries of the region, where there is often concern to show that this vocabulary is largely based on sound classical origins. Also published there are collections of proverbs, of all languages, at times in dialectal poetry, encyclopaedias of popular traditions often rich in information and in dialectal texts: the Manus'at Halab al-mukdrana of M. Kh. al-Asadi (Univ. of Aleppo 1981-8), the Manus'at al-fulklar al-
Fisaliyat of N. Sirhan ("Amman 1977-81), the Me'leama li 'l-taradh al-urdui of R. Ibn Za'id al-'Aziz ("Amman 1981-) are excellent examples. For dialectal
literature, besides the older works by G. Dalmun, Palestinscher Dativus, Leipzig 1901, and E. Littmann, Neuarabische Volkspoesie, Berlin 1902, reference may be made to J. Lecerf, Litterature dialec-
tale et renaissance arabe moderne, in BEO, i (1932) and
iii (1933), 47-175 (with a Répertoire alphabetique des poètes dialectaux de Syrie [= Syria and Lebanon]); M. A. 'Awawd, al-Anfiliya li-l-hambayyiqi 'l-
'ashr ... , Beirut 1982. A collection of qa'dal-fayyi of Ibn al-Khiday (9th/15th century) has been edited by B. al-
Djumayyi, Beirut 1982. (J. LENTON)

SHAM'A (a. pl. 'ahmad) "naeves, skin blem-
isht, mole".

This term seems originally to have denoted the coloured marks on a horse's body, above all, where they are disapproved of (T'A, viii, 362 ll. 12-13). It is applied to all marks of a colour different from the main body which they mark, and to all black marks on the body or on the ground (ibid., ii. 304). But from what we know at present in our texts, there is no difference between 'ahmad and 'al-tin (sing. 'ahd), the two terms are attested in Akkadian; cf. 'ahd, Besold, Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar, Heidelberg 1926, 120, and sarnat, Labat, Traité académie de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux, Leiden 1951, 200 l. 7). These two terms denote the natural marks on a man's skin, on the face and the rest of the body, and the accidental marks, abceses (bashir) or freckles caused by an illness and presaging death (see R. fi 'l-kalam 'ala 'l-
khiltan, ms. Bursa, Hüseyin Celbi 882, fols. 61a-62b; Kadidy, Bukrait fi 'l-bukrbit, ms. Köprülü 1601, fols. 243b-244a, used by Ps. Dzhiizb, Bâb al-
urâsa wa 'l-qazîd wa 'l-frâsa 'ala madjâh al-Furs, ed. K. Inostracev, Materials in Arabic sources for the history of culture in Sassanid Persia [in Russian], in ZOIRAO, xvii [1907], text 3-27, Russ.
tr. and study 28-120, see 116 ff., in a section called Min kalam Bukrait fi dalil'l al-khalîn wea 'l-'ahmad). Ibn al-Nâmil, Fihrist, 314, cites a K. al-
khiltan and K. al-
khiltan, written by a Byzantine (Rumî) author called M. al-
Nâmil (Mtns/37). The first title apparently corresponds in Greek to a work called Pépi xouv, which is said to have treated the subject of beauty spots, and the second one, to a work called Pépi xon, which is said to have dealt with natural marks on the skin. We know nothing of this last, but the first is the title of one of the two chapters surviving of a treatise attributed to Melampos called Pépi xouv and Pépi xon (see the ed. J.G.P. Franz, in Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres, Altenburg 1780, 301-9). If one considers the sequence very likely—Melampos is a corrupttion of Melampus, one of the two titles mentioned in the Fihrist must correspond to Pépi xouv and be

translatable as K. al-
khiltan (see x-eslâgj), the exact term for palomancy.

In the Arabic sources, the information on the int'an al-
khâd in 'al-
khâd, which can be found in Fâhr al-Din al-Râzi (see Y. Mourad, La physiognomie arabe et le Khûb al-frâsa de Fâhr al-Dîn al-Râzi, diss. Paris 1939, 10) and in Ps. Dzhiizb (op. cit., 7) is Greek in origin. Two texts, however, show that the Arabs knew this method of divination, which comes within the sphere of frâsa (q.v.). The first is part of the ensemble of miraculous signs announcing the Prophet Muhammad's coming (on these signs, see T. Fahd, La divination arabe, Paris 1939, 10. In the course of his first trip to Syria, at the age of 12, the monk Bahîr (q.v.) is said to have recognised in him the signs of prophethood (see Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 99-100, and also 101, where it is said that, at the time of his second trip, aged 15, another monk named Nestor (allegedly recognised in Muhammad the same signs). These signs were physical ones (al-
Tabârî, i, 1124) and concerned the eye, the face and above all, the "seal of prophethood" (khalîn al-muwasset), like the impression of a cupper's scarifying instrument (athar
khâlât) according to al-
Tabân, i, 1125). But according to Ibn Hishâm, Sira, 314), cites a
khâlât wa
khâlât wa
khâlât (q.v.) as interpreted it as presaging the fact that the head of his husband would fall on to that place. Mu'awiyâ divorced her; Habîb b. Maslama married her, then divorced her; finally, al-
Nu'mân b. Bashr (q.v.), the later governor of Hims for Marwan b. al-
Hakam, married her. When al-
Nu'mân was beheaded for having joined the anti-caliph Ibn al-
Zubayr, his head was set down in his wife's lap (Ahgânî, xiv, 124). In the course of references to the text: See Fahd, La divination arabe, from which the material for this article has essentially been taken. The art of drawing omens from skin marks (umsatu), black beauty spots or moles (talâ), red birthmarks (pêdâ), warts, pimples, marks from jaundice, freckles, scars and even hairs which grew, was well known to the Assyrians and Babylonians (see F.R. Kraus, Die physiognomie der Babylonier, MVAG 40/2, Leipzig 1935). For the Byzantines, see inter alia the Book of beauty spots attributed to Leo the Wise, in J. Nicolaides, Les livres de divination, Paris 1889, 87-8.

T. FAHID

SHAM'A (a.), candle.

As a literary topos, the candle is poetically described in many "elephrastic" epigrams in Arabic, especially from the latter 'Abbâsîd and post-'Abbâsîd periods; in pre- and early Arabic poetry the topos appears to be absent. Poems by al-
Ma'mûn, al-
Râfa'i and Kushâjîm (q.v.) are among the earliest (see J.C. Bürgel, Die elephrastischen Epigramme des Abi Talib al-
Ma'mûn, Göttingen 1965, 254; Alma Giese, Waf bei Kushâyîm, Berlin 1981, 156, 263-5). A few other examples are found in al-
Shâfiq's Shanb ma'amên al-
Harârî (repr. Beirut 1979, ii, 87-8); many later examples were collected by al-
Naîçâf b. Khuwaylî (q.v.) in the chapter on candles, lanterns, lamps etc. in his al-
Kuwat al-mamayt (Cairo 1938, 204-12 on the shâm'a only; some passages in prose are included). Often the epigrams take the form of a riddle (see P. Smorod, The weeping wax candle, in ZDMG, cxxviii [1968],
A recurrent topos is the comparison of the candle to a lover, or vice versa: both are pale, thin, burning, shedding tears, being consumed, patiently and silently suffering. The same convention holds that the candle is likened to a slender girl or a bride, which alludes to the role played by candles at weddings. Several poems on the candle were made by Abu l-Fadl al-Mikāli (see Mikāli), see al-Hūrī, Zahr al-tadhīr, repr. Beirut 1972, 747-8; he may have influenced his contemporary, the Persian poet Manūchīrī (q.v.), who elaborately used the candle topos as the introduction of a well-known panegyric poem (see J.W. Manuali, Dāmghānī: a critical study, Minneapolis 1972, 31-43; Muhammad Muhammad Yūnus, Adab al-šamā in baʿna Manūchīrī al-Dāmghānī wa-Abī l-Fadl al-Mikāli, in Fusūl, iii/3 [1983], 128-38).

Another topos involving the candle is that of the moth (Ar. fardīla, P. farandīna) seeking its light and immolating itself in its flame: here the lover is not the candle (which stands for the beloved) but the moth (Ar. parwdndć, P. parwīnd); as through a veil: mystical interpretation in which the candle, the Beloved, stands for God/Truth/Reality, is found in Arabic already in al-Hallāj (q.v.), see al-Husrf, in al-Nuwayrī, Cairo 1929-, i, 124-9, Nihdyat al-arab. Handschr., Cairo 1319, 183-6. <Abd Hashiml, (d. 743/1342, see Brockelmann, S II, 220, 237) wrote in one of the diwāns (sham candlestick), a metaphor for the same phrase, it does occur in many Persian poetic texts, such as theşīkh-nāma, the divān of Anwār Katrān (q.v.), the Mathnawi, ed. Nicholson, book 1, 829; ibid., 2407, and Divān-i Shams of Rūmī (see ŠAMS AL-DIN), etc.

The following example is taken from Abū Salīkh of Gūrgān:

In this time there is no idol more beautiful than you, and for you there is no idolator more tenderly loving than your slave.


Bibliography: Given in the article.

AL-SHAMARDAL. b. Sharīk al-Yarbusī, Arab poet of the middle Umayyad period, important for the history of hunting poetry (see ṭarmīna). His life can be dated only approximately, an elegy on 'Umar b. Yazīd al-Usayyīdī (killed 109/727-8) being the sole exact reference known so far (poem no. 2, ed. Seidensticker = no. 3, ed. al-Kaysī). His poems show that he was acquainted with several persons who played a minor political role, among them two prefects of police in Basra. As reported in the akhbār, he also had a personal encounter with the famous poet al-Farazdak (died no later than 112/730 in Basra [q.v.]). No dīwān of his poetry seems to have existed; 41 poems and fragments (about 430 lines) are preserved in various sources. The most important genres are īlādāt, marābīh and ṭarīqīyyāt. The īlādāt, five in number, vary in length from 21 to 66 lines. Besides several shorter marābīh, an elegy of 43 lines on his brother Wālī, which has survived which was held in high esteem by some transmitters of his poetry. The handling of thematic and formulaic conventions in his hunting poems is reminiscent of similar episodes in the ṭarīqīyya of pre-Islamic īlādāt (Imru` al-Kays, Zuhārī, al-Abī, but the ṭarīqīyya is a new feature, as is the fact that the poems devote themselves exclusively to the one topic of hunting. The missing link between the pre-Islamic hunting episodes and the ṭarīqīyya of al-Shamardal and others in later times must be sought in ṭarīqīyyas like those of Abu l-Nadīm al-Īljī (died before 125/743 [q.v.]) in which a conventional nābī is followed by a hunting episode (cf. E. Wagner, Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung, ii, Darmstadt 1988, 46-55).


(S. Seidensticker)

SHAMĀDINĀN, a mountainous district (lit.) in the present province of Hakkārī in southeastern Turkey (previously in the Ottoman vilayet of Vân). The name of the district and the district centre (old name: Nāwshār) is presently Turkicised as Şemdinli. The district is bounded on the north and northwest by the district of Yûksekov of the same province (comprising the previous districts of Gwar and Ormār), on the south and east by the Trāk and Persian borders. Local tradition derives the name of Shamādīnān from that of a certain Shâykh Shams al-Dīn, the alleged ancestor of the Kurdish dynasty of the 'Abbâsī Begqâda, which exercised power in the district until the mid-19th century. Four major Kurdish tribes inhabit the district: the Kūmārū (Humarî) in the north, Zarzâ in the east, Herki in the west, and Gerî in the south. The last three tribes are settled in isolated pockets in Persian and Trāk Kurdistan. Until the First World War, there
was also a significant minority of Nestorian Christians living scattered among the Kurds here. In the late 19th century, Cuinet's sources estimated the population of Shamdınan at 13,270 Kurds, 2,000 Ottoman Turks, 3,000 Nestorian Christians and 200 Jews; another source, the 1897 sâhnâme for Vân, gives the figures of 14,547 Muslims and 2,034 non-Muslims. According to the 1990 census, the present population is just over 30,000.

In the course of the 19th century, the 'Abbâsî Begzâde family lost their paramount authority over the tribes to a family of religious leaders, who had settled in the village of Nehîr (present name: Başgar) near the district centre. This family, known as the Sâdatê Nehrî, claimed descent from 'Abd al-Kâdir al-Djîfâmî [g.e.] through the latter's son, 'Abd al-'Azîz, who lies buried in 'Aqra, northeast of Mawşûl. The family was affiliated with the Kâdirîyya târîka, until the sayyids 'Abd Allah and Ahmad took initiatives in the Nakhshbandîyya from Mawlânâ Qâhilî and became his dhâlfî (ca. 1820). Like other Kurdish Nakhshbandî sayyids, the Sâdatê Nehrî increasingly acquired worldly power as well, extending their influence well beyond Shamdınan to the Kurdish tribes further south and east. Sayyid Ahmad's grandson, Şaykh 'Ubâyî Allâh, in 1880 led a large tribal rebellion, temporarily occupying a vast stretch of Persian territory to the west of Lake Urmîa, and apparently intending to establish an independent Kurdish state. The Ottomans later arrested him and sent him into exile to Mecca. His son, Muhammed Şîdîkî, soon returned to Nehîr and took his father's place as the most influential man of central Kurdistan, successfully outwitting ambitious tribal chieftains as well as rival sayyids (see Dickson; Nikitine and Soane). Another son, Sayyid 'Abd al-Kâdir, settled in Istanbul after the Young Turk revolution and became the president of the first Kurdish association there as well as the president of the Şhitâ-yi Dewlet. In 1925, following Şaykh Šâdîfî's rebellion, the Kemalîst authorities hanged him and his son Muhammed. Muhammed Şîdîkî's son, Sayyid Tâhâ, was more actively involved in Kurdish nationalistic and anti-Turkish agitation, at one time cooperating with Simko in Persia and later joining the British in 'Irâk.

Relations between the local Muslims and Christians rapidly deteriorated during the First World War, especially following the djîhâd declaration. In 1916 Russian troops occupied Shamdınan, overcoming Kurdish resistance coordinated by Sayyid Tâhâ and his cousins 'Abd Allâh and Muhammed, sons of Sayyid 'Abd al-Kâdir. Local Nestorians, recruited and armed by the Russians as advance scouts, took part in the Russian offensive. After the October revolution and the withdrawal of Russian troops, the Nestorians were expelled and fled to Urmîya. Here the British enlisted their services against the final Ottoman eastward offensive and later brought them to northern Trak. Following the Armistice (1918), a contest between the British and the Kemalîsts for control of the region continued. Sayyid Tâhâ was invited to represent the region in the Kemalîsts' First National Assembly (1920) but declined, and two years later allied himself with the British authorities in 'Irâk, who made him governor of Rawândzê [g.e.]. The tribes of Shamdınan nevertheless remained opposed to the British infidels and dear to Kurdish nationalist appeasements. There was a brief rebellion in June 1925, in response to the execution of Mustafah Dîrî, his 'Abd Allâh, aided by warriors of the Gerîf tribe, besieged the British district centre of Nâwêshâr and killed six Turkish officers. Then he too fled to British-controlled terri-

tory. At the final settlement of the border between 'Irâk and Turkey in 1926, Shamdınan came to Turkey, and the neighbouring districts of Bârzûn and Brûdêst, with which it had always had close relations, to 'Irâk.


SHAMI, NIZAM AL-DIN [or Nizîm-i Şamî], Persian litterateur and chronicler of the late 8th/14th-early 9th/15th centuries.

His nisba (Şamî < Şamî) suggests that he was born in Şamî-bâzâr, a suburb of Tûrûz. When his father, Şahîn, died in 803/1400, Şamî was detained by the authorities in Aleppo, who suspected him of spying on Tûrûz's behalf, and was thus an eye-witness of the siege (Zafar-nâmâ, i, 139). On his way to the Hijâz he did not long before the conqueror's attack on Aleppo on 803/1400, Şamî was detained by the authorities in Aleppo, who suspected him of spying on Tûrûz's behalf, and was thus an eye-witness of the siege (ibid., i, 227, ii, 160). Brought before Tûrûz a second time following the city's capture, he appears to have remained in his entourage. In 804/1401-2 Tûrûz ordered him to compose a history of his conquests in a clear, unadorned style which would render it intelligible to all readers and not merely to a select few (ibid., i, 10-11). The work was presented to Tûrûz around Şawwâl 806/April 1404. The title Zafar-nâmâ is not found in the original recension (Istanbul ms. Nuro Osmaniani 3267) utilised later in the compilations of Hîfiz-î Âbrî [g.e.], but only in a second version dedicated to Tûrûz's grandson 'Umar Bahâdûr (British Library ms. Add. 23980). Şamî, who after Tûrûz's death in 807/1405 had probably entered 'Umar's service, was dead, according to Hîfiz-î Âbrû, by 814/1411-12 (Dhayl, 430). He enjoyed a high reputation among contemporaries for his literary skills: Şarafl al-Dîn 'Ali Yâzîî, in his own Zafar-nâmâ (ii, 571), calls him one of the most accomplished writers of his age.


SHÂMÎL [1212-87/1796-1871], leader of the Muslim resistance to the Russian conquest of the Caucasus from 1250/ 1834 to 1276/1859.

Şâmîl's biography and his ghażawât

Born in the village (awul) of Gimrâh (Gimrî) to a family of an Âvâr freedman, Şâmîl was named 'Âli at birth. A sickly child, who was often ill, his original name, according to a local belief, was changed to Şâmîl (meaning "repell" sickness. This was the name Şâmîl used in letters and official documents. Contemporary sources, however, styled him Şâmîl,
or Shamil—the name under which he became known in Russia and the West. Already in his youth he overcame his ailments and grew into an exceptionally strong, tall (over six feet) and athletically young man and famed for his fencing skills, bravery, and horsemanship. In addition, he had an acute interest in, and talent for, religious learning. By the age of 20 he had successfully completed an elementary course of Arabic grammar and rhetoric under the guidance of renowned Daghistānī 'ulamāʾ. He then proceeded to study Kurʾānic interpretation, hadīth, fiqh, and kalām with his friend and distant relative Ghazar Muhammad (Kazi Mofazma), the latter author of the Sufi teachings of the Nakshbandiya-Khālidiyā tariqa, which were propagated in Daghistān by Muhammad al-Yarāghī and Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzī Qumūmī. Unlike the otherwordly-oriented and quietist Djamāl al-Dīn, Ghāzī Muhammad and his younger friend were anxious to enforce ghārī norms actively among the mountaineers committed to their tribal customs (ṭādāt). Presenting themselves as religious reformers, they attacked such widespread vices as drunkenness, the use of tobacco, "indecent" intermingling of the sexes, merry pastimes with music and dancing, etc. With the Russian forces inexorably closing in on Daghistān, Ghazar Muhammad, against the express wish of his shaykh Djamal al-Dīn, added to this programme the call for jihad [qv.] against the infidel Russians. When in late 1829 several Avar communities proclaimed him the first imām of Daghistān, Shāmil became his trusted lieutenant. In 1832, after three years of fierce fighting, Ghazar Muhammad and his closest followers, known as muridun (Russ. myarid), were surrounded and slaughtered in their stronghold at Girmār—an episode in which Shāmil was one of only two survivors. Under the second imām, Hamza(t)ī Bek, Shāmil continued to wage a pitiless struggle against the local nobility and their Russian backers. Following Hamza’s assassination in 1834 by the vengeful Avar notables, Shāmil was unanimously recognised as the third imām of Daghistān by Avar ‘ulamāʾ and dignitaries at ‘Ashīlta. In 1834-6, despite the stiff resistance of the local ruling families and the continuing Russian intervention, he managed to establish firm control over most areas of Daghistān. His inordinate military talents were recognised by the Russian command- ers, who failed to subdue the territories under his sway and on several occasions had to sue for peace. As a result, his reputation as the successful leader of ghārī spread far and wide, making him “enemy number one” of the Russian military administration of the Caucasus. Apprehensive of Shāmil’s growing influence on the warlike tribes of nearby Čečenya, the Russians launched a massive military expedition against his headquarters at Akhulgo. After a series of bloody engagements en route, the Russian expedition finally besieged Shāmil and his men in their mountain fortress. When he refused to surrender after several weeks of fierce fighting, the irate Russians ruthlessly cut his garrison to pieces. Miraculously, Shāmil again made an almost incredible escape down the lofty cliffs under the enemy’s very nose. Of the two wives with him during the siege, one was killed alongside his best men. Contrary to the Russians’ expectations, the imām’s spirit was far from broken. Moreover, he found new powerful allies among the Čečens who were disgusted at the continued Russian encroachment on their independence. In a matter of months, Shāmil recovered and even expanded his power, having successfully repelled the invaders and repulsed several shattering blows to the Russian forces in Čečenya and Avārūstān in 1840-2. Exasperated by these reversals, Tsar Nicholas I ordered an all-out campaign to crush Shāmil’s resistance in 1844. Organised and led by Prince Vorontsov, a 10,000-strong expedition against Shāmil’s stronghold at Darghīya was an almost total disaster. The imām had learned well the lessons of Akhulgo and changed his strategy accordingly. With his prestige at its peak, Shāmil endeavoured to extend his rule to Ghabarta (Kabarda) and to unify all the mountain tribes of the Caucasus against the Russians. His ambitious plans, however, were frustrated by the brilliant strategy of General Freytag, the ineptitude of his lieutenant Nūr ‘Affī, and the result was the decimation of the Russian forces and loss of life in the army. More importantly, this campaign demonstrated the vast disparity between Shāmil’s resources and those of the Russian Empire—a disparity that would eventually lead to his undoing. About the same time, the Russians realised the futility of the “one-blow” strategy they had previously pursued, and resorted to a more methodical, if less offensive strategy, known as the system of the axe.” It consisted in steadily encircling Shāmil with a network of defensive lines and military posts aimed at cutting him off from Čečenya, his major source of food supplies and manpower. From 1846 to 1849, the Russians erected fortifications in, and cut roads through, the impenetrable forests of Greater Čečenya. Simultaneously, they “pacified” the population of the fertile Čečen plains, chasing those who refused to submit into the barren mountains. In the meantime, another Russian expedi- tory force attempted to eradicate Shāmil’s strong- holds in central Daghistān, a goal for which they paid an enormous price in money, ammunition, and human lives. Their successes, however, proved short-lived. Once the Russian troops had withdrawn, the imām quickly rebuilt his fortifications and invaded southern Daghistān, whose free communities had asked for his assistance against the oppressive Russian rule. In a dramatic reversal of roles, Shāmil invested several Russian fortresses, and was poised to achieve complete success if it had not been for the heroic stand of the small Russian garrison of Akhtī (Akhhti), which allowed the Russians to regroup and to repel Shāmil’s levies. On the Čečen front, Shāmil established a line of defence and deployed against the Russian troops his cherished regular infantry units built on the model of the Ottoman niẓām-i qalīd (qv.). The latter were soundly defeated on 11 March 1851 by Colonel Baryatinskiy, forcing Shāmil to revert to guerilla tactics and thereby to relinquish any hope of defeating the Russian army in a pitched battle. Turning his attention to Daghistān, Shāmil sent his best military commander and lifelong rival Hādjdjī Murād to Russian-controlled Kaytak and Tabasarān in an attempt to rouse their “pacified” populations. This campaign yielded little result, but instead further aggra- vated the long-standing distrust between the imām and his chief lieutenant. Sentenced to death on Shāmil’s instance, Hādjdjī Murād defected to the Russians but was soon killed in an attempt to escape back to the mountains, relieving the imām of the onerous necessity to execute one of his commanders. In 1851-3, the hostilities, in which Shāmil took part personally, were centred on Čečenya with results gen- erally favourable for the Russians. Throughout 1853, faced with the prospect of war with the Ottomans, the Russians were unable to capitalise on their earlier successes and diverted their attention and main forces to the Ottoman front, giving Shāmil a much-needed respite. The latter took advantage of this to fortify head- quarters at Vedān (Vedeno). Rumours about an impending Russo-Turkish conflict infused the imām.
and his followers with determination to continue their struggle under the leadership of, and with help from, the Ottoman sultan. Shamil sent him several messages urging him to join the Ottoman troops at Tiflis. Although somewhat offended by the tone of the sultan’s replies, who treated the imām as his vassal, Shāmil remained committed to the person whom he considered the supreme ruler of all Muslims. Before and during the war, he kept the Russians on their toes by raiding the territories under their control. On 15 July 1854, the imām’s forces led by his son Ghażār Muḥammad, swept in on the “Nagaz valley” and Tarnavachi, carrying off a rich booty and many prisoners, among whom were the grand-daughters of the last Kart’lo-Kakhet’i Tsar, George XII, the princesses Tchavchadze and Orbeliani. This raid, in which Shāmil took no direct part, brought him great notoriety not only in Russia but in the West as well. On the positive side, he was able to exchange the princesses for his elder son Djamāl al-Dīn, surrendered to the Russians as a hostage during the desperate defence of Akhūnd. The Russians obtained a ransom of 40,000 silver roubles. On the other hand, this episode proved to be extremely damaging to his reputation in Europe, where his treatment of the royal captives was perceived by many as an act of “a fanatic and a barbarian with whom it will be difficult for us, and even for the Porte, to entertain any credible or satisfactory relations.” Offended by the insulting remembrances he received from the Ottomans and their European allies in the aftermath of this affair, Shāmil relinquished any hope of obtaining their support in his struggle against the Russians. The result of the Crimean War, though by no means favourable to Russia, came as a shock to Shāmil and his followers, for they could now expect no Ottoman help and were left face-to-face with their formidable foe. The Russian command, on the other hand, could now focus its undivided attention on the Caucasus. In the spring of 1857, the Russians led by the newly-appointed viceroy of the Caucasus, Prince Baryatinskiy and several talented generals, started methodically to mop up Shāmil’s strongholds in Čecnja. As a result, Shāmil’s power-base was drastically reduced, and the few Čečen warriors still loyal to him had to seek refuge in the mountains. The majority of the war weary Čečens and many Dāghistānī communities abandoned him and submitted to Russian rule. Amidst the general despondency which overcame even his most committed followers, his pleas for help to the Ottomans, the British and the French were left without reply. With the rapid collapse of the mountaineers’ resistance, the imām had no option but to retreat constantly in the face of a relentless Russian advance, abandoning one by one his fortified positions at New Darghiya and Vecdān. He made his last stand on top of Mt. Qhunīb surrounded by his family and 400 loyal murdi. In the face of inevitable destruction, he surrendered unconditionally to the Russians on 6 September (25 August Old Style) 1859.

In contrast to the earlier leaders of the anti-Russian dūbād in the Caucasus, e.g., Shāykh Muṣṭafā Shukurma and Ghażār Muḥammad, Shāmil received an unusually lenient treatment by the jubilant Tsar Alexander II and his subjects. With his “misddeeds” against the Russians all but forgotten, he was paraded through Moscow, St. Petersburg and many lesser Russian cities, repeatedly honoured by the Tsar, photographed, painted, illustrated by artists. In numerous books and articles, praised in numerous books and articles, a “cultural hero” of sorts, he was everywhere greeted by admirers and an enthusiastic nobility. For many Russians, still reeling from the Crimean debacle, Shāmil became an emblem for military and colonial victory which reaffirmed Russia’s status as an enlarged, powerful and successful nation. Shāmil, genuinely touched by the attention and hospitality accorded to him by his former foes, seems to have accepted his role and even volunteered to swear allegiance to the Tsar. He constantly marvelled at, and praised the technological and cultural achievements of Russian civilisation and wrote letters to his former supporters, urging them to stop their resistance and to recognise Russian sovereignty. Upon completing his triumphant tour of Russia, he was assigned to residence in Kalu—g—a town about 120 miles south-west of Moscow. He lived there in a luxurious mansion with his two wives, three surviving sons, four daughters and their families. In 1866, he was permitted to move to Kiev and in 1869 his request to make a pilgrimage to Mecca was finally granted. En route, he visited the Ottoman sultan ‘Abd al-Azīz and the Egyptian al-Dīn Ismā‘īl, both of whom gave him a cordial reception and rewarded him with gifts and money. He died and was buried in Medina in Dhū ’l-Hijjah 1287/March 1871. Of his three surviving sons (Djamāl al-Dīn died three years after he had returned to his father from Russian captivity), the eldest, Ghażār Muḥammad, entered the Ottoman service and fought against the Russians in the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-8. He died in Mecca in 1903. Shāmil’s other son, Muhammad Shāfī‘ī, became a major-general in the Russian army and resided in Moscow and later in Kazan. His grandson by his youngest son Muhammad Kāmil, named Sa‘īd Shāmil, took an active part in the struggle for independence of Dāghistān from Soviet Russia in the 1920s.

Shāmil’s state, army and administration

The military-theocratic state in which Shāmil was the supreme temporal and religious authority was geared to one overriding goal: uniting the mountaineers in their struggle against the “infidel” Russians and their local cohorts. Based on the institutions and precedents established by the first two imāms of Avrāstān, Ghażār Muḥammad and Hamza, the mountaineers’ state grew much more complex and efficient under Shāmil’s able leadership. The dual title imām and amir al-mu‘minin, which featured in his letters and decrees, accurately reflected his functions as the principal interpreter and enforcer of the shari‘a on the one hand, and as the political and military leader of the other. In addition, Shāmil was his own legislator. His instructions and ordinances on matters not explicitly covered by the shari‘a formed the so-called nizām, an administrative and military code similar to, and possibly modelled on, the Ottoman kānun [q.v.]. Finally, Shāmil was also the chief justice and administrator of his state. In executing all these political, religious, legislative, administrative and judicial functions, Shāmil was assisted by a privy council, a diwān, established around 1842. Stacked with his closest followers and confidants, the diwān was convened for emergency consultations, but also relieved him of routine decision-making on matters of minor significance. Executive and judicial power in the areas under Shāmil’s control rested with his deputies (nd’īb), whose numbers grew from four in 1840 to about thirty in 1856. The nd’īb were nominated personally by Shāmil and were responsible for law and order, tax collection, and enforcement of verdicts passed by local i‘tālāts. During military campaigns, they served as field commanders and were responsible to Shāmil for fielding the required number of warriors and for general readiness for war.
The na’ib’s status varied according to the military importance of the area under his jurisdiction. In the late 1840s, Shamil introduced the post of mudhir, i.e. the senior na’ib, who, apart from running his domain, supervised and coordinated the activities of lesser na’ibs in neighbouring regions. Normally, the na’ib led up to 500 warriors into battle. Both the mudhirs and the ordinary na’ibs were closely watched by the imam’s “secret agents” (muhtasibs), who were answerable directly to Shamil and reported to him on the activities, especially misdeeds, of his lieutenants. The na’ibs were divided into smaller units administered by the na’ibs subordinates, the dhaba, or mu’tazims (Russ. muzun). These officials, in turn, had under their command village elders, elected by their respective communities. To enforce the imam’s orders, each na’ib relied on a standing force of 20 to 50 (or occasionally up to 100) loyal guards called na’ib murids as opposed to tarika murids, who were considered “men of God” and normally did not participate in fighting.

On the level of the mut’azim, the na’ib murids were paralleled by the mounted “retainers” (murtaziks), supported by their communities.

While the executive and administrative powers were vested in the na’ibs, they were not allowed to interpret the shar’a or dispense shar’i justice. For this they had muftis and kutubs attached to them. In addition, these religious officials, whom the sources generally describe as “ulama’, were responsible for maintaining the mosques, leading the prayers, delivering the Friday sermons, and for implementing the precepts in the mosques, usually at the mosques, to the young. Being at least partially independent of their na’ibs, the “ulamas’ provided a much-needed check on the broad discretionary power given to their temporal counterparts.

The core of Shamil’s army consisted of the na’ib murids, the career fighters who had sworn an oath of personal allegiance to the imam and his cause and regarded themselves as his personal disciples. Fearless and loyal, the murids were, in a sense, “warrior monks” who were always ready for martialty “in the path of God” and provided example and leadership for the less organised and often lukewarm local levies. According to different calculations, they numbered 400 to 500 men, of which 120 served as Shamil’s personal bodyguards, while the others were assigned to his na’ibs or sent on special missions. The murids were supported directly from the treasury of the imam or his deputies. This small elite corps was supplemented by the regular cavalrymen called martazikas. Under Shamil’s orders, every ten households in the territory under his control had to furnish one fully-equipped horseman, whose personal needs as well as those of his wife and children were provided for by the other nine families. The muridun and the martazikas constituted the backbone of Shamil’s army. The peasant irregulars who joined them during large-scale campaigns were poorly trained, far less reliable and therefore served primarily as auxiliaries. Finally, in imitation of the Ottoman nizam-i qasdid [q.v.], Shamil attempted to create a modern infantry corps, which, however, proved ineffective and inferior to its Russian counterpart. In an attempt to achieve logistical independence, Shamil established three gunpowder factories, which produced not only powder but mines, gunshells, and bombs. Shamil’s army also manufactured its own cannon, albeit of a rather low quality, to supplement the Russian artillery captured on the battlefield. Shamil’s 20 cannon were efficiently trained and were awarded special marks of distinction for courage. Cowards and deserters, on the other hand, were obliged to wear “marks of disgrace” until they “erased” them by military feats or loyal service.

To sustain this complex administrative and military machinery, Shamil collected from his subjects a zakat of approximately 5% to 7% in money and kind. In anticipation of a military campaign, an extraordinary tax in kind could be imposed on specific communities to meet the needs of the army on the march. Another source of state income was one-fifth of war booty, sometimes quite substantial, which under the shar’a was set aside for the ruler. All fines, popularly known as bayt al-mal, along with escheatable or forfeited property were also taken by the treasury. The same holds true for the income derived from auks. The lion’s share of the income was spent on the military, on the upkeep of ulama’ and mosques as well as on the support of Muslim emigrants who had fled from territories under Russian control (muhazdirun) and settled in Shamil’s shar’a state.

Shamil and “Myrdicism”

The issue of whether or not Shamil’s ghazawiyya was related to, or motivated by, his Sufi background has not yet found a satisfactory solution. As mentioned, Shamil, like the other imams of Daghistan Ghazi Muhammad and Hamza(t) Bek, sought to establish a theocratic state that would unite the anarcho-Caucasian mountaineers against the common enemy, the Russian Empire. Apart from being military leaders and religious reformers, all three imams were also affiliated with the Khalidi branch of the Naqshbandiya [q.v.]. Their initiatic line stretched back to the Kurdish Shaykh Dhatul-Din al-Din, a disciple of the Naqshbandi imam Khwaja Muhammad al-Yaraghf (d. 1243/1247), who, in turn, belonged to the influential Mujaddidi subdivision of the Naqshbandiya tarika, founded by the Indian Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindf (Russ. Mutsagmet) called on Daghistant Muslims to observe the sunna and the shar’a strictly, to avoid bid’at (i.e. the ‘iddat), to fight against the enemies of Islam, and, if defeated, to emigrate to Islamic lands. All these precepts were in full accord with the central tenets of the Khalidhiyya, although it is not clear whether or not Muhammad al-Yaraghf actually called his audience to ghaz’ud against the Russians. Plainly, his chief concern was to extirpate the “un-Islamic” customs and beliefs of the mountaineers and to replace them with the shar’a. Paradoxically, it was not the militant Muhammad al-Yaraghf, but his reclusive disciple, Sayyid Djamal al-Din, who initiated Ghazi Muhammad and young Shamil into the Naqshbandiya-Khalidiyya (Hamza Bek was a disciple of Ghazi Muhammad). Shamil’s emphasis on meritocratic adherence to the shar’a, his open hostility toward “the cursed Christians and the despicable Persians [i.e. the Shi’a of Iran],” his political activism and unwavering loyalty to the Ottoman sultan, seem to be in line with the Khalidhi teaching as expounded by its founder and his Turkish colleagues. As mentioned, their initiatic line stretched back to the Kurdish Shaykh Dhatul-Din al-Din, a disciple of the Naqshbandi imam Khwaja Muhammad al-Yaraghf (d. 1243/1247), who, in turn, belonged to the influential Mujaddidi subdivision of the Naqshbandiya tarika, founded by the Indian Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindf (Russ. Mutsagmet) called on Daghistant Muslims to observe the sunna and the shar’a strictly, to avoid bid’at (i.e. the ‘iddat), to fight against the enemies of Islam, and, if defeated, to emigrate to Islamic lands. All these precepts were in full accord with the central tenets of the Khalidhiyya, although it is not clear whether or not Muhammad al-Yaraghf actually called his audience to ghaz’ud against the Russians. Plainly, his chief concern was to extirpate the “un-Islamic” customs and beliefs of the mountaineers and to replace them with the shar’a. Paradoxically, it was not the militant Muhammad al-Yaraghf, but his reclusive disciple, Sayyid Djamal al-Din, who initiated Ghazi Muhammad and young Shamil into the Naqshbandiya-Khalidiyya (Hamza Bek was a disciple of Ghazi Muhammad). Shamil’s emphasis on meritocratic adherence to the shar’a, his open hostility toward “the cursed Christians and the despicable Persians [i.e. the Shi’a of Iran],” his political activism and unwavering loyalty to the Ottoman sultan, seem to be in line with the Khalidhi teaching as expounded by its founder and his Turkish followers. Yet, as Sayyid Djamal al-Din’s opposition to ghazawiyya and insistence on inward self-perfection well shows, Shamil’s interpretation of the Khalidhi tenets was not the only possible one. In the early stages of his career, Shamil acted primarily as a religious reformer, first under Gha’fi Muhammad and then on his own behalf. In contrast to the shar’a, the legal and moral code. His reformist activities inevitably set him on a collision course with the conservative Avar
nobility and, eventually, with the Russians, who, not unlike the contemporary French colonial administrators of Algeria, gave precedence to customary law over the qur'a, delaying it to be more "manageable." Hence, the Russians were suspicious of the Dagestani 'ulama' and were unwilling to accommodate them, relying instead on the corrupt and discredited nobility. The inflexibility of the Russian colonial officials was further aggravated by the Russian political and economic expansion in the Caucasus, which disrupted the traditional life-style and economy of the region, bringing about dislocation, and concomitant resentment among the mountaineers. Under these circumstances, the qar's-oriented, sober tenets of the Naḵshbandiya-Ḵalidiyya, combined with the viable institutional structure of tarṭaŞ Sufism, provided a compelling solution to the mountaineers' problems. Although formally he was neither head of a tarṭaŞ nor even the supreme šufl master of Dagestān (both titles were better applicable to Sayyid Ḫaμal al-Dīn, whose ascendancy in Šufl matters the īmām humbly acknowledged), 瑄alīm commanded the practically unconditional loyalty of his followers, the most devoted of whom viewed him as their personal murīshid [q.v.]. In a sense, 瑄alīm's whole state was an extended tarṭaŞ, complete with some trappings of a Šufl community as the collective ḡīla [q.v.] charted by him in his murīdin on the move and in battle, and the periodical khalwas [q.v.] practiced by the īmām and his disciples, the miracles (karanī[n]i [q.v.]) ascribed to him by the followers, the supererogatory prayers (up to 20 times a day, according to some testimonies) he assigned to the murīdin, the constant spiritual link (nābil[a] [q.v.]) which瑄alīm maintained with his closest disciples, and, finally, his communications with the spirit of the Prophet to solicit the latter's advice. All this, however, is true only of瑄alīm's reign in Darghāhīya and Vedān. Outside this immediate circle of followers, and for the overwhelming majority of his subjects,瑄alīm was a venerated, and often fearsome, sovereign and military leader who ruled with an iron fist over a host of diverse and recalcitrant tribal communities, traditionally opposed to any state control. It is in his ability to weld the mountaineers together for a common goal, rather than in his activities as a Šufl master (for which he had little time anyway) that one should look for his major achievement. Therefore, the Russian and Western historians who described瑄alīm's movement as "myrāsīm" were to some extent justified in setting it apart from ordinary Sufism. In many respects, his ghazzāti [g.v.] bear striking resemblance to the other contemporary Šufl-based movements, notably the Kadiyya [q.v.] of Algeria and Sudan and the Sanūsiyya [q.v.] of Cyrenaica. For each of these movements, Sufism provided a handy organisational vehicle, rather than their true motivation, which should be sought elsewhere.

瑄alīm's legacy

Already in his lifetime,瑄alīm became a great media event, which generated a vast corpus of scholarly discourse and Romantic literature. From 1854 to 1859, 38 full-size books (not to mention innumerable articles, poems and news accounts) dealing with瑄alīm were published in the West alone. In Russia, the volume of writings on瑄alīm and his movement was, of course, much greater. In line with the fashion of the day, this literature depicted瑄alīm as a "noble savage" and a typical hero of European Romanticism. As time went on, the public interest in him began to subside, giving way to a rather unbalanced evaluation of his personality and of the Caucasian wars as a whole. During the Soviet period,瑄alīm once again became an object of intense study and of heated debate over the nature of his movement. In accordance with the Marxian concept of class struggle, the Soviet historians of the 1920s and 1930s portrayed瑄alīm as a hero of revolutionary struggle, a fearless fighter against the colonisation of the Caucasus by Tsarist Russia. In the 1950s, however, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union launched a campaign against so-called "bourgeois-nationalism", as a result of which瑄alīm's role underwent a radical revision. In a remarkable volte-face, Soviet historians condemned him as the leader of a "reactionary and nationalistic movement in the service of the English capital and the Turkish sultan." They argued that by fighting against the Russians,瑄alīm became a hindrance to progress, in so far as the incorporation of the "backward" and "feudal" Caucasus into a technologically-advanced Russian Empire was an "objective historical necessity" and the only way to develop its culture and economy. The debate over瑄alīm's role reached its peak in 1956-7, when, on the one hand, it was forcibly suppressed by the official condemnation of the īmām as a thoroughly reactionary and nationalistic religious fanatic. The official view, however, was not to everyone's liking, and a covert campaign to rehabilitate瑄alīm, spearheaded by some Dagestan scholars, continued for several decades.

With the advent of perestroika and glasnost in 1986,瑄alīm's contribution to the history of the Caucasus was again drastically revised. Today,瑄alīm is totally rehabilitated and is celebrated by most of the Dagestanfs and the Četens as their greatest national hero. Symbols and slangs associated with the īmām's resistance to the Russian domination took on a new life during the Russo-Čečen conflict of 1994-5, when they were appropriated and re-defined by the supporters of President Džohar (Dzhabhar) Dudaev.


For瑄alīm's predecessors at the head of the anti-Russian struggle in the Caucasus, see A. Bennigsen,
Un mouvement populaire au Caucase au XVIIIe siècle,
in Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique (Paris),
v/2 (April-June 1964), 159-205; M. Gammer, The beginnings of the Naşhpadiyya in Daghstān and the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, in Wi, xxxiv (1994), 204-17.

Of the general histories of Şāmil’s movement, J. Baddeley’s The Russian conquest of the Caucasus, London 1908, and F. Bodenstedt’s Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen, Frankfurt 1848, remain standard works in the field, at least as far as the military operations are concerned. A typical Soviet view of Şāmil’s ghazaot-takī, based on 19th-century Russian sources, is given in N.A. Smirnov, Myrdzidam na Kavka, Moscow 1961, cf. A. Yandarov, Sufizm i ideologia national’no-osovoboditel’nogo davleniya, Alma-Ata 1975. An illuminating, if somewhat idealised account of Şāmil and his movement, which was extensively used in the present article, is M. Gammer, Muslims resistance to the Tsar, Shamul and the conquest of Chechnia and Daghstan, London 1994. See also Čečenski, Al’-Karb, and nágrád damad (Kevmen).

ŞAMMĀH (A’), candlemaker (synonymous with şam’t). The usage of the latter term as a nisba is cited by al-Sam’āni naming some of the candlemakers who were also counted among transmitters of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. The early kubra manuals did not include a chapter on the candlemakers, who were only briefly cited by Ibn al-Ĥujwīra (d. 729/1329 [q.e.]). He noted the dishonest practice of the Şammān, who mixed beeswax with vegetable oil and other substances, thereby lowering the quality of their product.

While discussing the şammāh, some Arab writers bring forth two names among the Şakāba, namely, ’Uthmān (b. ’Affān) and Tamīm al-Dārī, the former in connection with candlemakers and the latter as the pioneer who brought a lamp (kandil) from Syria and lighted it in the Prophet’s mosque in Medina during the life of Muhammad. This is cited as the origin of the practice of lighting lamps and candles in mosques since early Islamic history. Legends aside, the Umayyad caliph al-Walid II (125-6/741-2) was credited with using candle illumination at the Umayyad court of Damascus. The common people of the ’Abbasid period used oil lamps (kandil), while the rich and powerful could afford expensive candles. Al-Ma’mūn (d. 218/833) spent a vast amount of money on candle illumination during his marriage with Bīrān b. al-Ĥasan b. Sahh, and al-Mutasukkāl (d. 247/861) spent a fabulous sum of 1.2 million dirhams for candles in royal palaces per annum. During the ’Abbasid and Fātimid periods, candles were made mainly from beeswax, which was sometimes imported from long distances, e.g. from Tunis to Egypt.

There were guilds of candlemakers in the Safavid capital city of Šāhān in the 16th/16th and 17th centuries. The members of the guild of candlemakers (şam’māh in Persian), were classified as workers of low position in society, comparable to the lowly status of barbers, bath-keepers, fortune-tellers, bricklayers, corpse-washers, porters, muleteers and so forth. Nevertheless, a modern şam’māh of North Africa attained upward social mobility by writing a history of the Hašid dynasty (cf. Şayḫk Abu ʿl-Ĥabbas al-Şam’māh, al-Hiddal al-şayḫiya al-şamsiya ’alā ma’dīk hisāb al-dawa al-Hašidiyya, Tunis 1327/1909). The candlemakers’ work was in high demand in early modern Syria, where it was customary to light candles in marriage ceremonies by all strata of people: a candle used to cost 2 liras in early 20th-century Syria.


AL-SHAMMĀKH b. DĪRĀR, true name Maʾṣūl b. Dīrār, of the Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd of the Banū Ḥuṣayn (Ghaṭṭān), a muʾkhdār damad and poet, and according to some sources, a Companion after his conversion in 9/630 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Itbāh, i, 324; Aḥfān, viii, 98; Isḥāb, iii, 210). This information is to be treated with caution: according to Ibn Sayyid al-Nis [q.e.], the author of a work on the poets of the Prophet, it was his brother Maʿṣūl al-Muzarrad who met him and composed a poem in his honour (Mināh al-madākh, Damascus 1407/1987, 310-11). Al-Shammāk must have been too young at this time.

Reliable information concerning him is extremely sparse; details relating to him have been inextricably mingled with those relating to his older brother al-Muzarrad b. Dīrār. He was allegedly ugly, one-eyed (al-Safādī, al-Shārī bi ’l-masāʾil, 206; al-Baḥdāghī, Lāḥud, ed. Hārin, iv, 257), ruddy and of small stature. Certain traditions have associated his unprepossessing appearance with his misogynistic tendencies (al-Balāghūrī, Anṣāb al-adhrāf, ms. fols. 1090b-1091a), the traces of which, clearly visible, survive in his poetry (Dīrān, 104-8, 219-23, 287-95).

After the death of the Prophet, he took part in the battle of al-Kādiyya (al-Tabari, i, 2292, 2292), in the conquest of Armenia (ibid., i, 2687) and in that of Adharbaydān (al-Balāghūrī, Futuh, 329, idem, Anṣāb, fol. 1090b). It is today generally accepted that he was martyred in Mākān ca. 30/630 (al-Hādi, 157). However, al-Balāghūrī (Anṣāb, fol. 1090b) insists that he was not involved in that episode (taʿlām yamūl Mūkānā); he mentions a lament which he is said to have composed for the occasion.

It is therefore appropriate to place his death at a later date. Al-Shammāk belonged to a family of poets. His brothers al-Muzarrad and Dājūz praised the art of the nāzim; under the name of the former a diwān has survived in a recension by Ibn al-Sikki (publ. Baghdād 1962); as regards Dājūz, al-Diżmaḥ attributes to him a diwān composed after the assassination of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (Tabākāt, 133; Abū Tamīmān, Hamīsā, i, 453-4). Similarly, the two sons of al-Muzarrad, Ḥasan and Kuthayyir (al-Hādi, 89), and the son of Dājūz, Qabbār, were poets; the latter composed a lament on the death of al-Shammāk. Our poet owes his cognomen “the Proud”, to the superb quality of his poems (Sāmī Makki al-ʿAnī, Muṣāfām ul-ḥudūd, Baghdād 1971, 127). Examination of his verses confirms this beyond doubt; first of all, the most eminent transmitters discussed them in their magalis; among those who collected his written poems were Ibn Ḥabbī in the 2nd/6th century (Yākūt, Qāmūs, xviii, 116-17) and al-Sukkāf in a century later (Yākūt, xiii, 98; Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, Cairo n.d., 290). For his part, al-Diżmaḥ places him in the third category of the fahl alongside al-Nābiṣābī al-Djāʿdī and Abū Dhuʾayb (Tabākāt, 123). In more specifically literary terms, numerous critics have expressed admiration for his treatment of poetic themes (Ibn Kutayba, Shur'a;
From a thematic point of view, the poetry of al-Shammakh is unconcerned with the tribal aspect; similarly, total silence surrounds his participation in the great conquests of nascent Islam. The poetry of al-Shammakh, in accordance with his entire herd to the water, where a well-armed hunter waits, accompanied by hunting dogs. In this context, the poet innovates. According to him, the animal sees himself as endowed with sentiments such as jealousy, the preoccupation of the male responsible for a whole herd and terror in the face of imminent death; the hunter, the dogs and the natural order are presented here in prominent relief (Ditoon, ii, vii, viii, x, xi, xii, xvii, xvi, mulhak, iv, xxii, xxiv, xxxiv). In this connection, the za'yeya (Ditoon, 173-202) merits special mention; in this poem of 56 verses, the poet relates the episode of the bow. In a broad expanse of 20 verses, he evokes at length the process of its fabrication and the birth of an artistic composition, in the description of animals, human resonances are rarely attested in the poetry of the period. Ancient critics aware of it (Ibn Kutayba, al-Yusuf Atfiyash al-Djaza'irf, in Al-Kitab, xi [1952], 151-78; al-Hadif, 195-201; Yahya al-Djubunf, al-Farayya fi l-shi'd al-djazir, Baghdad 1984, 169, 184-5). A second aspect of his poetic talent deserves to be stressed. Al-Shammakh seems to have been an excellent composer of ragaz; his Ditoon contains 9 urajuzas (section on aradiz al-ditoon, 353-422), in some of which he is indebted to Khiyar b. Djaz, Djournal and al-Djubun. The poet submits this poetic form to a new treatment, which recalls that reserved for the kastda, with an opening nasih based on the memory and the episode of the savage bull (Ullmann, 27). However, the poetic language of al-Shammakh is discouraging: his language, suffused with archaisms and rare terms was and remains difficult of access (al-Djazf, Bayan, ed. Hartin, iii, 251). As early as the 2nd/8th century, al-Djumahf was stressing the stiffness of his style (kazza) and his extremely vigorous language (ghadlu mutan al-djazf), implying that it was complex. It is for this reason that his poetry is considerably more difficult than that of Labid (Tabakat, 132; Ibn Sayyid al-Nass, op. cit., 234-5), which is itself extremely complicated. Modern research has been concerned with giving him the status that he deserves; his rehabilitation, instigated by Blachere, seems today to be progressing successfully, and Thomas Bauer considers him one of the best representatives of classical poetry (Bauer, 259, esp. 273).

---

290 AL-SHAMMAKHI AL-IFRANI — SHAMMAR

59-79; Brockelmann; IF, 312, S II, 339; Zirikll, A<lam, i, 126.

2. ABU SAKIN ... from the Rashldls. Having secured the support of Britain during the First World War, he drove them out of Ha'il in [26x477]fi 'l-azmina.

which has become the fundamental lawbook of the a theolog-
al-'Akida, al-Kasida Misbah, etc. Abu
is not clear. Neither historical sources nor their oral
Their oral tradition states that they are Yemenis of
Arabia.

He composed the following works: 1. a Divān, which remained unfinished, in four great volumes but which has become the fundamental lawbook of the people of the Djabal Naifia; 2. al-'Akdā, a theolog-
tical treatise dedicated to Nūh b. Hāzim; 3. al-Kašfā fi 'l-yāmina.

Bibliography: Shammākhi, K. al-Syar, 559; Motyl-
linski, Bibliographie du Mzab, i–ii, 43; Brockelmann, S II, 345; Groes (Moye).

SHAMMAR, a nomadic tribal confederation currently found in Saudi Arabia, Syria and 'Irāk. Their oral tradition states that they are Yemenis of Kahtān origin. Their myth of descent links their ancestry to Shimmar Ibn al-
cub Yusuf b. Abl Yahya. On the conclusion of his

While the majority of the tribe remained in Djabal Shammar, some sections migrated to the area between the Tigris and Euphrates in the 18th century in search of pasture and under pressure from local tribes such as the 'Anaza and the Su'ūdī dynasty. These sections are referred to as northern Shammar or Shammar of Mesopotamia. They consist of a number of tribal lineages the most well-known of which are the Djarba, Tokah and Zakarit. In Mesopotamia, the Shammar combined pastoral nomadism with agriculture. Some became Šhī'ī under the influence of the Šhī'ī communities of the region, especially in 'Irāk. The tribe developed a history distinct from their brothers in the south.

Those who remained in Djabal Shammar are known as southern Shammar. This group attracted the attention of a number of 19th-century European travellers among whom were Wallin, Doughty, Blunt, and Guarmani. In the 20th century, the accounts of Musil and Montagne are prominent. One of the reasons behind their preoccupation with the Shammar stemmed from the fact that this nomadic tribe was at the height of its power, as it succeeded in developing a centralised authority over most of central Arabia.

Estimates of their number vary in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The Handbook of Arabia gives a figure of 4,000 tents and a total of 150,000-200,000 individuals. This excludes those who were settled in the oases of Djabal Shammar, Hā'il, Mušāq, Sab'an, Mustajjāda, Ghazala and Rawda, estimated by Montagne at 20,000 individuals.

The southern Shammar are divided into four tribal sections; Abda, Singāra, Aslam and Šāmān. In the 19th century, the Abda assumed leadership of the whole tribe. Unlike other nomadic tribes in the area, the Shammar combined their nomadism with control over an oasis settlement, Hā'il [q.v.]. From there, their chiefs, the Al Rashidi [q.v.], expanded into al-Ḵasim and southern Najd. Musil claimed that Rashidi expansion reached the borders of Aleppo, Damascus, Basra, 'Ummān and 'Aṣš by the end of the last century. However, their power base remained strongest in Djabal Shammar and the Great Naifā, the core of their tribal dīra.

The Shammar dynasty developed a complex political organisation. The Rashidi amirs, resident in Hā'il, co-existed with the Shammar šāḥids who were drawn from the chiefly families of the tribal sections. The latter participated in the amirs' raids in return for a share of the booty. They attended the nadjīd in Hā'il where they regularly received gifts and subsidies from the Rashidi amirs. These subsidies, together with a network of marriages with the oasis amirs ensured interdependence and loyalty at least until the beginning of the 20th century.

The Shammar dynasty rested on a multi-resource economy. The Shammar pastoral economy was supplemented by control over trade and pilgrimage caravans. Their tribal territory included important trade routes which linked Mesopotamia and the Gulf ports to the holy cities of the Hidjāz. Wahhābī fanaticism in the 18th and 19th centuries led to the diversion of trade routes in favour of Hā'il, which was then outside their control. Trading and pilgrimage caravans were usually accompanied by a caravan leader and a group of armed men who were responsible for its security, and this leader was appointed by the Hā'il amir who expected him to levy a toll from the caravan after keeping a sum for himself. In return for this toll, the Hā'il amirs guaranteed the safety of merchants and pilgrims, especially Šhī'ī from Persia and 'Irāk, regarded as heretics by the Wahhābī Su'ūdī dynasty in southern Najd. Taxes levied from these sources ensured a surplus in the hands of the amirs, and Hā'il developed into an important transit station where traders, craftsmen and agriculturalists coexisted and flourished.

Its prosperity was maintained as a result of an extended period of peace and security. The amirs were able to raise a "police force", drawn from among their slaves and the sedentary population, mainly the Banū Ṭalmū of Hā'il, in charge of keeping order in the oasis. Also an army consisting of a mixture of tribal people, mercenaries, sedentary groups and, above all, slaves, was sent to distant areas to pacify any rebellious Bedouin and enforce Rashidi hegemony in other oases and towns.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Rashidi expansion led to the collapse of Su'ūdī domination in al-Riyād, and for a brief period the Rashidi under the banner of Muḥammad Ibn Rashidi became the undisputed rulers of central Arabia. The Ottoman empire recognised them there and maintained good relations with them through the Šalī of Basra. They supplied the amirs with irregular subsidies and weapons to cement a fragile alliance which cost the Shammar nothing but a vague recognition of nominal Ottoman suzerainty, manifested in the mentioning of the sultan's name during the Friday prayers in Hā'il. This alliance eventually led to the collapse of their dynasty with the defeat of the Ottoman empire in the First World War.

Rashidi supremacy in Arabia began to eroded with the return of Ibn Su'ūd from his exile in Kuwait in 1902, and recapture his ancestral capital from the Rashidis. Having secured the support of Britain during the First World War, he drove them out of Hā'il in
1921, thus putting an end to their leadership and role in Arabian politics. The Rashīdf ruling group was taken hostage to his capital, al-Riyād, where some members of the family were still residing. Ibn Su‘ūd confiscated their belongings and prohibited them from returning to their land, and through a series of marriages with Rashīdf and Shammar women, incorporated them into his wide network of affinities.

After a series of fierce battles, some Shammar sections refused to become subjects of Ibn Su‘ūd, but fled to Mesopotamia to join their tribal brothers in the north at a time when Britain was establishing a protectorate in their territory. The Shimmar felt, in good conscience, that their identity had been stolen from them, and that mention of it, rare in the sources, is just a contamination from its cult by the South Arabs. This seems especially likely in that the theophoric name ‘Abd Shams, known amongst the Dhahyan, which Arab authors render by ‘Abd al-Shārīk, -recognised as the name of an idol, the sense of ‘kurn al-šams “the rising sun” (al-Tibrizī, in Hāmása, 218; Ibn Durayd, cited in T'A, vi, 392 l. 26 ff.).

Moreover, the Kor‘ān attributes the cult of the Sun to Saba’ (XXVII, 24), whilst it attributes the cult of Venus, the Moon and the Sun to Mesopotamia, the homeland of Abraham (VI, 74, cf. XXXVII, 86). The exhortation, only found occasionally (XLVII, 37), not to worship the Sun and Moon, two signs created by God, is certainly an allusion to these two instances. “For nowhere in Kor‘ānic polemics is there any emphasis on the stellar cult” (Faḥd, Le pantheon de l’Arabie Centrale à la veille de l’hégire, Paris 1968, 151).

Theophoric names including the element Shams are numerous amongst the Greek inscriptions of the Ħawrān (see D. Sourdel, Les cultes du Hauran à l’époque romaine, Paris 1952, 53 ff.), showing that the Arabs who had migrated northwards had come under the Hellenistic cult of Helios, which Strabo makes the main deity of the Nabataeans (see his Geographica, ed. C. Müller, 784; Wellhausen, Reste, 60-1; Sourdel, op. cit., 53 n. 1).

For the interpretation of the term al-Ilaha “the goddess” (applied in certain sources to the Sun), mentioned in an elegy pronounced by Amina bt. Uṣayba ca. A.D. 621 on her father fallen in battle at the Yarmūk, “I do not know the name of the Sun you proclaimed the Yarba’ (T'A, ix, 375), cf. Faḥd, op. cit., 152-3. Bibliography: This article is essentially based on Faḥd, Le pantheon, 150-3.

2. In astronomy.

In the Aristotelian view accepted by most Muslim astronomers, the sun was a ball-shaped solid body (according to early doctrines made of fire), which moved around the earth in the solar sphere. This sphere was made of crystalline or ether and occupied a central position by all the sections of Venus and Mars [see Falak].

In the geocentric representation of the heavens, which the Muslim astronomers adopted from Ptolemy [see Batiłamīyūs], the earth is assumed to be fixed in the centre of the universe. The sun moves on the ecliptic in the direction of the zodiacal signs, i.e. from west to east, and its longitude is measured from the vernal point [see Minjārāt al-burjāj]. The period of return of the sun to the vernal point is the tropical year; the period of return to a fixed star, the sidereal year. The precession of the equinoxes is the difference between the tropical and the sidereal solar motion.
In order to predict the solar position on the ecliptic, most Muslim astronomers used the Ptolemaic eccentric model or the equivalent simple epicycle model. These models were adopted by Ptolemy from his predecessor Hipparchus (Rhodes, 2nd century B.C.) and were based on the observed differences in length between the seasons.

In the eccentric model (see Fig. 1) the sun $S$ moves at a constant speed on the circle $ASP$, whose radius is taken equal to 60. The centre $C$ of this circle is removed from the earth $E$ by a distance $e$, the solar eccentricity (الْبَيْنُ الْمُرْتَزِقَةُ). The sun reaches its largest distance from the earth at the apogee $A$ (الْمَدْجُ), its smallest distance at the perigee $P$ (مَلْحَزَّةُ). The vernal point is indicated by $V$; the longitude of the apogee, angle $VEA$, is taken equal to 60. The centre $C$ can be obtained by adding the longitude of the apogee to the true anomaly: $\lambda = a + \lambda_e$.

Since the sun moves uniformly on the eccentric circle, the mean solar anomaly $a_w$ (الْمُدْرَسَةُ الْشَمْسِيَّةُ), angle $ACS$, increases linearly as a function of time. In order to determine the non-linear true solar anomaly $a$, the angle $AES$ between the apogee and the sun as seen from the earth, a correction $q$, called the solar equation (الْمُكْبَرَةُ الْشَمْسِيَّةُ), must be subtracted from or added to the mean solar anomaly. This correction, equal to angle $ESC$ in Fig. 1, can be calculated as a function of the true anomaly by applying the sine rule to the triangle $ESC$. In this way we obtain

$$q(a) = \arcsin \left( \frac{e}{60} \sin a \right).$$

In order to determine the solar equation as a function of the mean solar anomaly $a_w$, we can extend triangle $ESC$ to a right-angled triangle $ESX$, in which $\angle SXE = 90^\circ$ and hence $EX = e \cdot \sin a_w$ and $CX = e \cdot \cos a_w$. From this we find

$$q(a_w) = \arcsin \left( \frac{e \cdot \sin a_w}{\sqrt{(e \cdot \sin a_w)^2 + (60 + e \cdot \cos a_w)^2}} \right)$$

or the equivalent

$$q(a_w) = \arctan \left( \frac{e \cdot \sin a_w}{60 + e \cdot \cos a_w} \right).$$

Using these modern formulae we have $a = a_w - q$ for every value of the mean or true solar anomaly. The true solar longitude $\lambda$ (الْمَاوَدَّ الْشَمْسِيَّةُ), angle $VES$, can be obtained by adding the longitude of the apogee to the true anomaly: $\lambda = a + \lambda_e$. Instead of the mean solar anomaly, ancient and medieval astronomers usually based their calculations on another linear function of time, namely the mean solar longitude $a_m$ (الْمَاوَدَّ الْشَمْسِيَّةُ الْمَعْثُورَةُ), defined by $\lambda_m = a_m + \lambda_e$.

Using the formula for the solar equation given above (with $a$ replaced by $\lambda - \lambda_m$ and $a_w$ by $\lambda_m - \lambda_e$), we have $\lambda = \lambda_m - q$ for all values of $\lambda$ and $\lambda_m$.

In the simple epicycle model (see Fig. 2) the sun $S$ moves clockwise on a small circle, called the epicycle (الْكَيْفَةُ الْشَمْسِيَّةُ), whose radius $r$ is equal to the eccentricity $e$ of the epicycle model. The centre of the epicycle rotates in the direction of the zodiacal signs on a circle around the earth with radius 60, the deferent (الْفَلَاقُ الْحَمِيْلُ). If the angular velocities of the sun and the epicycle centre are equal to the angular velocity of the sun in the eccentric model, the two models are equivalent. In that case the sun reaches its largest distance from the earth whenever the epicycle centre passes through $A$, its smallest distance whenever the epicycle centre passes through $P$. (For more information about the Ptolemaic solar model, see O. Pedersen, A survey of the Almagest, Odense 1974, ch. 5.)

In early Islamic astronomical sources we find non-Ptolemaic planetary equations based on Persian and Indian methods (for the transmission of Persian and Indian astronomy to the Islamic world, see ʿIlm al-Hayʾa). For instance, al-Ḥaṣārāzmi [؟] calculated the solar equation according to the so-called "method of declinations":

$$\delta(a_w) = q(a_w) \delta_{AW},$$

where $\delta_{AW}$ denotes the maximum solar equation ($q_{max} = \arcsin(e/60)$), $\delta$ the solar declination [see Mayl], and $e$ the obliquity of the ecliptic [see Mintakat al-Burūq]. A treatise by al-Bīrūnī [؟] describing the method of declinations and many other methods of calculating the solar equation was discussed in E.S. Kennedy and A. Muruwwa, Birūnī on the solar equation, in JNES, xvii (1958), 112-21*.

The Muslim astronomers significantly improved upon the solar parameter values used by both Hipparchus and Ptolemy. The values of the length of the solar year, the solar eccentricity, and the position and motion of the solar apogee were repeatedly updated on the basis of fresh observations [see Marāṣid]. The length of the solar year was generally determined from solar observations at equinoxes or solstices made over periods of many centuries. For this purpose, Muslim astronomers combined the data of Ptolemy...
and Hipparchus with their own results. As early as the 3rd/9th century Muslim astronomers improved the method of determining the eccentricity and the longitude of the apogee from the lengths of the seasons by measuring the periods between the midpoints of the seasons (xajadwal al-thdbita).

The motion of the solar apogee, approximately 1° per 70 years in the direction of the zodiacal signs, had not been recognised by Ptolemy. Many Muslim astronomers made it equal to the precession of the equinoxes. The 5th/11th-century Andalusian astronomer al-Zarkallî (q.v.) was the first to discover that the two motions are different; he estimated the sidereal motion of the solar apogee to be 1° per 279 Julian years in the direction of the signs (12°54" per year; the modern value is 11°46") (see G.J. Toomer, *The solar theory of az-Zarqâlî*, in *Centaurus*, xiv [1969], 306-36).

Extensive accounts of solar observations can be found, in particular, in al-Bûnî's work (see al-Khânîn al-Mas'îdî, *Haydarâbâd* 1954-6, ii, 636 ff., and J. All, *The determination of the coordinates of cities*, Beirut 1967). Parameter values used by Hipparchus/Ptolemy and the authors of various important Islamic astronomical handbooks [see zīdîq] are presented in Table 1.

In order to perform practical computations of the solar longitude in a convenient way, practically all zīdîqgs contained the following tables:

- A table for the mean solar motion (diadwal wasat al-shams), which gave the mean motion in various periods depending on the calendar used (see ta'rikh [q.v.]: groups of years [al-sinun al-maajmu], single years [al-sinun al-maajmu], months, days, and hours). By adding the mean motion to the given mean solar longitude at a certain fixed point in time, the epoch, the mean longitude λm at any time could be calculated.

- A similar table for the determination of the longitude of the solar apogee λq. This table was usually headed harakat al-awajî, or also harakat al-kawdkib al-dhabîta (cf. above). The mean anomaly λm was found by subtracting λq from λm.

- A table for the solar equation (ta'dîl al-shami) as a function of the mean anomaly. Since no negative numbers were used, the values in the solar equation table had to be subtracted from the mean solar longitude in order to obtain the true solar longitude if the anomaly was smaller than 180°; otherwise, they had to be added.

In various Islamic astronomical handbooks the calculation of the solar position using the tables listed above was replaced by tables giving the true solar longitude directly as a function of the date [see takwim]. Some of these ephemerides could be used only during one particular year, others included yearly corrections which made them suitable for long-term use. Examples can be found in the almanac of al-Zarqallî (see J.M. Millâs Vallierosa, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid/Granada 1943-50, 158-65); in a treatise on astronomical instruments by al-Marrâkushî [q.v.]; (see J.J. Sedillot, *Traite des instruments astronomiques des arabs*, Paris 1834 (reprint Frankfurt 1984), 134-7); and in an 8th/14th-century Damascene corpus of tables for time-keeping by al-Kalâî (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale ms. arabe 2308, fol. 8*-9*).

Only incidental attempts were made by Muslim astronomers to improve or modify the Ptolemaic solar model. Some of these attempts aimed at an explanation of the striking variation in the solar parameters during the centuries, others at a better correspondence with cosmological principles. In the model of al-Zarqallî the centre of the eccentric solar orbit moved slowly on a small circle around the average eccentric. As a result the eccentricity varied between 1,51 and Ptolemy's 2;29,30 (expressed sexagesimally; see 'ilm al-ḥisâb). Al-Zarqallî ignored the variation of the longitude of the solar apogee also induced by his modification (see Toomer's article referred to above and J. Samsô and E. Millâs, *Ibn al-Bannâ*, *Ibn Ishâq and Ibn al-Zarqallî's solar theory*, in Samso, *Islamic astronomy in medieval Spain*, Aldershot 1994).

In the 6th/12th century various Andalusian

---

Table 1: Value of the maximum solar equation (in degrees), the longitude of the solar apogee (in degrees), the daily motion of the apogee (in sexagesimal thirds), and the length of the tropical year (in days), as used by Ptolemy and Muslim astronomers in their tables for the solar motion. All values are given in sexagesimal notation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Maximum equation</th>
<th>Longitude of the apogee</th>
<th>Daily motion of the apogee</th>
<th>length of the solar year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy</td>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>140 A.D.</td>
<td>2;23</td>
<td>65;30</td>
<td></td>
<td>365;14,48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahya</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>214/829</td>
<td>1;59, 0</td>
<td>82;39</td>
<td>9;26,50</td>
<td>365;14,27,12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Khârazmî</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>215/830</td>
<td>2;14</td>
<td>77;55</td>
<td></td>
<td>365;15,30,23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Battâni</td>
<td>Raqa</td>
<td>266/880</td>
<td>1;59,10</td>
<td>82;15</td>
<td>8;57,37*</td>
<td>365;14,26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Yûnus</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>393/1003</td>
<td>2;0, 30</td>
<td>86;10</td>
<td>8;25,26*</td>
<td>365;13,32,28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Bûnî</td>
<td>Ghazna</td>
<td>422/1031</td>
<td>1;59, 3</td>
<td>85;10,19</td>
<td>8;34,31</td>
<td>365;14,26,28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Zarqallî</td>
<td>Toledo</td>
<td>467/1075</td>
<td>1;52, 4</td>
<td>85;49</td>
<td>2; 7,11*</td>
<td>365;15,23,29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Khâzînî</td>
<td>Marv</td>
<td>514/1120</td>
<td>2;12,23</td>
<td>85;52</td>
<td>8;57,39</td>
<td>365;14,27,21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ṭûsî</td>
<td>Maragha</td>
<td>660/1262</td>
<td>2;0, 30</td>
<td>88;50,34</td>
<td>8;27,14*</td>
<td>365;14,32,28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn al-Shâîr</td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>730/1349</td>
<td>2; 2, 6</td>
<td>90;10,10</td>
<td>9;51,47*</td>
<td>365;14,32,31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kâhidî</td>
<td>Samarkand</td>
<td>814/1411</td>
<td>2; 0, 29</td>
<td>90;59, 9</td>
<td>8;27,14*</td>
<td>365;14,32,28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulugh Beg</td>
<td>Samarkand</td>
<td>851/1447</td>
<td>1;55,23</td>
<td>90;30, 5</td>
<td>8;27,14*</td>
<td>365;14,33, 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Different from the precession of the equinoxes.
* Sidereal.
1 Close to 1° in 66 Byzantine years.
2 Equal to 1° in 70% Persian years.
3 Al-Zarqallî's maximum equation fluctuates between 1° 46' and 2° 23' with a period of 3343 Julian years.
4 Equal to 1° in 279 Julian years.
5 Equal to 1° in 70 Persian years.
6 Close to 1° in 60 Persian years.
astronomers tried to make the Ptolemaic planetary models conform more closely to the Aristotelian physical principles. In the solar model of al-Bir¿aj¿ [q.v.], the pole of the solar orbit moved on a small circle around the pole of the equator. Its motion was uniform with respect to a point slightly removed from that pole, thus accounting for the different lengths of the seasons in a way similar to the Ptolemaic eccentron model (see B.R. Goldstein, Al-Bir¿aj¿: On the principles of astronomy, New Haven 1971).

In his popular Tagh¿sa fr 'ilm al-hay¿a, the 7th/13th-century Persian astronomer Na¿ir al-Din al-¿Tûsî [q.v.] attempted to give a physically more realistic representation of the solar and planetary systems and attempted to find solutions for the purported "difficulties" (i?ab?allâh) with these models: non-uniform motion and incomplete rotation. Thus he made his models mathematically equivalent to those of Ptolemy, but used solid spheres bounded by two parallel spherical surfaces instead of circles (see F.J. Ragep, Na¿ir al-Din al-¿Tûsî's memoir on astronomy, New York 1993, esp. i, 46-53, 144-9).

The 8th/14th-century Damascene astronomer Ibn al-Sb¿r (q.v.) of the most elaborate modifications to Ptolemy's models. He made the sun rotate on an epicycle, whose centre rotated on a larger epicycle moving uniformly around the earth (see V. Roberts, The solar and lunar theory of Ibn ash-Shãrâr. A pre-Copernican Copernical model, in Isi, xviii [1957], 428-32).

The sun played a crucial role in many types of observations and astronomical calculations. In particular, the time of the day and the divisions of the (solar) year were defined on the basis of the solar motion. Although the Islamic religious calendar is a lunar one, solar calendars were used intensively for agricultural and administrative purposes (see TA'R?R?R). In folk astronomy, simple arithmetical schemes for the length of the shadow cast by a man were used to determine the approximate time of the day and the prayer times (see D.A. King, A survey of medieval Islamic shadow schemes for simple time-reckoning, in Oriens, xxxii [1990], 191-249; sunrise and sunset at the equinoxes and solstices were used to establish the direction of Mecca (see MAR? 4. and MAT?L). In mathematical astronomy, extensive tables of spherical astronomical functions were used to determine the time of the day from the solar altitude and to design sophisticated sundials (see M?RT. 2. and MIZWALA).

The equation of time (w?d?l al-q?y?m bi-lay?d?h?r or w?d?l al-ram), a correction required to convert the time found from observations of the sun into mean time, was explained and tabulated in most Islamic astronomical handbooks (see Z?M?N and E.S. Kennedy, Two medieval approaches to the equation of time, in Centaurus, xxxi [1988], 1-8). Likewise, we find extensive tables for the prediction for solar and lunar eclipses (see KUSTR). In connection with such predictions, Muslim astronomers used Ptolemy's method to find the angular diameter of the sun and the solar distance from the earth from observations of eclipses. Like Ptolemy, they found a solar distance around 1,000 earth radii, more than ten times too small (see N.M. Swerdlow, Al-Batt?râ's determination of the solar distance, in Centaurus, xvii [1973], 97-105). Finally, the solar position on the ecliptic was required to predict the first visibility of the lunar crescent after new moon (see RÚY?Y AL-H?LâL). In astrology (see NÝD?M [A?RK?M ALJ.]), the sun had a large influence on the well-being of humans, animals, political affairs, etc. The characteristics attached to the sun were listed by al-Bir¿aj¿ (see R.R. Wright, The book of instruction in the elements of the art of astrology, London 1934, 240-54). The sun was assumed to change the characteristics of the moon and the planets if these were within certain small distances from the sun (ibid., 296-302). The astrological lotus [see SÄM] were calculated using the solar position on the ecliptic (ibid., 279-95). Certain astrological periods were defined in terms of the solar year (see D. Pingree, The Thousands of Abu Ma'shar, London 1968, 59-64).


On the sun in folk astronomy, see also Ch. Pellat, Le calendrier de Cordoue, Leiden 1961, and D.M. Varisco, Medieval agriculture and Islamic science, Seattle 1994. (B. van DALEN)

3. In art.

In the first centuries of Islam, the sun was mainly depicted in symbolic forms such as the sun wheel, spiral wheel, swastika, rosette and five- or six-point star. The tentative interpretation of these motifs as
solar symbols is based on their traditional meaning in the ancient Near East. At this early stage, the most important were the stylised floral devices called ǧamša in Kurʿān illumination, which marked the head of a star and the fifth or tenth day. These decorative forms developed from “tree of life” motifs, which in antiquity were closely associated with sun gods and which reached Islam in Sānāʾī and Coptic textiles.

Beginning in the 12th century A.D., however, the interest of Turkish dynasties in astrological prognostication introduced astral iconography into architecture, metalwork, ceramics and book illustrations. The sun was depicted as a disk surrounded by rays, often with human face in the centre, or as an enthroned and haloed ruler. Surrounded by an inner circle of the six planets and an outer circle of the twelve zodiac signs, the sun represents the centre of heavenly motion. Alternatively, as one of the revolving planets, it appears mounted on the back of Leo, the sign of its house, or occasionally on Aries, the sign of its exaltation. From 6th/12th-century stone reliefs of a bridge in Ḟāsur Ibn ʿUmar, the sun-lion combination was used in innumerable examples of minor arts and paintings up to the Shir-Dūr (1020/1611) madrasa in Samarkand and to the flag of Pahlavi Iran.

As a royal symbol, the sun appears adorning the sultan’s name in 7th/13th Tulūqī coins from Anatolia. It is depicted alone, with a lion, or between two lions. In the same spirit, royal shields of many periods were fashioned with a sun or some solar symbol in the centre, occasionally with the zodiacal signs around, or as a shield of the Mughul sultan Akbar. The sun formed a part of a halo in portraits of the Mughals and was depicted in the centre of their royal canopies. On the yearly pilgrimage to Mecca, other dynasties sent palanquins (mahmal [q.v.]) decorated with solar designs that symbolised their political status. A similar princely iconography underlies the composition of many metal vessels, on which an enthroned ruler replaces the sun in its cosmic setting. In other examples, mainly Mamlūk, only the ruler’s name remains, with the long letters forming a rayed disk. In architecture, the artistic evolution resulted in the unusual dome of the congregational mosque of Malātia. In the interior of this dome, a whirl of bricks creates, in the summit, a hexagram made up of the name Muḥammad. This solar symbol denotes a divine context rather than a princely one, the Muslim version of a cosmic dome, which in Christian monuments would have the Pantocrator in the summit.

In religious painting, especially during the 10th/16th century, the sun is sometimes shown reflected in a mirror or in a pool of water, symbolising the reflection of the Divine Light in the heart of the perfect Man—a prophet or a mystic lover. In other paintings, mostly profane, the sun in the upper corner serves mainly as an involved witness to dramatic events. In most instances, however, the image of the sun is confined to cosmological or astrological texts. In its astrological role it figures also in daily objects of talismanic or prophylactic nature, such as amulets, divination bowls, magical shirts and all sorts of jewelry.


**SHAMS AL-DAWLA**, Abū Ẓahir b. Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan, Būyid prince and ruler in Hamadhān [q.v.] 387-412/997-1021. After the death of Fakhr al-Dawla [q.v.], the amirs proclaimed as his successor in Rayy his four-year-old son Maḏjd al-Dawla [q.v.], who was also a minor. When Maḏjd al-Dawla grew up, he sought to overthrow his mother and with this object made an arrangement with the vizier al-Khaṭrī Abū ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. al-Kāsim in 397/1006-7. But when they sought assistance from the Kurdish chief Badr b. Hasanaway, the latter set out for Rayy with Shams al-Dawla and took Maḏjd al-Dawla prisoner. The government was then given to Shams al-Dawla, and a coin of his, minted at Rayy in 397/1006-7, is extant (G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 180).

After he was not so pliant as Maḏjd al-Dawla, the latter was released from his prison after a year and again proclaimed ruler, while Shams al-Dawla returned to Hamadhān. After Badr had been murdered by the soldiers in 405/1014-15, Shams al-Dawla seized a portion of his territory and when the grandson of the dead man, Ẓahir b. Hilāl b. Badr, wished to dispute the possession of it, he was defeated and thrown into prison. His father Hilāl b. Badr had already been imprisoned by Sulaṭ b. al-Dawla [q.v.], but the latter released him and sent him with an army to regain the lands occupied by Shams al-Dawla. In Dhū ’l-Ka‘da 405/ April-May 1015, he came upon the enemy but the battle resulted in Hilāl’s defeat and death. After this victory, Shams al-Dawla seized the town of Rayy; Maḏjd al-Dawla and his mother took to flight, but when Shams al-Dawla wished to pursue them, his troops mutinied and forced him to return to Hamadhān, whereupon Maḏjd al-Dawla and his mother returned to Rayy. In 411/1020-1, the Turkish troops rose in Hamadhān; Shams al-Dawla appealed to Abū Ǧa’en b. Kākwāshy, governor of Isfahān, and with his help succeeded in driving the mutinous element out of the town.

One of Shams al-Dawla’s claims to fame is his connection with the great physician and philosopher Ibn Sinā [q.v.], who treated the Amir medically at Hamadhān in ca. 406/1015-16 and then became his vizier until Shams al-Dawla’s death, when he transferred to the service of the Kākkūyī ‘Alī al-Dawla in Isfahān.


(K.V. Zetterstén*)

**SHAMS AL-DIN** [see AL-DIMASHQI; Dīwān; ILENDIZ; AL-SAYDĀWI; SHAMS-I TĀREZI (1979)].

**SHAMS AL-DIN MUḤAMMAD**, the first post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imām. Born in the late 640s/1240s, he was the sole surviving son of Rukn al-Dīn Khānībī (1210), the last lord of Alamūt. The youthful Shams al-Din was taken into hiding during the final months of the Nizārī state, shortly before
the surrender of Alamut to the Mongols in Dhu'l-Ka'ba 654/December 1256. He succeeded to the Nizârî imamate on the death of his father in the late spring of 655/1257.

Shams al-Dîn reportedly lived his life clandestinely in Adharbâyjân as an embroiderer, whence his nickname of Zârdû. Certain allusions in the still unpublished versified Safar-nâma of Nizârî Kuhistânî [q.v.], a contemporary Nizârî poet from Birdjân, see his Dâstân-i khawâm, ed. P. Voorhoeve, Bijdragen, iii (1943), 160-65; E. van der Grinten and J. van Berchem, “The Persian Language”, in C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, Leiden 1906, ii, 12-13; P. Voorhoeve, In en over Nûrûdîn ar-Râdîn, in Bijdragen, civ (1943), 461-80; C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, Leiden 1906, ii, 12-13; P. Voorhoeve, In en over Nûrûdîn ar-Râdîn, in Bijdragen, civ (1943), 461-80; C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, Leiden 1906, ii, 12-13; P. Voorhoeve, In en over Nûrûdîn ar-Râdîn, in Bijdragen, civ (1943), 461-80; in the wider context of Islamic thought, terms such as “heterodox” and “pantheistic” no longer have a place in an historical assessment of his learning, teachings and writings, including what may be the earliest citation of the poetry of Ibn al-Fârîd (lines 355-6 from al-Târîkh al-kabîr, see van Nieuwenhuijze ed. 265) in Southeast Asian writing. Its use by a late Sufi mystic Hamza Fânsûrî [q.v.], whose work shows an affinity to an ‘Irâkî-Persian transmission of the Ibn ‘Arabî tradition as mediated by al-Dîfî.

In the literature, he is frequently referred to as a exponent of a so-called heterodox tradition of pantheistic mysticism, many scholars taking at face-value the partisan denunciation of him and his followers by Shams al-Dîn, who accused him of teaching the doctrine of wahdat al-wujûd in an absolute sense, without taking into account the concept of the grades of being as understood by adherents of the wahdat al-wujûd doctrine. In view of a deeper understanding of Ibn ‘Arabî’s ideas both in themselves and in the wider context of Islamic thought, such terms as “heterodox” and “pantheistic” no longer have a place in an historical assessment of his learning, teachings and spirituality.


SHAMS AL-DîN-I SIRADJ, historian of the Dîhil Sultanate in mediaeval Muslim India whose exact dates of birth and death are unknown but who may have been born around 751/1350-1; he certainly flourished during the later 8th/14th century.

He stemmed from a family with long traditions of service to the ruling dynasty of sultans. His father and uncle held the office of Overseer of the royal kâr-khânes or stores and workshops during the reign of Firuz Shâh Tughluq (752-90/1351-88 [q.v.]), and in his youth, Shams al-Dîn accompanied the sultan on hunting trips. His fame arises from his history, the Ta’rîkh al-Dîhil-i Khurasani, one of the few known examples of prose writings in Malay, among them Mir’ât al-mu’âminîn, a treatise on dogmatists—not all of which, thanks to al-Râdîn, are extant. Of his Arabic works, the most important is Dâstân-i haqîqî ed. by van Nieuwenhuijze, in whose dissertation (see A.H. Johns, The gift addressed to the spirit of the Prophet, Canberra 1965, 128-48; H. Kraemer, Noorder-Soematranse woorden in het Javasche mystieken, in Ququa, iv (1924), 29-33; C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, Samen al-Dîn van Pasar, Leiden 1945; idem, Nûr al-Dîn al-Râdîn als beoordelaar der Wugûdi, in Bijdragen, civ (1948), 337-411; Ph. van Roswill, Râdîn’s Maleische geschript: exposé der Religies, in Bijdragen, cii (1943), 461-80; C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, Leiden 1906, ii, 12-13; P. Voorhoeve, In en over Nûrûdîn ar-Râdîn, in Bijdragen, civi (1951), 353-68. 
of the same name, which covers the first six years of the sultan's reign, whilst Mawlahānā 'Abd al-'Azīz of Dīlū is reported to have composed a further history with the same name. There also exists an anonymous, florid and eulogistic volume on Firuz Shah written in 772/1370-1 (see Storey, i, 509), which reads like an official history. The sultan himself had his achievements inscribed on stone and affixed to the walls of the Friday Mosque of his new capital Fīrūżābād.

Shams al-Dīn 'Alī undertook the task of writing separate volumes on the Tughluids from Ghīrāth al-Dīn Tughlūk Fīrūz Shah to Muhammad b. Fīrūz Shah, reciting their virtues or ṣā'īdāt [q.v.]. Only that volume on Fīrūz Shah is extant, perhaps originally entitled Manakh-i Fīrūz Shahī, and must have been written, from an internal reference, after Timūr's invasion of the Sultanate in 801/1398, perhaps when the historian had returned to Dīlū after Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmūd Fīrūz Shahī, Fīrūz Shahī's last descendant, had re-occupied the capital at the beginning of the 15th century A.D. It has five sections (kāms), each divided into eighteen chapters (makuddīmā) of unequal length. The last three chapters of the fifth kām (mukaddima) into eighteen chapters (makuddīmā) of unequal length. The last three chapters of the fifth kām (mukaddima) have been lost, since they do not appear in any extant ms.

Writing as he apparently did when the capital Dīlū had been devastated and the Tughlūkūt Sultanate was dissolving, Shams al-Dīn 'Alī expresses in his book a clear nostalgia for the glories of the Sultanate. He praises Fīrūz Shahī as the special recipient of divine favor. This may be a reflection of the myth that the foundation of new cities, like Fīrūżābād, and the construction of canals, water reservoirs and the encouragement of agriculture are recorded. From his own background, he was especially interested in taxation and financial topics and their interlocking with agricultural policy, and he did not fail to mention abuses which had crept into administration and army affairs. His aim seems, in fact, to have been to portray the sultan as a saintly ruler, conformable to the demands of the literary genre of Sūfī hagiography, and his reign as a golden age.

Bibliography: The surviving part of 'Alī's history was edited in the Bibl. Indica series, Calcutta 1888-91; tr. of extracts in Elliott and Dowson, History of India, iii, 269-373. See also Riazul Islam, The age of Fīrūz Shah, in Medieval India Quarterly, Aliagar, i/1 (1950), 25-41, on Mawlahānā 'Abd al-'Azīz's work; P. Hardy, Historians of medieval India, studies in Indo-Muslim historical writing, London 1960, 40-55; Storey, i, 509-12. (I.H. Siddiqui)

SHAMS AL-MA'ĀLI [see KĀNĪS B. WUṢĀMAGĪR B. ZIYĀR].

SHAMS-I FAKHRI [see FAKHRI].

SHAMS-I KAYS, the familiar form of the name of Shams al-Dīn Muhammad b. Kāzīr, author of the oldest Persian work on poetics, al-Mu'jam fī mu'allâ źūr al-adām, which covers the full range of traditional literary scholarship. Facts about his life are only to be found in his own statements, mostly in the introduction to his sole surviving work (Mu'jam, 2-24). His native town was Rayy, where he must have been born around the beginning of the last quarter of the 12th century. For many years he lived in Transoxania, Khūzāstān and Khūzāstān. He relates an incident situated in Bukhārā and dated 601/1204-5 (Mu'jam, 456). In 614/1217-18 he was living at Marw, where he wrote the first draft of his text. When he returned to Khūzāstān Shah 'Alī al-Dīn Muhammad (596-617/1200-20) marched to the west against the caliph al-Nāṣir [q.v.], he joined the sultan's retinue. In 617/1220, during a battle with the Mongols near the fortress of Fārsāf (between Isfahān and Hamadān), he lost all his books, except the text, but was able to retrieve some parts of the manuscript of his textbook from the local peasants. About 623/1226, he took refuge in Shīrāz with Sa'd b. Zangī, the Salghurid Atabeg of Fars (599-628/1202-31), who admitted him to his court as a companion (mukarrāb). He retained this position under Sa'd's successor Abū Bakr (628-58/1231-60).

In these secure surroundings, he was able to resume the writing of his work on poetics, which had been frustrated by his constant travels and the turbulent events of the Mongol invasion. The version which he now produced was an extensive Arabic work on Arabic and Persian poetry together. However, the literati (zarrāfāt) and poets of Shīrāz did not approve of his approach because they considered a critical discussion of Persian poetry in Arabic not very useful. Giving in to this, Shams-i Kays then dealt with the two poetical traditions separately, each in its own language. Of these two books, only the Persian one has survived the fifteenth century. Only that part which deals with Persian poetry consists of two parts and a khātima. The first part contains the oldest treatment of Persian metrics still extant. The ten fundamental patterns current in Persian poetry are arranged in four circles in accordance with the system of 'arūd [q.v.] as it had been established by al-Khālidī (89 ff.; cf. Elwell-Sutton, 77-9). Remarkable, moreover, is the discussion of the metre of the rubā'ī [q.v.], which Shams-i Kays regarded as a Persian invention, tentatively attributed to Rūdakī [q.v.]; it is treated as a derivative of the hazād pattern. The more miscellaneous contents of the second part include, first, the theory of rhyme (tīm-i kāfyāt), which entails a discussion of Persian grammar as far as it is concerned with the definition of rhyming letters (204 ff., kāfyāt-i kāfyāt); attention is also given to the use of nādī and adābī, respectively the repetition of a word after or before the rhyming letter in each line, which are special features of Persian poetry (258-61). This is followed by a chapter on the embellishment of poetry (328 ff., mahbāsin-i gīr), a list of rhetorical figures in the tradition of the textbooks of badrī [q.v.]. In this section, the influence of Rashīd al-Dīn [q.v.] on Watwāt is evident, but a number of Shams's figures do not appear earlier in Persian textbooks; some can be traced back to Kudābān b. Džafar [q.v.] (cf. Storey, 63). Bonebakker, 1, 372-4 (ed. Leiden 1956, Intro. 59). The treatment of poetical genres (adāb-i gīr), which concludes this part, pays only scant attention to specifically Persian features. The khātima is devoted to the practice of poetry (gīrshār) and plagiarism (sarākāt-i gīr). The prescription for the composition of a poem at the beginning of this appendix is a translation from Ibn Tāhātabābā's ʿīrār al-ādār (ed. Cairo 1956, 4 ff.).

Shams-i Kays saw his work in the first place as a tool for literary criticism providing measures (mu'ālā) for the distinction between good and bad poetry (3, bar nakh-i nīk va bad-i kalām-i manzūm) to prose writers and poets alike. In his view, poetical technique was a creation of the Arabs, and Persian poets were merely following their example (69). Nevertheless, the Mu'jam stands out as the most important contribution to Persian literary theory, both on account of its wide scope and the quality of its discussion of detail. Among the poets dealt with, by far the most often cited is 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Anwār [q.v.], whose works appeared in the first half of the 6th/12th century. Although the book never achieved the popularity of Rashīd al-Dīn Watwāt's textbook,
its influence can be found with a number of later writers on literary theory, and a few abridgements were made (see the Introd. by Mudarris-i Radawi, pp. v-vii.xx).


**SHAMS-I TABRIZ**,

The name given to a rather enigmatic dervish who deeply influenced and transformed Djalal al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], and whose real name was, according to *Djalī*, Nafādat al-ūns, ed. Nasā'ī, 535, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Malik-dād-i Tabrīz.

His prose writings, *Mokālāt*, as well as the notes by Rūmī's elder son Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*], reveal him as a man of overwhelming spiritual power. He must have been in his forties or fifties when he reached Konya on 26 Ḍu‘l-Qa‘da 642/23 October 1244, but next to nothing about his spiritual pedigree is known. He writes that he was a disciple of Abū Bakr Sallāḥbā, a basket maker, which may point to a relation with the *futuwa* [*q.v.*] (thus Golparbā). A Kubrāwī *ṣīṣa* is sometimes mentioned, and the frequent, very positive use of the term *kalāndar* in Rūmī's poetry might indicate that Shams was close to the kalāndars. In his search for someone to understand him, Shams wandered through the world, always staying in caravansarays, not in religious establishments. In Trāk 7 he met Awhad al-Dīn-i Kirmānī, whose claim to see the reflection of the moon in a lake when looking at unbearded youths, incited him to the well-known *pīr* [*cf. SHAAMS AL-DIN MUHAMMAD*I].

For some months he stayed in Rūmī's house, married to a girl from the household, who died a few days before he disappeared (5 Shab‘ān 645/5 December 1247). Most likely he was murdered with the connivance of Rūmī's younger son; his body was thrown into a nearby well besides which the *makām-i Shams* was later built. Rūmī probably sensed what had happened, yet did not believe in the death of the "eternally radiant Sun" and went to Syria to search for him until he realised that Shams lived in him; and he signed his poetry with his name. His later friends, Šāhlāl al-Dīn Zarkūb and Ḥusām al-Dīn Čelebi were nothing but "reflections" of the "Sun". His *nwat*: *shafīr* shows the close connection between Shams and the Prophet, from whom he claimed to have received "the cloak of companionship". His love for the Prophet to the exclusion of all learned books, and his aversion from philosophy, is echoed in Rūmī's poetry.

Shams claimed to have reached the highest possible rank, that of the third degree of the beloved ones, madā'ī, or "the knb of the beloved ones", and Rūmī's descriptions of Shams are sometimes close to his "deification".

Claims have been made that Shams was an ʿImāmī, all the more as a mausoleum of Shams-i Tabriz is found in Multān. This (Indian) Shams was a contemporay of the Suhrawardī master Baha al-Dīn Zakariya (d. 1267), and the miracles ascribed to him are as outspoken and as scaring displays of tremendous power as those of Ṭawlaīn Rūmī's Shams; however, it is likely that the Multān Shams may be identical with an ʿImāmī *pīr* [*cf. SHAAMS AL-DIN MUHAMMAD*I].

But whoever Shams-i Tabriz may have been (and that he was a real person is proven by his enormous derwish hat in the museum in Konya), the world owes to his inspiration the collection of the most fiery mystical love lyrics, the *Maʿān-i Shams-i Tabriz* by Rūmī, and without his influence Rūmī's *Mathnawi* would not have been composed either, for he was the inspiring power behind every word that Rūmī wrote.


(ANNE-MARIE SCHIMMEL)

**SHAMSA**, a jewel used by the ʿAbbāsid and Fatimid [*q.v.*] caliphs as one of the insignia of kingship. According to the description of the Fatimid *gamsa*, given by Ibn Zūlūk (quoted by al-Maḥrīzī, *Ittiḥād al-ḥanafīs*, i, 140-2), it was not a sunshade, as it has been guessed (de Goeje, in al-Ṭabarī, *Glossary*, p. ccxcvii), but a kind of suspended crown, made out of gold or silver, studded with pearls and precious stones, and hoisted up by the aid of a chain. The *gamsa*, therefore, is not to be confused with the *mizalla* [*q.v.*] or sunshade which belonged also to the royal insignia. The model of the *gamsa* was probably the crown suspended above the head of the Sāsānid king (al-Ṭabarī, i, 946). It served for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs as a symbol of legitimate rule (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1553-4) and represented the authority of the absent caliph during the Pilgrimage to Mecca, where it was suspended in front of the *Kaʿba* during the *hajj*.

(ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL)
ceremonies. The 'Abbasid shamsa was endowed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) and studded with precious stones by al-Mu'azzam (279-89/892-902); in gold, 20,000 dirhams (61.6 kg) of silver, and 3,600 precious stones (al-Makrufz, ii, 294). It was taken by force from the palace of Cairo at the day of 'Arafa in Dhu '1-Hijādja, was for the possession of Djawhar ibn el-Munshid (d. 1049/1639-40), and the latter accepted it. This preponderance of the successors of Kara Ahmad Shams al-Dīn in the Ottoman capital, particularly in the scholarly circles which were in the majority of them emerged—favoured the expansion of the network of the Shamsiyya. This was consolidated in Anatolia (on the eastern side, the cradle of the brotherhood, but also on the western side—Ağlaschir, Anamis, Mytilene and Çesme—as well as in central Anatolia (especially at Konya and Safranbolu), and in the Middle East (Damascus, Cyprus, Jerusalem, Cairo and Mecca). But it also extended into the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia (especially in the eastern region—in particular, in Gelibolu, Gümülcine/Komotini, Hava, Edirne, Yambol, Filibe/Plovdiv, Lofer/Lovec, Varna, Silistra/Silistra, Dobrin/Tolbuhin and Kefke—as well as in Buda and the Hungarian frontier zones) and as far as the Crimea. In Istanbul itself, the establishments directed by Shamsiyya flourished, in particular during the period of the nephew and successor of 'Abd al-Majid Siwasi, 'Abd al-Ahad Nuri Siwasi (d. 1651), who contributed so energetically to the progress of this branch of the Khalwatiyya that it became known by the name of Shamsiyya-Siwasıya or simply Siwasıya. At that time, the diffusion of the brotherhood generally proceeded according to the following pattern: arrival in Istanbul of a young student intent on pursuing his studies in the major metropolitans madrasas, affiliation to the taşka, and return to his native land with the object of propagating the latter. Despite its rapid expansion, the network remained relatively centralised, its heart being the tekke of Shaykh Yawsı—renamed Siwasi Tekkesi—situated close to the Selimiye mosque in Istanbul, and administered by the descendants of the Shaykh 'Abd al-Majid. From the beginning of the 18th century, the brotherhood went into decline, to disappear almost totally in the 19th century, often, it seems, to the advantage of other branches of the Khalwatiyya, such as the Sunnibyya and the Shabibiyya [q.v.]. In Istanbul, during the final decades of the Ottoman Empire, there were still representatives of the Shamsiyya administering a tekke in the Taşkassap quarter. According to Dähiker Şükrü, the tekke of Zimni sherif had as its şeykh a certain Mehmed Kasım al-Dağhistanı al-Khalwati al-Shemsi (d. 1328/1910), who was succeeded by his son, Yusuf Diva of al-Din. But S. Vicedomi makes it clear that, although these şeyhqs possessed a sildız linking them to 'Abd al-Ahad Nuri Siwasi, they had no tekke, and this tekke was as an establishment of the Nakshakebdinya. Today, this branch of the Khalwatiyya seems to have disappeared.
As regards the doctrine and the practices of the Shamsiya-Shandl, they were shared by the majority of the Khalwatis; the practice of spiritual retreat (hikma [g.]) and the initiation of the local movement (shams al-waqil; al-salat, al-adab) being two central elements. The Shamsiya-Shandl ḍikr was a ḍikr dewānī, with a rotating movement in a circle formed by the dervishes. ‘Abd al-Aḥad Nārī is a treatise author defending this practice, entitled Riāla fi ḍikra dewarāni ʾl-ṣāyya. As for the adoption of the doctrine of the oneness of being (wahdat al-waqil), cf. O. Tüürer, Türk musavvif ve şairi Muhammed Nazmi, which also provides further details regarding the teaching of one another of the brotherhood. The characteristic ḍikr of the Shamsiya-Shandl ḍikra—comprising forty separate pieces, as with the majority of the Khalwatis—was made of yellow fabric, half of it embroidered with Kufic script, surmounted by a red button and illuminated by a green turban.


SHAMSUN, the Biblical Samson of Judges, xii-xvi (12th century B.C. according to Biblical chronology), unmentioned in the Kurân. Al-Tabarî, i, 793-5, locates him historically in the Christian era, just before St. George (Ǧurḍîrîn); al-Thaʿlabî, ʿArāʾis al-mudâfi̇la, Cairo n.d., 392-3, situates him just after St. George and understands him to have been a Christian. The chronology is probably the result of the use of Christian sources for the story. The story of Samson was very popular in Christian circles, with Samson proclaiming an exemplar of victorious faith in Hebr. xi, 32, and, later, an allegorical figure of Christ. Samson’s status as a Nazirite (in Aramaic, nāḏāṭī or nāḏāṭī [see nāḏāṭ]) may also have suggested a Christian connection to some Muslims because of the similarity of the name of Samson’s vow (see Num. vi, 2-8) and the name Nazareth (al-Nāsirîn), the home town of Jesus, and Naṣrâr [g.], the Kurʾânic term for Christians (the linking of the names was also a tendency in Christian allegorical interpretation of the story). The individuality of Samson (contrary to the general Biblical picture of judges who lead the community into battle) becomes the focus of the Muslim development of the prophetic model in Samson. According to al-Tabarî’s information, Samson was born into a community of unbelievers but dedicated his life to God, ever fighting the idolaters. He was aided by God, specifically by being given water during battles (see Judges xv, 19). His opponents realised that they would only overcome him through his wife whom they then bribed. She tested his strength twice and subsequently nagged him until he finally revealed that he could only be subdued by his uncut hair. She bound him with his hair while he was sleeping and, when he awoke, his enemies came, mutilated his body and took him away, powerless, to be paraded in front of the enemy. There, Samson pulled the supports down, killing all the people (including his wife, according to al-Thaʿlabî, but perhaps not himself).

The purified presentation of Samson is in keeping with the Christian understanding rather than the Biblical story: Samson was a great fighter and man of faith who was betrayed by his wife. There is no lust, no prostitution, and no self-destruction within the story.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (A. Rippîn)

SHAMWIİL (also ASJAMIWIİL/ASJAMIWIİL, SHAMWIİL, SAMWIİL), the Samuel of Biblical history (I Sam.-xxviii), perhaps referred to in Kurân, II, 246-7, in connection with the appointment of Saul see [Yâlṭîr], as king over Israel (although some exegetes see the reference to be to Joshua (Yūṣûf), the “prophet after Moses”). The form of the name Shamwiıl is closer than Shamwil to the new Samwil; the name “Samwil” may be the result of some confusion between the names Simeon (Hebrew Shemīon; see Gen. xxix, 33, etc.) and Samuel, but that is unclear and confused further by attempts to incorporate etymologies of the names into the narratives. Al-Tabarî, i, 547-54, interchanges the spelling of the name throughout his account. Abû Râfaʾ al-Furâṣî, Bad al-ʾalkît wa-kīsâ al-anbâhîn, in R.G. KHOURY, “Les legèndes prophétique dans l’Islam”, Wiesbaden 1976, 80-4, however, recounts separate stories of Shamīn and Ashamwil (with the story of ʿAyālūk—probably Eli, who is called “Alt”, “Ayîl” and “Ayîl in al-Tabarî—being placed in between the two; cf. I Sam. i). H. Schwarzbain, Biblical and extra-biblical legends in Islamic folk-literature, Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, Bd. 30, Walldorf-Hessen 1982, 64, suggests that Sham’în here should be understood as Shamîn [g.], i.e. Samson, but the story is barely recognisable as speaking of him. Al-Kisâʾī, Kīsâ al-anbâhî (ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1923, 250-1, and al-Thaʿlabî, ʿArāʾis al-mudâfi̇la, Cairo n.d., 232-9, use the name Shamwil consistently.

The stories of Samuel transmitted in the Islamic context concentrate on his birth and his selection of Saul; other elements of his nomination and career as a prophet are elaborated so as to fit within the common pattern of Muslim prophet stories, especially in his struggles with the unbelievers. Samuel is remembered today at his tomb at al-Naḥāf Samwîl near Jerusalem, where there has been a mosque since the 18th century.

Bibliography: Given in the article; also see the tafsîr tradition on Kurân, II, 246-7; D. Sidersky, Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vie des prophètes, Paris 1933, 109-10; W. M. Brinner (tr.), The history of al-Tabarî, iii. The children of Israel, Albany, N.Y. 1991, 129-35, esp. the notes. (A. Rippîn)

SHANDI, a town in the Republic of the Sudan, on the east bank of the Nile, about 160 km/100 miles north-east of Khartum. Population, in 1956, 11,500; in 1980, 24,000; and in 1995 probably more than 30,000. The origins and early history of Shandl are unknown. It is situated in the central area of the ancient Kingdom of Meroë. Modern Shandi has been one of the main towns of the Dīalāʾiyûn [g.], who since at least the 16th century until 1821 maintained a small kingdom in the area. However, the town of Shandl does not appear in the historical sources before the 18th century, and then as the seat of the king (makk) and as an important trading centre.
SHANDI — AL-SHANFARA
Major caravan routes have crossed the area of Shandi
since ancient times, and trade was an important factor
in its foundation. Between 1770 and 1820 the town
witnessed a remarkable growth which was only broken
by the Egyptian invasion in 1820-1, under the command of Isma'fl Pasha [q.v.], the son of Muhammad
'All Pasha [q.v.]. Its population was then estimated at
about 5-7,000 people living in 8-900 houses. A revolt
against the invaders following the murder in Shandf
of Isma'fl Pasha in the autumn of 1822, caused the
town to be destroyed and a large part of its population
to be dispersed. Subsequently, the Egyptians moved
the district administration across the Nile to the sistertown of al-Matamma [q.v.], and Shandl did not recover
its former prosperity before the present century. In
the spring of 1884 the people of Shandf joined the
Mahdist revolt against the Egyptians [see AL-MAHDIYYA] .
By that time, the population numbered about 2,000,
a figure which was reduced to about 500 at the turn
of the century.
During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (18991956) and thereafter, Shandi grew into a prosperous
town. Its location in a rich agricultural area, its position
on the north-south railway, and its relative proximity
to Khartum, are all factors which have stimulated the
town's growth. Agricultural expansion in the area
based on pump irrigation started early in this century,
and local produce like grain, vegetables and fruits is
exported through Shandi. Local trades consist of
carpentry, tailoring, basketry, and cotton weaving.
Today, it is also an administrative and educational
centre, and the seat of a military garrison.
Bibliography: A. Bjorkelo, Prelude to the Mahdiyya.
Peasants and traders in the Shendi region, 1821-1885,
Cambridge 1989; P.M. Holt and M.W. Daly, The
history of the Sudan from the coming of Islam to the present
day, London 1979, 10-11, 28, 41, 50-1, 55, 57, 65,
173, 199, 223, 226; J. Bruce, Travels to discover the
source of the Nik in the years 1768-1773, 5 vols., Edinburgh 1790, repr. 1972, iv, 529-31, 536, 546,
v, 518; J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, London,
2nd edn. 1822, repr. 1978, 242, 244, 247-9, 254,
257-8, 264-8, 273-7; F. Cailliaud, Voyage a Meroe,
au Fleuve Blanc, au-dela de Fdzogl dans le midi du
Royaume de Senndr, a Syouah et dans cinq autres oasis:
fait dans les annees 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822, 4 vols.,
Paris 1826, ii, 121-2, iii, 104-10; G.B. English, A
narrative of the expedition to Dongola and Sennaar under
the command of his Excellence Ismail Pasha, London
1822, 117, 133-41; E. Riippell, Rosen in Nubien,
Kordofan und dem Petrdischen Arabien. Vorzuglich in geographischstatistischer Hinsicht, Frankfurt am Main 1829,
104-10; K.M. Barbour, The republic of the Sudan. A
regional geography, London 1961, 78-9, 81, 119, 123,
(J. WALKER-[A. BJORKELO])
AL-SHANFARA "he who has large lips", is the
nickname, perhaps even the name (al-Zamakhsharf,
introd., 8; Sharif, 15), of one of the most famous
pre-Islamic su'luk poets. A great deal of confusion
surrounds the man and his work; for this reason it
is appropriate to handle the information concerning
him with the greatest caution.
1. Life.
Details relating to the life of al-Shanfara are sparse,
contradictory and marked by an anecdotal quality
much more pronounced than is the case with all the
other pre-Islamic poets. His name is reportedly Thabit
('Amr) b. Malik, of al-Iwas b. al-Hadjr (al-Ghawth)
b. al-Aws, a clan of the al-Harith b. RabVa, a subtribe of the al-Hinw (Azd) (Ibn Hablb, Asmd3 almughtdlin, in Nawddir al-makhtutdt, ii, 231). This
genealogy is problematical, since it renders implausible

301

the biography of the poet as it is currently accepted.
(1) According to a tradition related by al-MuJarridj
al-Sadusf and retained by Abu cAmr al-Shaybam,
al-Shanfara was allegedly captured at a very early age
by the Banu Shababa b. Fahm b. £Amr of the Kays
b. 'Aylan; he remained in a state of semi-captivity
until his liberation following an exchange of prisoners
between the Shababa and the Salaman b. Mufridj b.
Malik b. Zahran, a tribe of which the eponym was
said to be Nasr b. al-Azd. He was adopted by a
member of the latter tribe; according to some sources,
he quarrelled with the daughter of the master of the
house; according to another version, he fell in love
with the girl, al-Ku'sus (Diwdn, 53), who rejected him
as unworthy of her on account of his humble ancestry
(al-Mufaddaliyydt, ed. Lyall, 195-6; Hamdsa, Bonn 1828,
244). Offended, al-Shanfara abandoned his adoptive
clan, returned to the Banu Shababa, his erstwhile captors, and swore to avenge himself on the Salaman by
killing a hundred of them. This account is invalidated
by a number of implausibilities: (a) the efforts of the
Salaman in seeking to liberate a man whose bloodlinks with them were distant and weak, if not nonexistent; (b) the genealogical reservations of the young
Salamaniyya woman: al-Hinw b. al-Azd (eponymous
ancestor of al-Shanfara) was in no way inferior in
terms of eminence to his brother Nasr b. al-Azd
(eponymous ancestor of the Salaman); (c) resentment
as justification for the return of a captive to his former
jailers. However, it is precisely this tradition which
was subsequently taken up by the other sources as
well as by modern research (F. Gabrieli, Ta'abbata
Sharran, Shanfard, Khalaf al-Ahmar, in Atti della Accademia
Nazionale dei Lincei, cccxliii (1946), 1, 41-2; Sharif, 16;
Yusuf Khalff, 332; Safadf and Hawf, Mawsu'at al-shicr
al-cArabi, i, zl-Shi'r al-d^dhili, Beirut 1974, 61; Brockelmann, S I, 52-3; GAS, ii, 133-4; Him!, 112).
(2) A genealogical text of Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064)
permits the presentation of a biography of the poet
which corresponds more closely to reality; it is stated
there: "To the Malik b. Zahran belong the Banu
Salaman b. Mufridj b. Malik b. Zahran, a tribe (batn]
to which the outlaw al-Shanfara belonged; he attacked
his own kinsmen incessantly, because a fellow-tribesman
of theirs had murdered his father and they refused
to apply in his case the law of retaliation; he allied
himself with the Banu [Shababa b.] Fahm b. 'Amr
b. Kays b. 'Aylan b. Mudar who were his maternal
uncles" (Ibn Hazm, D}amharat ansdb al-cArab, Cairo
1971, 386).
This text, with its wealth of information, is
supported by traditions which circulated in the 2nd/8th
century (al-Mufaddaliyydt, 196, § 1; Aghdni, xxi, 137-8),
and throws new light on them, in particular on another
tradition of al-Shaybamw in this version, the mother
of al-Shanfara returns to her own people, accompanied
by her two young sons, after the assassination of her
husband and the refusal of the tribe to avenge the
blood which has been shed; the younger of the two
sons dies soon afterwards. The poet grows up among
his maternal uncles, the Shababa b. Fahm. On coming
of age, he exacts vengeance by killing SalamanTs,
including the murderer of his father, Haram b. Djabir
al-Salamanf, although he is in a state of ihrdm at
Mina (Aghdni, xxi, Leiden 1888, 137).
He then becomes a su'luk, on amicable terms with
his maternal uncle, Ta'abbata Sharran and with 'Amr
b. Barrak (Hifnf, 112). In dangerous circumstances,
he shows great courage; his prowess as a runner is
proverbial (Ibn Sa'Id al-Andalusf, Nashwat al-tarab ft
ta'rikh ajdhiliyyat al-'Arab, 'Amman 1962, i, 434; alRaghib af-Isfahanf, Maajma' al-baldgha, 'Amman 1406/


problem. This work makes it possible to ratify, historically and on the basis of an ancient source, the arguments of the partisans of the authenticity of the Lamiyya. The author of this work, Ibn Abî Tahir Tayîfûr (d. 280/893), is a chronicler and an anthologist of exemplary integrity. Under the heading of "unique and incomparable kasîdas (al-kasîdât al-mufradât alatâ ma'd al-lakhā") he quotes in full the Lamiyya of al-Shanfara (al-Manâthir wa'l-manzûm, Beirut 1977, 69; the Lamiyya in its entirety, 69-79) which was recited to him by Abu '1-Minhâl 'Uyayna b. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Muhallâbi, a transmitter considered reliable (Fâhirî, 157; Yâkîn, 'Udâhi 250-1) and a contemporary of Khalaf al-Åhmar, the presumed author of the poem, in the view of those who deny paternity to the Azdî poet. It may thus be affirmed that in the 2nd/8th century, in the lifetime of Khalaf, the transmitters were well acquainted with the kasîda and attributed it to al-Shanfara.

This ode, which has the rhythm of a beating drum, turns its back on the poetic conventions of the Lamiyya. It reflects a purely individual register and constitutes, thereby, a negation of tribal values (vv. 1-5). The self stresses its primacy in each verse by means of incessant use of pronouns and verbs in the first person singular (more than 30 instances in the first 50 verses); in parallel, an absolute rejection of the tribe is attested here, accompanied by an affirmation of its superiority over the clan as such. In fact, mutual relations are conceived in a multi-dimensional approach. The disowned tribe (v. 1) reacts; the disruptive element must be removed; the latter, feeling under threat of elimination, engages in conflict which ends in the triumph of the individual. He reigns over the desert dominating the malignant creatures of the night, defeating the wolf (vv. 27-35) and the sand grouse which he overtakes in the race for water (vv. 36-41). But this is a short-lived triumph; the poet has a very clear vision of this, and knows that in the end Umûm Kasîl (death) will claim him; and he asks not to be buried at all. Finally, what is observed is a total disintegration of the individual and a re-unification of the tribe. In the context of form, al-Shanfara also departs from convention; he addresses his themes directly, leaving aside the nasîb and the camel-driving section.

(b) The Ta'îyya

The Ta'îyya begins with a ghazal, a genuine love poem which has aroused the admiration of scholars (see Bibl.). Only G. Jacob, Schanfarber-Studien, i, passim; and idem, Aus Schanfarbas Dicären, Berlin 1914, introd., and Brockelmann were convinced of its authenticity, basing their conclusions on the results of internal analysis, such as the use of Yemeni terms, the mention of cows, which do not figure at all in archaic poetry, and symbolic description. S. Stetkevych, 125-6, reckons that the poem is marked by a series of signs and symbols which render incontrovertible its attribution to al-Shanfara: the relations of the poet with his own people, the Azdî, constitute an antidote to the normal affiliation of a tribesman to his tribe. In other words, this ode constitutes the typical process of regret for the past, an essential characteristic of the poetry of al-Shanfara.

The publication of a section of the K. al-Mânthir wa'l-manzûm in 1977 has cast a new light on this
and sympathy on the part of the warrior towards his companions. It is appropriate to note, in this connection, that al-Shanfarā exploits a tendency of the poetry of the šālās in describing weapons in lavish detail, thus seizing himself apart from the poetry of war; in the latter, substantive adjectives are used to denote weapons (Ibn Sallām, K. al-Shāhī, Beirut 1408/1988, where this tendency is clearly visible); according to a regular pattern, and with little variation, the poet confines himself to mentioning arms, rather than describing them. The only descriptions worthy of the name in pre-Islamic poetry are found among the šālās; al-Shanfarā stands apart on his description of weapons in opposition to the latter.


**SHANTI-ZADE MÜMEN** Ağa' Al-Ḥāfez Efendi (1769 or 1771-1826), Ottoman physician, historian and polymath. Son of the kâfif Shanti-zade Sâdîk Melyem Efendi, he pursued a religious career together with a medical education. In 1793-4 Shanti-zade attained the rank of miderris, in 1814-15 that of kâfif of Eypur, and in October 1821 that of Mollâ of Mecca and inspector of wakâfī. Shanti-zade suffered from the jealousy of the hekim-bâghi Behzît Efendi [see NASIR MÜSTAFĂ EFDENI] and never himself became chief physician. Meanwhile, after the wakâfî-nâsîk ‘Arîn [q.v.] died, Shanti-zade was appointed official historiographer (November-December 1819). As a leader in the Beshiktash Scientific Society, Shanti-zade was suspected of Bektaşi connections and, when the Janissaries were dispersed and their population considerably decreased up to the early 20th century, it is reported that a great number of the troops were converted to Islam (Râghîd al-Dîn). Under the Ming dynasty which overthrew the Yuan, Shansi Muslims were naturalised as Chinese Muslims (Hui-min). In April 1862, when a group of Taiping rebels invaded southern Shansi from Sichuan, the Ch’ing authorities who tried to attack them happened to mishandle local Muslims, between whom and the local Chinese in Shansi there had long been antagonism. At first, Muslims at Hua-chou broke out against local Chinese inhabitants, and Muslim rebellion spread over various places along the Wei River, extending to Kansu province. The Ch’ing authorities managed to suppress those Muslim rebels, and even massacred a great mass of Shansi Muslims. Consequently, they were dispersed and their population considerably decreased up to the early 20th century.

Shansi Muslims mostly belong to the Hanafī rite like other Chinese Muslims. Originally, they had about 300 mosques in Shansi but they have now 118 mosques, large and small, the most prestigious and
archaic one being His Ta-sst (West Large Mosque) at His-an. Shansi Muslims have been and are engaged in retail trade, restaurant and inn-keeping, cattle-breeding, fur-trading, farming and transport. His-an has been historically a centre of Chinese Muslim culture and learning in Shansi since Ming times. Shansi Muslims now co-exist with Han Chinese under the minority peoples' policy of Communist China, as is the case with other provinces.


---

**SHANT MANKASH,** the modern Simancas, a village of the Spanish province of Valladolid, some 10 km/6 miles from that town, on the Douro, known above all for its castle, in which the state archives of Castile, mainly for the 16th and 17th centuries, are preserved.

The site, situated on a bluff commandung a ford over the Douro, was occupied in Roman and Visigothic times, and "repopulated" by Alfonso III, King of León, together with other towns along the line of that River (Zamora, Toro and Dueñas), probably in the last years of the 9th century, when the Christians were able to profit from the feeble state into which the amirate of Cordova had been plunged. After the accession of 'Abd al-Rahmân III and the "restoration" of the Umayyad caliphate, the state of al-Andalus sought to regain the lost territory to the north of the Meseta.

In 927/939 the caliph personally led an expedition, the ghazwat al-hudra, especially aimed at the town of Sammûra/Zamora. But on 11-12 Shawâd/8-9 August he suffered a check before Simancas, followed by another defeat, in the course of his withdrawal, that of al-Khandak/Alhandega. This defeat was apparently to be explained by the treachery of certain officers in the caliphal army, marked by the crucifixion of 300 of them after the return to Cordova. There has been much discussion on how al-Khandak ("the trench", or a place thus named) should be understood and on the place in question, and consequently whether there were two successive battles (Simancas and Alhandega) or just one (Simancas, finishing in the trench). Dozy's theory, on the slender basis of the opinion of Spanish authors of the 16th century (cf. his Recherches, i, 161), placed al-Khandak to the west of Simancas, near Salamanca, towards the river Alhandega, an affluent of the Tormes, but this was opposed by M. Gómez Moreno, who placed it in the opposite direction, at Albendiego, in the modern province of Guadalajara, on the Roman road from Onda to Siguenza, and by Lévi-Provençal who, after having followed Dozy in his EP art. Simancas, in 1950 thought, relying on the texts of Ibn al-Khâtib and al-Himyarî which he had published, that the reference was to the trench into which Ramiro II's troops hurled down troops of 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Nâşîr at the end of the battle of Simancas.

Dozy, however, seems to have been raised since the publication of vol. v of Ibn Hayyân's Muktabis, reproducing the narrative of 'Isa al-Râzi, which agrees on this point with the most ancient Christian source, the Anales Castellanos Primeros, and since P. Chalmêta's article Simancas y Alhandega, in Hispania, xxxvi/133 (1976), 339-444. There could well have been two distinct battles separated by some fifteen days, with the second one to be situated towards the east, in the confused, mountainous zone separating the upper valley of the Douro from that of the Henares, even if a completely satisfying solution of its exact localisation has not yet been found. There is a similar divergence regarding the seriousness, and the long-term significance, of the caliphal defeat. Chalmêta reduces the event's significance, pace the Spanish historical tradition, and it is nevertheless true that 'Abd al-Rahmân III led personally two battles in Christian territory after this one, in which he was almost captured, and that the military reforms of al-Mansûr, with long-term effects in the period of the fall of the caliphate, responded, at least in part, to the lack of confidence which could be accorded to the officers of the qâdîm, as appeared on the Simancas battlefield.

The abortive attempt of 'Abd al-Rahmân III towards the Meseta del Norte was taken up later, with greater tenacity, by Ibn Abî ʿAmir al-Mansûr. In particular, in his eighteenth campaign (373/983), he captured and destroyed Simancas. But if the ḥidîb envisaged a policy of reconquest, and not merely one of devastation, in these regions, and had the intention to hold at least at the line of the Douro, with a garrison and a governor at Sammûra/Zamora, this policy collapsed with the crisis of the caliphate of Cordova in 390/999.


**SHANT YÂKUB,** the Arabic form of the place name St. James of Compostella, Span. Santiago de Compostela, at the present time in the province
of La Coruña, in Galicia.

The “discovery” in the first half of the 9th century of the grave of the Apostle St. James the Greater, who had allegedly come to evangelise the Iberian Peninsula, and the subsequent shrine, was said to have been brought, after his death in Jerusalem, to Galicia, was the origin of the town’s development and of the pilgrimage thither, its church being described by Ibn 'Idhārī as the equivalent, for the Christians, of the Ka'ba for the Muslims.

In 837/997 Ibn 'Abī 'Amīr al-Mansūr led against the shrine his 48th campaign, the most famous one, for which Ibn 'Idhārī has transmitted a fairly detailed account, probably stemming from an official bulletin according to the victory. The expedition left Cordova, passed through Coria and then through the north of modern Portugal, reaching its destination after crossing difficult mountainous regions. It was supported by a fleet which had left the great arsenal of Kasr Abf, and by the rallying to it of troops, of the lands through which it passed. Having arrived at Santiago on 2 Sha'ban/10 August, it found the town abandoned by its inhabitants; the army then destroyed it completely in the course of the following week, including the shrine, but not the tomb itself, respected on al-Mansūr’s express orders. Part of the army pushed on northwards to the outskirts of La Coruña, but the mass of troops beat a retreat and returned to Cordova, after having once more devastated the lands of the king of León but not those of the counts allied to the Muslims. According to the Christian sources, the Muslim army is said to have suffered from dysentery on its retreat.

The character of this expedition, more a demonstration of force to impress and humiliate the Christian enemy, but also to show them the possibility of a rally of forces, than a real operation for conquest, is further illustrated by the episode of the gates and bells of the shrine, brought to Cordova on the backs of captured Christians, to be placed in the roof or for service as lamps in the Great Mosque there; an episode recounted by other sources, Muslim as well as Christian (Ibn Khaldūn, al-Makkarf, Jiménez de Rada and Lucas of Tuy).

It nevertheless seems that the ‘Amrid sacking only momentarily slowed up the growth of Santiago de Compostela; Bermudo II, king of León (d. 999) immediately began rebuilding it. The building of the Romanesque basilica began in 1075.
received the submission of two of the Berber Dhu '1-Nunids, Yahya b. Miisa ... of the Muslim community, shown by at least a congregational mosque, a mosque of the quarter and a sort of assembly

**Bibliography:** In addition to references in the text, see the EL arts. *Abd al-Rahman*. 3. and *Abd al-Rahman*. Auto biographies. (J. L. Chabot. *Soncino.*)

Al-Shantamarf (the first epithet from his hare-lip; it

came to acknowledge or to deny any link between this

However, we have no information which might allow

us to acknowledge or to deny any link between this

In the years before his death, he became blind.

enjoyed a great florescence in the Andalus of his time.

In the region took on the name of Roman antiquity, 

Ossônoba, in the form Ukhşünuba or better, Ukhşünuba.

Then from the 4th/10th century there appears the name Shantamariyya or Shanta Marîyat al-Ghârîb, and, in the next century, Sh. Hârîn, the name of one of the masters of the town at that time.

These two qualifications enable the town to be distin-

guished from Shantamariyya al-Rasîn or Sh. al-Shâr (g.s.), sc. Albarracín. It was the Christians who, in 1233, corrupted Hârîn into Faaron or Faaram, soon afterwards yielding Faaro.

The Arabic sources are hazy about the town and its district until the 4th/10th century, describing it then as relatively prosperous (E. Lévi-Provençal, *La description de l’Espagne d’Abûn al-Râzî, in: Alm.,* viii [1953], 91; Ibn Hawšî, ed. Kramers, 115). But these same sources show that toward the end of the 3rd/9th century and perhaps beginning in his turn, a famed master in the fields of grammar, lexicography and classical Arabic poetry, fields which enjoyed a great florescence in the Andalus of his time. In the years before his death, he became blind.

He was a prolific author (see Ibn Khayr, *Fathrasa,* 315, 388-9, 422, 423, and *Iyāq, Ghumnâ,* 178, 229, and part of his output has survived till today. Amongst his grammatical works were his *Djûz* fihi al-fârik bayn al-mushkûh wa l-mushaf wa l-masâra al-zânîriyya (given in al-Makkârî, *Nağh,* iv, 77-9); *Djûz* fihi mafrîj hurûf al-mdâdîm; K. al-Masâra al-râjîdî; al-Muḥtâr fi l-nağhî; K. al-Nakât fi l-khât Shbâwây; ed. Z. A. Sultan, *Kuwayt al-Nukatfi Kitdb Sibawayh* (ed. Z. A. Sultan, *Kuwayt al-Nukatfi Kitdb Sibawayh*);


al-Shantamarf (the first epithet from his hare-lip; it
came to acknowledge or to deny any link between this

However, we have no information which might allow

us to acknowledge or to deny any link between this

In the years before his death, he became blind.

enjoyed a great florescence in the Andalus of his time.

In the region took on the name of Roman antiquity, 

Ossônoba, in the form Ukhşünuba or better, Ukhşünuba.

Then from the 4th/10th century there appears the name Shantamariyya or Shanta Marîyat al-Ghârîb, and, in the next century, Sh. Hârîn, the name of one of the masters of the town at that time.

These two qualifications enable the town to be distin-

guished from Shantamariyya al-Rasîn or Sh. al-Shâr (g.s.), sc. Albarracín. It was the Christians who, in 1233, corrupted Hârîn into Faaron or Faaram, soon afterwards yielding Faaro.

The Arabic sources are hazy about the town and its district until the 4th/10th century, describing it then as relatively prosperous (E. Lévi-Provençal, *La description de l’Espagne d’Abûn al-Râzî, in: Alm.,* viii [1953], 91; Ibn Hawšî, ed. Kramers, 115). But these same sources show that toward the end of the 3rd/9th century and perhaps beginning in his turn, a famed master in the fields of grammar, lexicography and classical Arabic poetry, fields which enjoyed a great florescence in the Andalus of his time. In the years before his death, he became blind.

He was a prolific author (see Ibn Khayr, *Fathrasa,* 315, 388-9, 422, 423, and *Iyāq, Ghumnâ,* 178, 229, and part of his output has survived till today. Amongst his grammatical works were his *Djûz* fihi al-fârik bayn al-mushkûh wa l-mushaf wa l-masâra al-zânîriyya (given in al-Makkârî, *Nağh,* iv, 77-9); *Djûz* fihi mafrîj hurûf al-mdâdîm; K. al-Masâra al-râjîdî; al-Muḥtâr fi l-nağhî; K. al-Nakât fi l-khât Shbâwây; ed. Z. A. Sultan, *Kuwayt al-Nukatfi Kitdb Sibawayh* (ed. Z. A. Sultan, *Kuwayt al-Nukatfi Kitdb Sibawayh*);

al-Shantamarf (the first epithet from his hare-lip; it
came to acknowledge or to deny any link between this

However, we have no information which might allow

us to acknowledge or to deny any link between this

In the years before his death, he became blind.

enjoyed a great florescence in the Andalus of his time.

In the region took on the name of Roman antiquity, 

Ossônoba, in the form Ukhşünuba or better, Ukhşünuba.

Then from the 4th/10th century there appears the name Shantamariyya or Shanta Marîyat al-Ghârîb, and, in the next century, Sh. Hârîn, the name of one of the masters of the town at that time.

These two qualifications enable the town to be distin-

guished from Shantamariyya al-Rasîn or Sh. al-Shâr (g.s.), sc. Albarracín. It was the Christians who, in 1233, corrupted Hârîn into Faaron or Faaram, soon afterwards yielding Faaro.

The Arabic sources are hazy about the town and its district until the 4th/10th century, describing it then as relatively prosperous (E. Lévi-Provençal, *La description de l’Espagne d’Abûn al-Râzî, in: Alm.,* viii [1953], 91; Ibn Hawšî, ed. Kramers, 115). But these same sources show that toward the end of the 3rd/9th century and perhaps beginning in his turn, a famed master in the fields of grammar, lexicography and classical Arabic poetry, fields which enjoyed a great florescence in the Andalus of his time. In the years before his death, he became blind.

He was a prolific author (see Ibn Khayr, *Fathrasa,* 315, 388-9, 422, 423, and *Iyāq, Ghumnâ,* 178, 229, and part of his output has survived till today. Amongst his grammatical works were his *Djûz* fihi al-fârik bayn al-mushkûh wa l-mushaf wa l-masâra al-zânîriyya (given in al-Makkârî, *Nağh,* iv, 77-9); *Djûz* fihi mafrîj hurûf al-mdâdîm; K. al-Masâra al-râjîdî; al-Muḥtâr fi l-nağhî; K. al-Nakât fi l-khât Shbâwây; ed. Z. A. Sultan, *Kuwayt al-Nukatfi Kitdb Sibawayh* (ed. Z. A. Sultan, *Kuwayt al-Nukatfi Kitdb Sibawayh*);
Maritime activity increased in the 6th/12th century through the efforts of the Banu Hārūn, who, like other Taifas of the coastlands, had fleets and dockyards supplied by the plantations of pine on the islands and in the hinterland of the town. Its site being a lagoon, favoured fishing, an activity stimulated by the pilgrimage, and the cultivation of figs and grapes and production of oil had a commercial orientation towards Al-Andalus, the Maghrib and Egypt.

The town itself faced both landwards and seawards, being “built on the shores of the ocean, with its walls bathed by the waves of the high tide” (al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome 1975, text 543, tr. Dossy and Ch. de Goeje, *Descripción de l’África y de l’Espagne*, repr. Leiden 1968, 217). The mediaeval area, largely rebuilt by the Christians in the 13th century, have retained, to the north-west of the town, traces of a gate topped by a Norman arch, leading one to think that the internal area of about 9.5 ha corresponds to the Islamic madina (B. Pavon Maldonado, *Ciudades y fortalezas musulmanas. Cronicas de viajes por el sur de Portugal*, in *Cuadernos de Arte y Arqueología*, v [Madrid 1995], 71-9). The sites of the cathedral, built two years after the reconquest of the town, and the fortress, protecting access to the seashore, correspond respectively to the sites of the Great Mosque and the Muslim kasaba.

In 1252 the town was placed under the protection of Alfonso X of Castile, protector of the Muslim ruler Ibn Mahfūz. Once it returned to Portuguese hands in 1266, endowed with charters, it speedily resumed its maritime role.


**SHANTAMARIYYAT AL-SHARK**, a name often confused in the sources with Shantamarīya, which corresponds to the depopulated modern place name Santaver in Cuenca province. Sh. al-Shark (thus to distinguish it from Sh. al-Gharb) corresponds to modern Albarracín, a small town 45 km/28 miles from Teruel, in the province of the same name in Aragon. The town derives its present name from the Hwawara Berber family of the Banū Rāzīn [q.v.], who were established at an unknown date in the Sahla, the fertile district around Albarracín. The supposed ancestor Rāziql-Burnāsi is said to have come with the Hwawara, burned and was then given land at Cordova. His alleged descendants (since Ibn Hazm seems to deny the connection) governed the Sahla with more or less loyalty to the Umayyads. After a revolt of the Sahla in 346/957-8 headed by Marwān b. Hudhāyli b. Rāzīn, the family submitted to ‘Abd al-Malik thirty years after the reconquest of the town, and the importance was conferred upon it by Alfonso X of Castile, protector of the Muslim ruler Ibn Mahfūz. Once it returned to Portuguese hands in 1266, endowed with charters, it speedily resumed its maritime role.

After Zallāka (479/1086), he ceased paying tribute to Castile-León, but three years later had to accord it to the Cid. In 1092 he annexed Murviedro (Sagonta), and concluded a treaty of friendly neutrality with the Cid. When the latter besieged Valencia, ‘Abd al-Malik tried to ally, early in 1093, with the king of Aragon in order to help him occupy the town. But the Cid, warned by the Aragonese, invaded ‘Abd al-Malik’s lands, and forced him to help in the siege of Valencia, which fell in June 1094. He then allied with the Almoravids who came to besiege Valencia (487/ autumn 1094), and took part in the battle of Cuarte, from which he fled. When ‘Abd al-Malik died in 496/1103, his son Husam al-Dawla Yahyā succeeded him. But with Valencia now in the hands of the Almoravids, the governor Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ǧāfīma deposed Yahyā and annexed his state (497/1104).

Ca. 1170 Albarracín passed into Christian control, either, according to the traditional account, handed over by Ibn Marandišā [g.v.] Lobo or Lope to the lord of Navarre, Pedro Ruiz de Azagra, or, according to J.M. Lacarra, by a Navarrese conquest. In 1172 the bishopric of Albarracín was set up, but—reflecting the lack of knowledge of the old ecclesiastical divisions and the probable disappearance by now of the Mozarabs of the district—the bishop was first given the title of the ancient bishopric of Arcavica (*Arcavicense*), then—afterwards as *Segobriga*, with the titles ‘Izz al-Dawla and Dhu ‘l-Maǧdāyan, Sulaymān al-Mustā'n, the “caliph of the Berbers”, confirmed him in his lands, but also reproached him, probably for not being able to intervene in his favour. From the next year onwards, Hudhāyli built, or rebuilt, his little capital, Shantamarīya, whose name, hitherto unknown, since only Sahla is found, suggests the presence, otherwise imperfectly known, of a Mozarab community. Hudhāyli maintained himself, staying apart from the wars of the times, enjoyed the good graces of the Muslim lords who coveted his territories. The sources praise his good qualities and the prosperity he brought to his principality.

When in 436/1044-5 he died after a reign of over 30 years, his son ‘Abd al-Malik, called in his father’s life time Husam al-Dawla and then subsequently Djabr al-Dawla, al-Ḥaǧīǧ Dhu ‘l-Riṣāyatayn, succeeded him, with an even longer reign of 58 solar years. The sources regard him harshly, but the times were certainly now less propitious. He may possibly early have suffered attacks from Castile, though the notice of Ibn al-Kardābis that Ferdinand (1037-65) is said to have taken Shantamarīya, *balad Ibn Rāzīn*, is unconfirmed elsewhere. After the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI (478/1085), he had to accept with a good grace the insults of the Christian king, who sent him a monkey in exchange for his presents. His vacillating policy reveals the feebleness of his miniature principality.

In 1096 an old man, ‘Abd al-Malik, called Ibn al-Qasim, son of ‘Abd al-Malik’s grandson, was deposed by the Mozarabs, and the title of the town was confirmed upon Segobriga (*Segobricense*). Henceforth, the region formed a petty independent state, under Christian lords, the Azagra
and then the Laras, until Pedro III of Aragon's conquest of 1284, though Albarcín was not definitely incorporated under the Aragonese crown till 1370. During this period, the presence of Mudéjars is as hypothetical as that of Mozarabs in the preceding one. It would appear, rather, that the region's Muslim population had been evacuated for strategic reasons, to the proximity of Valencia, under Muslim control until 1238, and that the Mudéjar presence persisted at the end of the mediaeval period results, as at Teruel, from the establishment there of Muslims from other Christian zones and former captives, settled for economic reasons.


2. Studies. M. Almagro Basch (ed.), *Historia de Albarcín y su tierra*, Teruel 1959 (vol. ii, J. Bosch-Vilà; iii-iv, Almagro); Dozy, *Hist., ed.* Lévi-Provençal, iii, 121; A. Prieto de Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; J.M. Lacarra, *El rey Lobo de Murcia y el señorío de Albarcín*, in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid 1952, iii, 515-26; P. Guichard, *Structures internacionales et "occidentales" dans l’Espagne musulmane*, Paris-The Hague 1977, 271; *idem*, *Los muhámmads de Valence y la Reconquista*, Damascus 1990-1, index s.v. Albarcín; D. Wassermann, *The rise and fall of the Party Kings*, Princeton 1985, 93; E. Mazano Moreno, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de las invaciones mágribes*, Madrid 1992, 65-9; eadem, in *Los Reinos de Taifas. Al-Andalus en el siglo XI*, Madrid 1994, 81-3; M.L. Ledesma Rubio, *Los mudéjares aragoneses: de la convivencia a la ruptura*, Madrid 1992, 95-109, tr. *idem*, *Latin, connected with a saint. *Santarín*...*, *Appx.*, 73-4 and iv. Of Appx.), Santarín is said to have benefited, together with Cóimbra, from a treaty of capitulation which guaranteed a considerable autonomy, probably analogous to the well-known concession to the Visigothic duke Theodomir/Tudmir for the territories which he controlled at the other side of the peninsula, Murcia/Mursiya. This treaty was a determining factor from the viewpoint of population patterns, given that there were not, to the north of the Tagus, in the territory now within Portugal, Arab colonists established like those in the southern districts of Beja/Badja and Ocosonoba/Ugshnuba. Consequently, Islamisation was on a much reduced scale, and the Arabisation of the indigenous people, who became Mozarabs [*Kulmiyīta*] to the south. The territory had been conquered by the Arabs at some time in 95-6/714-15, at the same time as all the far west of the Iberian peninsula. According to the lost chronicle of Ibn Muzayn (Sivès et Seville, 5th/11th century), preserved in a Moroccan source of the 11th/17th century (Dozy, *Recherches*..., i, 73-4 and iv. Of Appx.), Santarín is said to have been...
Glasgow 1993 (cf. JAL, xii [1994]); plus a master's

During the period of Christian domination, the
Muslim Madjares [q.v.] were by no means concentrated
exclusively within the mouaraia of Santarem, and they
devoted themselves to the general economic activities
of the movar of the Kingdom of Portugal.

Combining the Arabic geographical texts and the
musulman Christian sources, the configuration of
the town of Islamic times can be approximately
reconstituted. There was a strongly defended fortress
(hizn, kal'a), with ramparts and towers, perched on an
inaccessible rocky slope. The madina was there, as also
the congregational mosque (very likely built by al-Hakam I, 180-206/796-822), later turned into the church
dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the heart of the Christian Alacgoa (< al-kasaba). At the foot of the mountain, on the banks of the river, there was a suburb at least since the beginning of the 4th/10th century; this is the modern Ribeira quarter. Formerly also known as Sesserigo and the location of one of the two Muslim quarters. Certain traces could possibly reveal the existence of another urban nucleus extra muros, in the eastern part, around the Marvilia quarter, which was the heart of the Christian town and to the north-west of which was located the second and more lasting mouararia. The modest suburb called Alfange (< al-hanash "serpent"), which grew up, like the Ribeira suburb, on the banks of the river but on the other side of the projecting elevation, to the south, does not necessarily date from the Islamic period. As elsewhere in al-Andalus, this place-name could refer to a simple gate giving on to the ravine and the tortuous pathway leading up to it (Bab al-hanash). Moreover, the Eruida da N.S. do Monte, from its strategic position, its dominating role and its ancientness, could well represent the later evolution of a little nabil or castrum.


**SHAPUR** (p.), the NP form of MP Shāhpūr "king's son", usually Arabised as Shāhpr, Sābūr, Syriac Shāhhoor, Greek Ζαπόρος or Ζαβούρ (see Juste, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 284 f.), the name of various monarchs of the Sasanid dynasty in pre-Islamic Persia. For the detailed history of their reigns, see *sānānids*. Here, only such aspects as impinging on the Arabs will be noted.

**Shāhpūr** I, son of Ardashīr Pāpākān (r. 239 or 241 to 270 or 273) is known in Arabic sources as Shāhpūr al-Dunjūd "Sh. of the armies" (e.g. in al-Tabari, i, 824, tr. Noldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 28). In the Arabic sources, he is particularly connected with the capture of the Romans and the sack of the Arab city-state of northern Irāk, Hatra (Ar. al-Hadr), which had been under Parthian cultural and political influence. Around this event was woven a romantic story (found in the *Khudär-i naima* transmitted by Ibn al-Muqaffa' [q.v.] and in an Arabic tradition by Ibn al-Kalbī that the city was betrayed to the Persians by the local ruler's daughter, who had become enamoured of Shāhpūr (for details, see al-Māh, and C.E. Bosworth, ch. Iran and the Arabs, *Camb. Hist. Iran*, i/1, 559-6). This Shāhpūr is also credited by the Arabic geographers and historians with the foundation of various cities and towns of Persia, with compound names which included his own, such as *Dundishāhpūr* (see *gondeshāhpūr*) (these are listed in *Et*. art. *shāhpūr*, at IV, 314a).

**Shāhpūr** II, son of Hormīzād II (r. 309-79), was one of the greatest of the Sānānd emperors, and had considerable contacts with the Arabs in his endeavours to protect the fringes of his Mesopotamian provinces from desert Arab marauders. According to Arabic authorities (including Ibn Kutayba, al-Tabari, al-Masūtī, al-Ṭalḥābī, etc.), he led a punitive expedition into eastern Arabia against such tribes as the 'Abd al-Kays and the Ṣyяд, although the story that he penetrated as far as Medina must be fictitious. Arab captives had their shoulders pierced or dislocated, whence Shāhpūr's nickname in the Arabic sources of *Dju l-ʻAkbār* "the man of the shoulder-blades". He is likewise described as constructing a line of defensive forts, walls and trenches (the *khandak Shāhpūr*) in Irāk, along the desert borders, and as garrisoning them, in the fashion of the Romans and their *limitanei*, with Arabs against the other Arabs within the desert (cf. also the role there of buffer-states like that of the *Lakhdms* of Ḥira [q.v.]). Again, the building of various cities and towns, where Roman captives were settled, is attributed to him (see *Et*. art. *shāhpūr*, at IV, 314b-316a).

**Shāhpūr** III, son of Shāhpūr II (r. 383-8), figures little in the Arabic sources, and what details are ascribed to him are probably due to confusion with the preceding Shāhpūrs.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article and in *sānānids*, see R.N. Frye, ch. *The political history of Iran under the Sassanians*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, i/1, 116-80.

**SHAPUR**, the name of a river of Fārs in southern Persia and also of the mediaeval Islamic town of Fārs which was the chef-lieu of the district of Shāhpūr Khūra.

1. The river.

This is also called the Bīghawur (in Thévenot, *Suie du Voyage de Levant*, Paris 1674, 295: Boschaviar), and river of Tawwadj. It must be identical with the antique Grāns, mentioned by Arrian, *Indica*, 99; Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi, 99. The lower course, the proper river of Tawwadj, is formed by the junction of two streams, the Shāhpūr and the Dalākī Rūd, rising both in the southwestern border mountains of the...
Persian plateau, which extend along the Persian Gulf. The upper course is called by the Arab geographers Nahr Ratin: this name is, very likely, found in Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi, 111, where Dratinus (with var. Ratam) must, however, mean the river down to the mouth. This statement must be due to another source than Iuba, on whose authority the Granis was mentioned in vi, 99. In his *Nāzhat al-kulūb*, Mustawfi al-Kazwīnī seems to indicate that the Ratin, whose source is, according to him as well as to al-ʿIṣṭakhīrī, in the Upper Hamāyūnī (al-ʿIṣṭakhīrī: Khumāyūnī) district, is a tributary of the Shāpur Rūd (Le Strange, 217: "it is a great stream, and it flows into the Shāpur river, and it joins up with the Shāpur river being about 10 leagues"). By this way of putting things, he can only mean that the river of Tawāwjad originates from two different streams, one of which is the Ratin. This, then, must be the older name for either the Shāpur or the Dalāfī Rūd. Al-ʿIṣṭakhīrī (120) represents these facts in the same manner; there it is said that the Ratin flows through the district of al-Zītrīyān (with var.) before joining the Shāpur.

The other streams are the Djirra (or Djarshīk), which joins the Shāpur on the left, below Khūshān, and the Ikhsīn. The name of the latter ("blue") may have originated from the colouring property of its waters, mentioned by the mediaeval geographers. Djirshīk is the older name of the Djirra river, although in the *Nāzha Djarshīk* and Djirra are erroneously described as two different streams. The account which the later work gives of the Djirra is for the most part copied from Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fīrs-nāma*. This stream (as Le Strange, 151) that the Nahr Djirra, rising in the Māsaram district, waters the lands of Mundījān and Djirra, and part of Ghundījān, after which it joins the Shāpur. In addition, al-ʿIṣṭakhīrī mentions the bridge of Sabūk, under which the river Djarshīk flows before entering the raster of Khurra (Ibn al-Balkhī's *Djarra*); after Khurra, the stream passes into Dādīnī, where it unites with the Ikhsīn. The *Nāzha* makes the Djirra join the Shāpur and the Ikhsīn the Ikhsīn: as its author erroneously splits up the one river Djarshīk-Djirra into two, his account is here worthless.

The Ikhsīn, according to al-ʿIṣṭakhīrī and Mustawfi, rises in the Dādīnī hills, and unites with the Shāpur at al-Djunkān. The *Nāzha* calls it a great stream; at present, it is identified with a little water course to the south-west of the lake of Kāzarūn. There appears, then, to be a difference as to the question, whether the Djirshīk and the Ikhsīn join each other, and then unite with the river of Tawāwjad, or flow into that stream each apart.

Concerning the Shāpur itself, the Fīrs-nāma (152) says that it rises in the mountain region (kuhūdān) of the Bəshapur district, which it waters, as also Khūshān and Dīr Mālīk. It flows in the sea (Persian Gulf) between Djanābī and Māndistant. This account is repeated in the *Nāzha*. In Fīrs-nāma, 142, the Bəshapur district is said to have its water from "a great river, called Rūd-i Bəshapur". Owing to rice-plantations being there, its water is unwholesome (wajshīn u nāgagāz). A short description of the river in modern times is given in J. Morier's *Second Journey through Persia... between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 49: "a river which... having pierced into the plain of the Dashtistan, at length falls into the sea at Robilla. It takes its source near the site of Shapour, and when it begins to flow is fresh. But when it reaches the mountains it passes through a salt soil, and then its waters... become brackish. A lesser stream of the same river branches off before it reaches the salt soil, and flows pure to the sea". The mouth of the river is a short distance to the north of Būshahr, near the frontier of the district of Ardājān. Opposite to it lies the island of Khūshān, on the shipping route from Baṣra to India. The name Māndistant in the Persian geographers is connected by Tomaschek (*Topographische Erläuterung der Küstenfahrten Nearachs*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, xxii, 65) with the *Deccanotaini* in Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi, 99. According to Pliny, the river (Gravis) is navigable for small vessels. Nowadays, the principal mouth presents difficulties to navigation because of its shallows; two minor mouths can be navigated up for some distance. On the present conditions, the delta, and the bitumen wells on the left bank of the river, south of Dalāfī, see Tomaschek, *op. cit*.

In Antiquity, there was on the Granis a royal residence, Taoke, 200 stadia from the sea. This must be the same as the mediaeval Tawāwjad (or Tawwaz), from which place the Shāpur is named river of Tawāwjad. In early Islamic times it was an important trade city, which also had a considerable textile industry; the stuffs named tasawwugry were well-known (see R.B. Sergeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 52-3). This town belonged to the district of Ardājān Khurra (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fīrs-nāma*, 114). During the 6th/12th century, the place had already declined; in Mustawfi's time (8th/14th century) it was totally ruined. Its site can not exactly be determined; nowadays the coast district of the Shāpur river is called Tawāwjad. Le Strange thought that the site of the town could be identified with the present Dīk Khūnuma, "the chief town of the (modern) Shabankarā sub-district of the Daštīshīn district".

On another Shāpur or Shāwūr, a tributary of the Dīzulf Rūd, see KĀRTĪN, at IV, 675a.

2. The town.

This was the ancient capital of the district Shāpur Khurra of Fārs. According to al-Mukaddasi, it was also called Sharāhstan; its older name is Bəshapur (from Pahlavī bālaš-pūr). A naive etymology is found in the *Nāzha*, whose author, Mustawfi, says, that the word Bəshapur is a contraction of bānī-i Shāpur "building of Shāpur". Ibn al-Balkhī, on the other hand, states, that the first syllable of the original Bāshapur (with a long ū) may disappear by way of takhfīf.

Shāpur Khurra, the area watered by the system of the Shāpur-Rūd, is the smallest of the five provinces of Fārs, contained besides the town of Shāpur some other important localities, e.g. Kāzarūn (q.v.), which was regarded as its chief town after Shāpur had fallen into ruins, in addition to Naubandajān and Djirra.

The old town of Shāpur was situated on the Shāpur Rūd, at the road from Shīrāz to the sea, to the north of Kāzarūn. Mustawfi gives its situation as long. 86° 15', lat. 20°. Its climate belonged to the *garmūr* or hot region, but its atmosphere was considered not to be healthy because the territory of the city was shut in by the mountains from the northern side. The environs were fruitful; they produced, besides many kinds of fruits and flowers also silk, the mulberry tree being frequent in that region. Honey and wax also came from its territory. The town was founded by the Sāsānīd emperor Shāpur I. It was one of the three cities where he settled his captives of war. It has been supposed, with much reason, that the emperor made use of the skill of these Roman captives in the construction of his buildings and also in the execution of the various public works in the ruins. These relics relate to the campaigns of Shāpur against the Romans. Three later rulers, Bahrām...
II, Narseh and Khusraw II also added each a relief of themselves.

These works of art, already described in detail by Morier, have also been noticed by the mediaeval Islamic geographers; at least, they mention a great statue, standing in a cavern, which European travellers were able to identify.

Local authorities constructed a mythical history of the city from before the times of its Sasanid founder. It was, according to these traditions, originally built by Tahmúrâth, at a time when there existed in Fars no other town besides Iṣīkâr. Later on, it was laid waste by Alexander, to be only renovated by Shāpur I. The name of Tahmúrâth’s foundation had been Dy.x D.lâ (Ibn al-Balkhî, Fârs-nâma, 63, 142).

The Muslims subdued Shāpur Khurra in 16/637, after the conquest of Taiwâd and the battle of Rîghahr. Biāhpâr is mentioned on the occasion of the caliphates which ensued at the beginning of the ʿUthmân b. ʿAffân, the insurrection in Fars (25/643-6) against the Arabs seems to have been directed for some time by Biâhpâr by a brother of Shāpur, the governor of Fars, who had fallen in the battle of Rîghahr. After the submission of the rebels, the inhabitants of Biâhpâr once more broke the treaty; hence it was reduced by Abu ʿl-ʿMūsâ al-Asârī and ʿUthmân b. Abi ʿl-ʿAṣ.

In the time of the al-Mukaddasf (end of the 4th/10th century), the town of Shahrâstân or Shâpur was already decaying, its outskirts being ruined; the environs, however, were well cultivated. He noted the four city gates and the ditch, also the masajîd al-ajdîmī outside the city. Perhaps this may be the masajîr-dî ajdîmî mentioned by Ibn al-Balkhî, whose words seem to imply that it still existed when he wrote (beginning of the 6th/12th century). At the end of the Bûyûtî rule, the Shâhânkâra chiefstan Abû Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Mâmâ destroyed Shâpur, but, as Ibn al-Balkhî remarks, in his time the (Seldjuk) government tried to restore the damage. These endeavours may have had an effect as regards the district as a whole, but the city of Shâpur never rose from its ruins. When Morier visited the site (1809), he found only a poor walled village, Darfî, in the neighbourhood of the remains. This opinion of that traveller, that the town may have existed till the 16th century of the Christian era because its name occurs in a table of latitudes and longitudes in the Aṭ-ṭāb îk, carries no weight, for such a table may have been composed from older sources.

On the other foundations of Shâpur I, which were called after his name, see the article Gâpûr, in addition to which it may be remarked that the town of Shâpur Khârî, according to the Fârs-nâma (63), was situated in Khûttašân, near al-Asârī.


**SHA’R**, a title of rulers in Central Asia and what is now Afghanistan during the early Islamic period and, presumably, in pre-Islamic times also. The form šâr must be an attempt to render in Arabic orthography the MP and NP form šār/šār (< OP šārātiya “ruler”, and not from šâr “lion”; see Marquart, *Ernâstân*, 29).

The title appears in early Islamic texts on the geography and history of the eastern Iranian fringes. Thus the *Hudud al-ʿalam*, tr. Minorsky 105, comm. 327-8, gives šâr as the title of the ruler of the district of Gharčistân in northern Afghanistan [see Gharčistân], and al-ʾIṣṭâḥîrî, 271, and Ibn Ḥawālî, ed. Kramers, 443-4, had already spoken of the district of Gharîd-al-Šâr “the mountainous region of the Šâr”, these rulers were vassals of first the Sâmârîdāns and then of the Ghâznâwîs (see M. Nâzîm, *The life and times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 60-2).

The title was also borne by the local rulers of Bâmiyân in eastern Afghanistan, with the *Hudud al-ʿalam*, tr. 109, comm. 341, giving it in the form šîr [see Šâmîyân].

Finally, the ruler of the branch of the petty dynasty of Abî Dînâdînd and Banûṭûr ādîs [e.g. in Suppl.] which ruled in Khuttal, to the north of the upper Usus [see Kruttalan], bore the title Shîr-i Khuttâlân, according to Ibn Khurrâddâdhbih, 40, cf. Marquart, *Ernâstân*, 301.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

**SHA’R** (ṣ.) “hair, pelt”.

1. General.

The Arab poets, pre-Islamic as well as post-Islamic, often describe the hair of the women with whom they have fallen in love (al-ʾAṣkârī, *Diwan al-maṭân*, ii, 229; al-Râfî, *al-Muḥbîb wa ṣl-mâbîḥ, i, 16-58; al-Nuwayrî, *Nâhîya, fann 2, kün 1, bâb 2; J. Sadan, *Maiden’s hair and starry skies*, in *İOS, xi* [1991], 57-88). The context in which these descriptions are found shows a fairly clear situation: the hair of the heads of beautiful women is observed by lovers away from the house, in the open air, on the public road, etc. Sometimes the belles let their hair run down to their feet, sometimes they hide their identity and that of their lover by unbraiding and letting flow their hair around their own bodies and those of their lovers. This comes from their fear of being seen with their lovers by passers-by and calumniators. This poetic reality, which reflects a residue of ancient motifs rather than scenes of everyday life, is given real shape by iconography, above all, that of the Fatimid period (a woman with long hair flowing down to, or almost to the ground, in four clearly-distinguished tresses; D.S. Rice, *A drawing of the Fatimid period*, in *BSOS, xxi* [1958], 31-9). Moreover, this iconography shows diverse manners of coiffure, like curls of hair in the form of hooks (either the letter fâ’ or râwâ, grosso modo, or other letters, or “scorpions”, in the language of the poet Abî Nuwâs; see J. Benchenikh, *Poèmes bachiquâs*, in *BEO*, xviii [1963-4], 60-1) over the temples, a style which began at the court of al-ʾAṣmân (d. 198/813; see al-Maṣʿûdî, ed. Pellat, *§ 3451: aṣbâq*). In most of these cases, it is a question of slave girls in interiors.

Nevertheless, one of the duties of a woman faithful to the Islamic law is to cover her hair and the nape of her neck whenever she goes outside [see nihâj]. This question has become one of the symbols of the struggles of contemporary Islamic fundamentalist circles for the piety and purity of the family. This symbol is strongly opposed by those circles who do not consider the teachings about female shame as an integral and rigorous part of the authentic religious tradition. Now, the restrictions imposed by Islam, such
as the prohibition for women of adding wigs or hairpieces to their natural covering of hair, are very clear, and can only develop into a fascinating clash between the ancient religious traditions and Western tastes and concepts of beauty care (see Wensinck, Concordance, s.v. wa-l; M. 'A. 'Amr, al-Lišāb wa l-tāţīna fi l-ta'ārīf al-islāmiyya, Beirut 1985, 403-7; U. A. M. al-Taby'īb, Hušm al-islām fī l-kawāsir [coif- feur] wa-hallāq al-misād, Cairo 1992, 303). In mediaeval times, the jurists permitted dyeing (qādhib) of men's hair. The licitness of this usage has become a bone of contention. In order to distance the biography of the Prophet Muhammad from all controversy of this type, one group of jurists stresses the traditions which suggest that virtually all the Prophet's hair remained black up to his death. These traditions attach great importance, not only to the hair of this great personality who serves as a model for all Muslims (the number of his locks, qādib 'in, qādib 'ar, generally given as four, the length of his hair, which, according to the textual sources, extended to his shoulders, the methods of combing, laying out, putting oil on the hair, etc.), but also to the hair on his chest, as far as the beginning of the stomach or masraba (al-Tirmidhī, Awwāf al-nabi, Beirut 1989, 37-47; Abu M. al-Shaykh, Akhālq al-nabi, Cairo 1993, 184; Ibn al-Dawār, al-Waf', Beirut 1988, 398-402; al-Baghwāf, al-Anwār, Beirut 1989, 1, 148-52; see also Muhammad al-Anwār, al-Insān, Cairo 1993, 184; Ibn al-`Aqīl, Thalāth sha`ār, Cairo 1993, 18, 35-8, 78; al-Suyūtī, Thura fi 'l-ittild, Cairo 1987, 136-7; al-Suyūtī, al-Muzā al-zahiyya, Cairo, Dar al-Djihad n.d.; 'A. M. al-Tayyib, Hadd Fikh al-Lugha, Leiden 1976, 102). The Muslims limited the size of their moustaches (shabāb, dīnār), even a partial tournure, but they allowed their beards to grow (šawār), except for certain ephebes who, by depilation (naf) of their cheeks, "prolonged" their youth for a few weeks (M. al-Hamfd, Lihya fi 'l-Isldm, Cairo, Dar al-Djihad n.d.; A. `Abd al-Hamīd, Hušm al-dīn fī l-tāţīna wa l-kaşāki, Cairo 1984; F. al-Hindawī (ed.), Wujūf šabāb fī l-lihya, Cairo 1987; 'Umar al-`Aṣ̄ah, Thalāth sha`ār, al-Adhīm, al-`Aṣ̄ahī, Lihya fi 'l-Isldm, Cairo, `Ammān 1991; a fatwā by 'A.-H. Khībīg forbidding the trimming of beards in his collected Fatwād, vi, Cairo 1988, 103-4). However, it is allowable to pluck the hair under the armpits (naf al-ibdī), and the hair on the more intimate parts of the body may be removed by using a razor (ishtābdad or haqal) or by applying nūrā, a depilatory paste (see Concordance, s.v. h-`d, h-l-k, n-t-f; al-Dījāzī, Raut` ed., Ħārin, i, 388-9; Usāmā b. Munkūsh, al-`Abd, ed. Himi, 136-7; al-Suyūtī, Al-`Aḥrār al-ma`ṣūra fī l-tiktisī, bi l-nūra (epistle on the usage of depilatories), in his al-Hārī fī l-futūrat, Cairo 1959, i, 524-51; al-Kāsimī, Khūsūl al-sinā`āt al-`aṭīrīyya, i, 37, 103-5, 107-8, ii, 435-6; Lane, Manners and customs, end of ch. XVI, since care of the hair and depilation often took place in public baths, and cf. al-`Askari, ḥa. cīt, 152-64, describing grey hair and the dyeing of hair; al-Nuwayrī, loc. cit. See also the treatises on public baths: al-Muňāfīwā, al-Nuqat al-ṣahīha, Cairo 1987, 18, 35-6, 78; al-Kawkabānī, Ḥudūd al-namāmā fī l-takāmīl `alā mā yata`allik bi l-hamāmām, Beirut 1986, 48-53, 144-50). The term sha`ār also has the sense of "skin, pelt" (human and animal). The wool of sheep is called šif [q.v.], whilst the hair of camels and dromedaries is usually called sha`ār and occasionally wabar; the nomads are called ḥal al-wabar. This hair or wool can be woven, whence the term būrat al-ši`ār for the nomads' tents. Animal pelts are also used to stuff mattresses and valued cushions (Sādān, Le mobilier, Leiden 1976, 102). Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Ṭaḥālībi, Fikh al-baguha, Beirut 1989, 112-13; Ibn Sīda, al-Muḥaddasas, i, 62-79; Iskāfī, Khāfa al-miṣnā, Beirut and Ammān 1991, 48-54; Ghazālī, Ihtīyāt, Tāhān, Book 3, section 3, category 2; Madīnī, Bihār al-anwār, lxxx, 217-32; M. Zand, What is the tress like? Notes on a group of standard Persian metaphors, in G. W. A. R. A. M. Zand, Sādān, i, 148-9; other hair should be cut when it becomes excessive and disgusting (Mugmān, i, 72). Hair removed from the head should be buried (ibd.). Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn Kudāmā, al-Mugmān, Beirut 1304/1983, i, 70 ff.; Abu l-Fath `Abd Allāh b. Mahmūd al-Mugmān, al-Muḥaddasas, Cairo n.d. v. 264 ff.; Nawawī, Sharh Sahih Muslim, Beirut n.d., i, 146 ff.

(A.K. REINHART)

3. In Arabic and Persian poetry.

The ancient Arab poets were interested in two aspects of human hair: namely, woman's black splendour of thick, soft and fragrant hair (*furās*) falling over the shoulders in light waves (ādālāba), plaited or untied under Islamic influence—the young man's down.

Originally, comparison between hair styles was rather undeveloped, probably because most of the terms were of metonymical or metaphorical origin. The Bedouin poets occasionally compared women's exuberant hair (ṣe'af) with bunches of dates (Imru al-Kays b. Hudrī, *Mawlāka, 32/35) and al-Aṣṣār's description of his beloved as "a garden whose grapes (= hair) dangle down upon me" was seen as a very uncommon verse (according to Bāshīr b. Burd, see *al-Farazdak*, [q.v.], *Diwān*, ed. Radawi, Tehran 1959, i, 244, 6). A more elaborate terminology for hair came into being in the *Abbasid period, again, in particular, for the love locks, which are compared sometimes with links of a chain and with annālīs (ṣafīn), sometimes with curved objects such as a scorpion or a polo-stick or the letters nān and lām (al-'Aṣṣārī, *op. cit.*, i, 245, 247; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Diwān*, ed. Khayyat, 91, 1).

But the incentive for a poetical description of the hair is usually found in a complementary or contrastive reality. In the case of greying hair, black and white, which refers to the internal one between youth and old age. Antithetic metaphors are day and night, darkness and light and, linguistically speaking, there is the alliteration of ḍhābāb (youth) and ḍanab (see *al-Farazdak*, *Diwān*, ed. Beirut 1983, 148 v. 32, and Kūhādžīm, in *Nihāya*, ii, 23, 15-16). Abū Tāmmās speaks of the dazzlingly white exterior and the raven-black interior (ibid., 25, 17) and for Rūḍātī, dyeing the hair black is not feigning youth but applying colour of mourning about the loss of youth (Sa'dī *Naftīš, Aḥād al-aṣfār... Rūḍātī, Tehran 1319/1940, vv. 396-7).

In the field of the beauty of the youth of both sexes, contrasts and mental pyrotechnics are stimulated by the opposition between dark hair and white skin. Al-Aṣṣārī still compares the black hair which falls over the naked body of his beloved with his khamīsa (black garment with edging) lying on glittering gold, but to a poet of the 4th/10th century the beauty of a young youth appears "as the black of misfortune, which creeps over the white of happiness" (al-'Thā'ābi, *Yaṭima, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1956, i, 420, 3).

And so the field of fantasy is reached. For Ibn al-Mu'tazz, the polo-stick of the lock drives the ball of the birth-mark (*Diwān*, ed. Lewin, iii, 55, 5) and the love lock's short wavy hair comes too close to the fire of the cheek (*Diwān*, ed. Khayyat, Beirut 1332/1914, 88, 4; for al-Wawlāwī, the "lightning of the teeth", and for Ibn Ḥamīdī the "light of the forehead", become the leader when they go astray in the night of the hair (*Yaṭima, i, 291, 3, and *Diwān Ibn Hamūd*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *ibid.*, 52, from the poem below).

In Persian poetry, hair is completely integrated in the general symmetry of comparison between human and botanical forms of beauty. Lock/down and violet/hyacinth are opposed here, like in Arabic poetry, cheek = rose or eye = narcissus. It may be that this is a heritage of the lyrics of the minstrels (cf. M. Boyce, *The Farthian gosan and Iranian minstrel tradition, in JFARAS (1957), 36). In any case, a play is made later with the corresponding beauty-rhyme of the expressions of flowers, like for instance Kamāl al-Dīn Ḫamdīl (d. 635/1237) in the first part of the verse (*Diwān, ed. Bahr al-ʿulāmī, 343, v. 5810): In the rose-garden (the face), the violets grabbed the hem of the jasmine (the fair skin):

Your field of down countered with a most sweet chin (= "over-trumping").

Already in the most ancient material, the love locks (ṣaljī) and the down (ṣafīn) also *khasif* dominate the field of the Persian descriptions of hair. Later, they are supplemented by the combination "the arrows of the eyelashes on the bow of the eyebrows" (Anwarī, *Diwān*, ed. Radawī, Tehran 1959, i, 34, 3). Sometimes the length of the love lock is emphasised, sometimes its unity and its tousled nature. It drags on in innumerable windings, curves and knots, *ʿayn in ʿayn, as Maʿrūf says in a comparison with letters (Lazārīd, *Les premiers poètes persans, Paris-Tehran 1964, ii, 194, v. 18). It remains the "chain" of Arabic poetry, but becomes also a "trap", a "snare" and a "lasso" (*dam, kamand*) and, from the time of Rūḍātī (d. 329/1040-1), connected with the image that the hearts of the amorous have to languish in its bonds (Naftīš, *Aḥād al-aṣfār, 1038, v. 469).

The swarthiness of the hair remains, incidentally, an inexhaustible source for the invention of images in Persian poetry. Reference is made to all that is literarily or figuratively black: musk, a Hindu, Ahriman, infidelity, etc. Even in the theosophical visions of Ayn al-Kudāt Ḥamadānī *[q.v.]*, the "black light" of Iblīs appears as a forelock on the luminous head of God (Tambādīt, ed. 'Usayrī, Tehran 1341/1970, 118, ll. 8-9; cf. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft, i, Berlin 1991, 345-6).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Specific chapters devoted to the theme of poetical treatment of hair are found in *Taghūdī* works, like that of Kattānī, ed. 'Abbas, Beirut 1966, 124-31; in collections of motifs, such as that by Abū Hilāl al-'Aṣṣārī, *Diwān al-maṣādīr*, Cairo 1352/ 1934-3, i, 244-50; and in encyclopaedic *adab* works such as Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-ʿarab*, Cairo 1923 ff., ii, 16-31. Individual verses on the theme of hair can be met on almost all places where erotic poetry is written, collected or quoted.

(B. REINHART)

SHARĀB [see MAGHRĀBuK]

SHARĀB [a.], a verbal noun from the root *ṣhr-* indicating elevation, nobility, pre-emminence in the physical and the moral senses. Hence the *sharīf* [*q.v.*] is a person who is placed above those who surround him on account of his prestigious and noble origin. In pre-Islamic Arabia and in early Islam, *sharīf* and *mahdi* both denote "illustriousness on account of birth", while *husbāb*, "individual quality, merit" (as opposed to *nasab*) and *karām* denote "illustriousness acquired by means of knowledge, virtue" (see above).

According to the historians of Islam, those among the Arabs who could claim this innate glory, this
nobility of birth, were the descendants of Kuraysh in the Lddilya and in Islam, comprising Hashim, Umayya, Nawfal, 'Abd al-Dār, Asad, Taym, Makhtum, 'Abbās, 'Umar, and 'Ali, in all, ten families (sū działa), the offspring of ten wombs (ba'tin) (cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbiḥ, al-Ḥāfi al-fard, ed. Sādir, Beirut, fasc. xii, 8).

But this list was to be much reduced in the course of the first century of Islam, nobility of birth being concentrated in the family of the Prophet. The Prophet himself was reckoned to embody all the nobility of the Arabs, since it was said of him that he was the best of creatures, being the offspring of the best part of the best of creatures, being the offspring of the best part of the offspring of the best of the offspring of the offspring of the offspring of the offspring of the offspring of the offspring of the offspring of the offspring of the offspring of Adam, to expel al-Harith, to have forty-eight members of his family executed by his loyal retainers, and to have the man himself assassinated by his allies the Banū Kalaḥ. Such was the end of the glory of the Kinda, lamented by a grandson of al-Ḥārith, 'Imruʿ al-Kays, one of the greatest poets of pre-Islamic Arabia.

This glory was retrieved by the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids, both originating from Yemen (while the Kinda came from Ḥadramawt). But they, too, left no recognised lineage and no acknowledged nobility. All of this was based on a rivalry, the memories of which are not yet extinct, between Kays (Arabs of the North and Yamanis (Arabs of the South).

There remains prophetic nobility (ṣaraf hayt al-nabī). It is immortalised by the qaftān of Mecca (whose heir is the King of Jordan) and the Şorrīl (see Şurfwa) of Morocco (Idrīsids, Saʿiddyūs, etc.). The Umayyads tried in vain to revive the glories of Kuraysh. Only poetry has retained its memory.

**Bibliography:** The most important sources for the subject are: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Zuhayrī, K. Naṣr, Kuraysh, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953; Baladhurī, Anṣāb al-aṣḥaf, an immense historical and genealogical encyclopaedia (the Cairo ms. comprises 12 vols.), of which the following vols. have been published:


The third important source is Ibn Ḥazm, Qamhārī anṣāb al-'Arab, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948.

For a sociological analysis of the notion of honour (ţālīf) among the pre-Islamic Arabs, see Ezouard (in the thesis) or Bišrī (in the article) Farès, L’honneur chez les Arabes. Étude de sociologie, Paris 1932, and his article on 'Al-Ḥāsif (in the Al-Šurra, see Suppl.).
SHARAF AL-DÍN

southern Lebanon, 'Abd al-Husayn came back to 'Irāk in 1892, and he pursued his studies in Nadjaf until May 1904, when he returned to his home village. Apart from a period of exile after World War I (see below) and a number of journeys abroad, he lived in Tyre until his death on 30 December, 1957, being then buried in Nadjaf.

Supported, inter alia, by Lebanese Shi'í communities in West Africa, Sharaf al-Dín was over the years able to establish a number of religious, educational and social institutions in Tyre, such as a Huqayna, a Friday mosque, schools (including one for girls), a charitable society and an orphanage. Moreover, new mosques were erected or old ones rebuilt on his initiative in a number of adjacent villages. As far as his political activities are concerned, he has been praised by many authors for his stand against the French Mandate over Lebanon [see Lubnàn], and notably for a speech he delivered at a meeting of political and religious leaders at Wāḍāt 'Al-Hujayr in Amμm 'Ammār, which has also been criticised by a few others who have interpreted his attitude at that time and in the following years somewhat differently. However, as a result of his agitation against the mandatory power, he was forced to leave southern Lebanon. First he went to Damascus, after the battle of Maysalūn [q.v.] to Egypt, and finally to Palestine, from where he was allowed to return to Tyre in June 1921 (for a book written wholly in defence of Sharaf al-Dín's political role, see Muhammad al-Kurām, al-Qādīrī fi silsilat al-Shī'īn, Beirut 1956, 626-9.

As a religious scholar, Sayyid 'Abd al-Husayn was known for his erudition in both Shī'ī and Sunnī Hadīth, for his apologetical fervour as well as for his conservative standpoint on a number of issues raised by Shi'ī modernists, such as the corpus traffic to the 'Atabāt [q.v. in Suppl.] and its paraphernalia (see Y. Nakash, The Shi'īs of Iraq, Princeton 1994, 184-201, esp. 193-7) and certain features of the t'dżīm processions (see W. Ende, The flagellants of Muhammad, in Isl., iv [1978], 19-36, esp. 31-2).

As far as his works are concerned, a history of his own family as well as of the Āl Ṣadr, who are closely linked to the Āl Sharaf al-Dín by intermarriage, was published only posthumously by one of his sons, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh, with extensive additions, i.e. Bughyāt al-rāqībah fi istilāl Āl Sharaf al-Dín, Beirut 1991 (with 'Abd al-Husayn's autobiography in ii, 63-254).

Of special fame in Shi'i circles is his book al-Manāqibāt, a work on doctrinal questions purporting to contain his correspondence with an Egyptian Sunni scholar, Sallām al-Bīghrī (d. 1917), who was Shaykh al-Azhār when Sharaf al-Dín came to Cairo in 1911. The first edition was published only in 1936 in Sidon, while the 10th appeared in 1972 in Beirut; since then there have been several reprints (as well as translations into other languages). Many Shi'i consider this work (i.e. Sharaf al-Dín's answers to al-Bīghrī's questions) as one of the most convincing expositions of the Twelver Shi'i doctrine of the imāmas [q.v.] that has ever been written (for a discussion of its rather uncertain authorship, see A. Bajbar, Annaherung...

The last of his books published in his lifetime is al-Nass wa l-iajtihād, Nadjaf 1956. It Beirut 1988, a work on early Islam and the role of the Companions of the Prophet in the development of the Sharī'a.

For lists of Sharaf al-Dín's many works, see e.g. Kubaqṣī, 53-89; Sadr, 29-52; 'Āl Yasin, 20-7; Bughyāt 'Ali, 113-14, 146-8; Fadl Allāh, 55-70; all these authors also mention unpublished writings of his lost when soldiers plundered his houses in Shī'īr and Tyre during the disturbances of 1920. See further K. 'Awādī, Mu'allim al-mu'allifin, iii, Baghdād 1969, 228-9; Y.A. Darīgh, Masādīr al-dirūsa al-adhābīya, i, ii, Beirut 1972, 626-9.


SHARAF AL-DÍN AL-ÁL YAZDI, Persian historian and poet of the Timūrid period, born at Yazd, died in 858/1454.

He was a favourite of the Timūrid ruler Shāh Rūkh [q.v.] and of his son Mirzā Abu l-Fath Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, governor of Fārs, and in 832/1429 became tutor to the captured young Čingizid Yūnus Khān, to whom he dedicated many poems. He was then in the service of the Timūrid prince Mirzā Sulṭān Muhammad in 'Irāk, 'Adjamf or western Persia, and narrowly escaped death when that prince rebelled in 850/1447. After Shāh Rūkh's death he retired to Yazd and settled in the nearby village of Tāf, where he died, being buried in the Sharafīya madrasa which he had founded.

Yazdī had a high reputation as a litterateur and poet. In addition to his poetry, written under the taḥqīlīya of Sharaf, he wrote a commentary on the Burda ode of al-Bīghrī [q.v. in Suppl.], a work on magic squares and a work on riddles (mu'amma), in which he compiled an anthology of Arabic and Persian poetry; and he left behind a collection of ināḥā. His main fame, however, stems from his Żafar-nāma, a florid and euphuistic, hence much admired at the time (with the result that a large number of ms. survive), history in Persian of Timūr and his grandson Khāliṣ Sulṭān. This was compiled from other histories of the great conqueror and from eyewitness accounts, and completed in 828/1425; further planned sections on Shah Rukh and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān were never completed.

Bibliography: Dawlat Shāh, Taḏkīrāt al-šayrān, ed. Browne, 378-81; C. Rieu, Cat. of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum, 173-5; Browne, LHP, iii, 362-5; Storey, i, 284-8, 1274; Storey-Bregel, ii, 797-807; Rypka et alii, History of Persian literature, 434, 444. The most recent eds. of the Żafar-nāma include that of M. 'Abbaṣī, Tehran 1336/1957, and facs. ed. A. Uraibaī, Taskehent 1972.

SHARAF AL-DÍN, HASAN RĀMĪ [see RĀMĪ TABRĪZĪ].
al-Sha‘rānī, ‘Abd al-Wahhab b. Ahmad (897-973/1492-1565), Egyptian Sufi, scholar, historian of Sufism, and a prolific writer about many religious subjects during a period otherwise poor in distinguished figures of learning and piety in the Arab lands.

Sources. The main sources for al-Sha‘rānī’s life are his own writings, which must, of course, be used with caution. This is especially true of Lātif al-minnān, his lengthy account of the graces bestowed upon him by God, a work that beside recounting miraculous events, also includes many autobiographical elements. Paradoxically, al-Sha‘rānī’s voluminous literary output gives us little of himself, because most of his biographies, such as his disciple ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Munāwī [q.v.], drew heavily on his works, adding little new information. An important biography, al-Manākīb al-kabūrā, was written in 1109/1697 by Muhammad Muhīr l-Dīn al-Malīdī, an affiliate of the al-Sha‘rānī order (Cairo 1350/1932).

Origins and life. According to al-Sha‘rānī, his ancestor five generations back was Māṣā Abū Imrān, son of Mūsá Abū al-Malak. Mūsá was a follower of Shāykh Abū Mādān Shuyr‘āy (d. 594/1197), the founder of the Shāhīdī Sufī tradition, who sent him to Egypt. Finally, the family settled in the village of Sākiyāt Abū Ṣa‘rā in the Minūfiyya province, hence the nāma. Al-Sha‘rānī came to Cairo at the age of twelve and settled in the Bāb al-Sha‘rīyā quarter and was raised in a Sūfī milieul. He became a student of Cairo’s best-known ulamā‘ of all the madhdhib, not only his own Shafī‘i one, and a follower of distinguished orthodox Sūfis. Yet his spiritual director was an illiterate palm-leaf platter (hence, his lākāb), named ‘Arī al-Khawwās al-Burullūsī (d. 939/1532-3). Al-Sha‘rānī became a successful and wealthy man and a popular writer thanks to his attractive personality, erudition and readable style. Inevitably, his popularity made him many enemies and rivals, the most prominent of whom was Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Karim al-Dīn (d. 985/1578), the leader of the Shadhīlī ethics and literature, but did not identify himself as causing hallucinations and not true religious experience. He never states his own tarīka affiliation, and identifies generally with the tarīka al-kūm, i.e., the orthodox way of al-Du‘aynād. His initiation into the tarīka seems to have been merely ceremonial or for the sake of obtaining baraka.

As a historian of Sufism (he compiled collections of tabakāt containing lives and sayings of Sūfis) and an apologist for it, al-Sha‘rānī insists that genuine Sūfis have never contravened the Shari‘a in word or deed, and if it seems otherwise, it is only because of a misunderstanding, misinterpretation, ignorance of the Sūfī terminology, or interpolation by enemies. In this way, al-Sha‘rānī chose to defend the orthodoxy of the great mystic Muhyī ‘l-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī [q.v.], whose ideas he epitomises in his al-Ya‘luki wa l-‘ajawdhir, rendering the mystic’s complicated theories in a simplified way.

His fīkh. In his al-Mīzān al-Kubrā, al-Sha‘rānī expounds a theory based on Sūfī assumptions that aims at the unification of the four madhdhib, or at least their equality and the need to narrow the gaps between them. He believed that there were no real differences between the founders of the madhdhib in contradistinction to the opinions held by their narrow-minded imitators (mukalladūn). The founders were aqīdā and thus had access to the Source of the Law (qiyā al-Sharī‘a) whence they derived the precepts of religion. According to him, there is only one Shari‘a, and it has two standards—strict (a‘zima) for those who are resolute in their religion, and lenient (mukadda) for those who are weak. Generally, al-Sha‘rānī criticised the fakāba‘ for troubling the common people with the finer points of jurisprudence, of little relevance to the essentials of Islam.

His social ideas. His weaknesses and inconsistencies notwithstanding, al-Sha‘rānī had a feeling for the essentials of Islam. He also had a genuine empathy for the weak and underprivileged elements of society, such as felthatene, labourers, and women. He paid particular attention to the relations of Sūfis with members of the ruling class and wrote a treatise advising ‘ulamā‘ and fikhrīs how to get along with amīrs. His criticism of the rulers’ injustice in general and the Ottoman rulers of Egypt in particular, is typically circumstantial, but he hints at the date 923/1517, the year of the Ottoman conquest, as a turning point for the worse, and elsewhere makes a hostile remark about the kānim, the Ottoman administrative law.


In Burckhardt’s time, the Shararāt were known for their camel herds, which they exchanged in the Havān and at Gaza for wheat. They regarded Ma‘ān, Dja‘āf and Madā‘an Sāliḥ as their former properties; Doughty suggested that they came from the Banī Hālāl and the Banī ‘Ayyūr. The Rwala and the Banī Şakhir, at the same time themselves taking al-Sha‘rānī [q.v.] from Dja‘āf and, at an earlier date, from the Hūṣay Ṭūn and the Banī ‘Ayyūr. The Rwala and Şakhir did not intermarry.

316 AL-SHARARAT — SHARARAT
with them because the Shararat paid for protection. The Shararat were subject, in Doughty's time, to the amir of the Al Rashid [g.v.] in Hayil, like most tribes. Both Doughty and Musil emphasised the excellence of the Al Rashid [r.r.] in Hayil, like most tribes. Both Doughty and Musil emphasised the excellence of the Al Rashid [r.r.] in Hayil, like most tribes.

The increasing drawing of northern Arabia into tribal and then state politics probably accounts for the politically-weak Shararat's initial impoverishment, accelerated by the declining market for camels, which had virtually disappeared by the 1940s. Many Shararat are now in the National Guard, army and police of Saudi Arabia or involved in local government, whilst their camel herds supply an urban market for their milk and flesh.


AL-SHARAT, from the Latin serra through the Spanish sierra, is the term applied by certain geographers of Muslim Spain to the mountains which stretch from east to west in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula. The best definition is given by Ibn Fa'dl Allah al-Umarf. According to this author, the mountain range called al-Sharat stretches from the country behind Madinat Salm (Medinaceli) to Coimbra. This term therefore describes the mountains now known under the names of Sierra de Guadarrama (Ar. Wadi't l-Ramla?), Sierra de Gredos and Sierra de Gata in Spain and Serra de Estrella in Portugal. In the course of al-Idrīsī, however, it was applied only to the Sierra de Guadarrama, to the north of Madrid. The geographer Abu 'l-Fida', quoting Ibn Sa'id, described the mountain system of the centre of al-Andalus under the name of Djabal al-Shara. According to him, it divided the peninsula into two well marked divisions, the north and the south.

Al-Idrīsī, in his description of al-Andalus, gives the name of al-Sharat to one of the twenty-six “climes” of this country, the twenty-second in his classification; this region, which embraced all the Sierra de Guadarrama, included the towns of Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, Madrid, al-Fahmin, Guadalajarra, Ucles and Huete.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, Sīfat al-Maghrib, ed. and tr. Dozy and de Goeje, index; Abu 'l-Fida', Tatbīkun al-buddan, ed. Reinaud and de Sane, Paris 1840, 66, 167; E. Fagman, Extrās inédits relatifs au Maghreb, Algiers 1924, 93 and index s.v. ach-Chārāt; E. Saavedra, La geografía de España del Ebrisi, Madrid 1881, 48; J. Allemany Bofarull, La geografía de la Península Ibérica en los escritores árabes, in Revista del Centro de Estudios Historicos de Granada y su Reino, x (Granada 1920), 3-4. [E. LEVY-PROVENCAL]

AL-SHARJA [see AL-SHĀRIKA].

SHARH (A.), pl. sharīh, denotes in Arabic a commentary on a text of greater or lesser length, but this term by itself does not cover the entire semantic domain of “commentary”. Lexically, it refers to notions of opening, expansion, explanation and finally of commentary.

Sixty-seven sharhs appear in the Fihrist: language (29), of which two have a title; two Sharh abāyi Fihrist; a Sharh abāyi al-Fihrist; two Sharhs Sharh al-Murjān al-Fihrist; Sharh Maksūrat Ibn Dauray by Abū Sa'id al-Sṭāfī, commentary on a didactic poem; two Sharh al-mā'ānī, philosophy and sciences (16), concerning the Djabirian corpus (4); Ḥanafi fikr (5), Ḡāfīrī (4), Malikī (3), Zāhīrī (1), theology (2), ḥadīth (2) and Shafi'i (1).

Also found there are nineteen-six taṣliht: Kūr'ān (40), philosophy and sciences, whether these are translated works—they are the majority—or commentaries written directly in Arabic (25); the instances where the expression fassara al-hathār is used have not been counted; the same applies to sharahah, poetry (8), Old Testament (7), Gospels (1), language (4), language and theology (1), fikr (1), ḥadīth (1) and miscellaneous (8). In the course of time, the number of commentaries becomes impressive, to the point where this emerges as one of the characteristics of Arabic literary production. Many of them are veritable museums, as if their authors feared the loss of whole sections of the patrimony.

I. Grammar and philology.

Among the works which were the object of commentaries at a very early stage, particular distinction belongs to the fihrist of Sibawayh (d. 180/796 et al. cit.; 19 titles in Sezgin, x, no. 132; 32 names of commentators or glossators in Ḥadżdżī Khalīfa, ii, 1427-48). It is difficult to conclude whether the terminology to denote these works is contemporary; it varies between tatbīk, taṣfīr, taṣfīr, nukat, sharh (or ikhrāj) nukat and sharh (Sezgin, ix, 58-63). Besides al-Ākhfāsh al-Awṣat [g.v.], the disciple of Sibawayh, the following works are listed here: Abu 'Umar al-Djarmī (d. 225/839), Tafsīr sharh Sibawayh; al-Mazīnī (d. 248/862), K. Tafsīr K. Sibawayh; Abu Ya'la al-Zur'ī (d. 257/871), Nukat 'alā K. Sibawayh; al-Mubahhad (d. 285/898), Tafsīr mā ṣallīha inshā'ah al-ḥudjdia fihi. Of the various commentaries and glosses on the Kāfūb which have been edited, worth mentioning are: the Sharh of Abū Sa'īd al-Sṭāfī (d. 368/979; MIDEO, xviii, no. 9, xii, no. 18), that of al-Rummānī (MIDEO, xxi, no. 20), Tafsīr al-Taftāzh 'alā K. Sibawayh by Abū 'Ali al-Fārisī [g.v.] (MIDEO, xxi, no. 19).

Sharh does not invariably denote a commentary on a work; it also refers to explanations given regarding a subject within a book, especially regarding verses (abyāt) or probative quotations (gawāhidh). The monumental Kāzīnāt al-adab of 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghḍādī [g.v.] constitutes the crowning achievement of this type of literature.

Later treatises on grammar or grammatical didactic poems were also the object of commentary, sometimes to an even greater extent. These include al-Muṣāfāṣ al-Zamakhshārī (d. 539/1144, 24 according to Brockelmann, F, 347, S I, 509-10; 18 in Ḥadżdżī Khalīfa, ii, 1774-5), al-Durr al-alifyya of Ibn Mu'tūf (d. 628/1261, MIDEO, xxi, no. 24); al-Kāfūb of Ibn Ḥādīj (51 entries in Brockelmann, F, 367-70, S I, 531-5; MIDEO, xix no. 9; Sharh of Ibn Djamā'a: cf. Makram, 61-2); al-Shaykhī (23 principal entries in Brockelmann, F, 370-1, S I, 535-7; cf. Makram, 66) of Ibn Ḥādīj (d. 694/1294); and especially al-Jāiliationi al-ālifyya (45 entries in Brockelmann, F, 359-62, x (Granada 1920), 522-6; MIDEO, x, no. 2, for the commentary of Ibn 'Akit; MIDEO, xix, no. 8; ten; cf. Makram, 176) of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274). Some of these commentaries were in their turn the object of commentaries or glosses, among others Awdah al-mašālik of Ibn Ḥāshīm (d. 762/1361; 11 entries in Brockelmann, S I, 523).

Numerous unedited commentaries pose a problem on account of the similarity between the titles of the works to which they refer; this applies in the case of those on the Kāfūb, the number of commentaries and glosses. The term itself does not indicate a commentary on a work; it also refers to explanations given in relation to a subject within a book, especially regarding verses (abyāt) or probative quotations (gawāhidh). The monumental Kāzīnāt al-adab of 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghḍādī [g.v.] constitutes the crowning achievement of this type of literature.

Another problem is that of the number of commentaries and glosses. The term itself does not denote a commentary on a work; it also refers to explanations given in relation to a subject within a book, especially regarding verses (abyāt) or probative quotations (gawāhidh). The monumental Kāzīnāt al-adab of 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghḍādī [g.v.] constitutes the crowning achievement of this type of literature.

Another problem is that of the number of commentaries and glosses. The term itself does not denote a commentary on a work; it also refers to explanations given in relation to a subject within a book, especially regarding verses (abyāt) or probative quotations (gawāhidh). The monumental Kāzīnāt al-adab of 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghḍādī [g.v.] constitutes the crowning achievement of this type of literature.
Sarradj (d. 316/928), with commentary by one of his disciples, al-Kummâni (Sezgin, ix, 84).

In lexicography, the K. al-'Ayn of al-Kâhli b. Ahmad [q.v.] has less the object of commentary than of addenda et emendanda (Sezgin, viii, 54-6). The same applies to the Qârîb al-mu'assanah of Abû 'Ubâyda (d. 224/838), except that it was also the object of commentary strictu sensu, in particular by Ibn Sîdûh (d. 438/1046) and by Ibn 'Abbas al-Mursî (ibid., cf. 460/1066); twelve diverse entries in Sezgin, viii, 83-4; MIDEO, xx, no. 6). His K. al-'Amîdî received the same treatment (six in Sezgin, viii, 84-5). The same applied to al-Qudwa, 27 to Ibn Dâ'ûd (d. 391/997) (six entries for summaries, additions, etc., in Sezgin, viii, 103). But no work of this period has received as much attention on the part of lexicographers as the K. al-Fâṣîr of the Kifân Thâlab (d. 291/904) (42 entries, including 20 commentaries, in Sezgin, viii, 142-4; MIDEO, xix, no. 5). Major lexicographical works or dictionaries have seldom been subjected to commentary. However, the emendations, alterations, additions, elucidations, additions, glosses, corrections and even "summaries" (ta'âbîn, hawâdkh, tashîh) of which they have been the object belong more or less to the domain of "commentary". Furthermore, the more recent of them are in a relationship of "commentaries" to "texts" with regard to the earlier (see Kraemer; Sezgin, viii; introd. by A.S.A. Farâdî to T'4, ed. Kuwait; EL, art ƙârbîn). II. Poetry, adab and stylistics.

It is hardly surprising that Ibn al-Nadîm does not notice a single qârîb of collections of poetry, seeing that he mentions only twenty-eight dâ'ârûn. Al-Âmîdî (d. 371/981) refers to 59 (R. Jacoby, in GaP, ii, 11). Moreover, collections of poetry were at first called qâtîr or even khaðar (Sezgin, iii, 36-46). It should, however, be recognised that "commentaries" on poetry are not absent from the Fâṣîr, although this is only through the intermediary of the qârîb abîyâr/gâhwîh or the qârîb ma'ânî al-Bayhî of Lughâda/Lughâtha al-Istoryânî, contemporary of Ibn Kutaiba, and of Bundâr b. 'Abd al-Hamîd b. Lurra (first half of 3rd/9th century). On the other hand, Ibn al-Nadîm mentions three tafsîr of poetry by Ibn Durutawayh (d. 347/958; Sezgin, viii, 106-8): of al-Mu'adhdhînî (incomplete), of al-Sâ'î [al-Mu'alla'kât] and of the Kâfîdha of Shuhayb b. 'Azra. He also adds here the Tafsîr al-salî [al-dhâhîyya] wa-ghârîbî, of al-'Umari, judge of Takrit, and the Tafsîr al-Hamasa of Abû Tammân [q.v.] by al-'Umari (ibid. ca. 364/975, Sezgin, vii, 68).

Among the commentators on the Mu'âllakât (29 entries in Sezgin, iii, 50-3; cf. Blachère, HLA, i, 143-8), worth mentioning are: Abû Sa'id al-Dâ'îrî (d. 282/895), Ibn Kaysânî (d. 299/911), Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbarî (d. 328/940; in fact a revision of his father's commentary), Ibn al-Nahhâs [q.v.], al-Zâwâzînî (d. 486/1093), Abû Bakr al-Bâtâyawî (d. 494/1100) and Abû Zakariyâyî al-Tibrizî (d. 502/1109). The Hamasa of Abû Tammâm was no less the object of commentaries (36 entries in Sezgin, iii, 69-72). The greatest success in these terms belongs, however, to the Bûdar Sîdî of Ka'b b. Zuhayr [q.v.] (48 in Sezgin, ii, 231-34).

Some authors distinguished themselves in the elucidation of various collections of poetry. These include Abû Sa'id al-Sukkarî (d. 275/888); Ibn al-Anzarî, disciple of Thâlab" baths" commentary on al-Mu'adhdhînî (Sezgin, ii, 54; Blachère, HLA, i, 148-50); Abû Bakr al-Sûli (d. 335/946) commentaries on the Hamasa of Abû Tammân (Sezgin, ii, 68); al-Mâarrî [q.v.], commentator especially of the Mîdhdhûnî (MIDEO, xx, no. 66); Abû 'Ali al-Kâlî (d. 356/967); Ibn Khâlîlawî (d. 370/980); Ibn Djinîn (d. 392/1002); al-Marrûkî (d. 421/1030); Abû 'l-'Hasan al-Wâhidî (d. 468/1073); al-'Alâm al-Shantamâri (d. 476/1083); commentaries on the seven Mu'âllakât; al-Tibrizî: commentaries on the Hamasa (Sezgin, ii, 71, no. 24), on the Lâmmûnî al-'Arab of Shanfârâr (Sezgin, ii, 135); Mawhûb al-Djawâlî (d. 540/1145); Ibn Hâjîm al-Ansârî (d. 761/1360).

Among works of adab, the Adab al-šâhîb of Ibn Kutayba has drawn the attention of commentators (eleven in G. Lecomte, Ibn Qutayba, 104-5). An interesting case in the domain of stylistics is that of the Mu'âlla't al-'ulâm of the Sâkkâli (626/1229), Hâjîdî Khalîfî, ii, 1762-8) which was the object of a comprehensive commentary (explicit, 742/1341) by Husâm al-Dîn al-Qârâzmi. But it was especially the third part of this work, on stylistics, which was commented on and glossed, then summarised (see A. Arazî and H. Ben Shammâi, art. Muqâtasâr, in Vol. VII, 571), the summaries in their turn being commented on and glossed. The ideas of the author are evidently modified by the commentators and glossators (Brockelmann, I, 352-6, S I, 513-19; A. Mâlîkhârî, al-Barâqî wa-shurûh al-Tafsîr, Baghdad-Paris, 1967; R. Sellheim, i, 299-317; W. Heinrichs, in GaP, ii, 184).

III. Religious sciences.

It is probable that the first "commentaries" or explanations in this area were applied to the qârîb [q.v.] of the Qur'ân and of hadîth in the form of oral explanations, of pamphlets, then of books. These were therefore not "commentaries" on a work, but explanations of a term, of a verse, or of a tradition. In fact, they most often bear the title of Qârîb al-Tafsîr al-hadîth or al-Qur'ân, or even Qârîb al-hadîth (Abû 'Ubâyda, d. 207/822, whose Madjâz al-Qur'ân is also called al-Madjâz fi qârîb al-hadîth). For commentaries on the Qur'ân, the accepted term is tafsîr [q.v.]. However, the Mustazîfî Abû Mûsîr al-Istoryânî (d. 322/934) is the author of a commentary sometimes called Qârîb al-tawîl al-Qur'ân wa-shurûh ta'âbîn (E. Kohlberg, A medieval Muslim scholar at work, Leiden 1992, 330). For the explanation of isolated passages of the Qur'ân, qârîb is sometimes applied to a few pages (al-ma'âtir), in the form: Qârîb ka'bîsî tawîl (four in the list of works of Makkî b. Abî Tâlib, in Kifîr, Inbâh, iii, 317-8) or Qârîb bi'a, ..., or even Qârîb al-Tafsîr sirî, ..., Qârîb al-Basmâ, Qârîb kalamayî al-thâbahâ. Al-Madzîfî by al-Zamakhsharî (d. 538/1144), unusually for a commentary on the Qur'ân, was frequently the object of the commentaries and glosses (Brockelmann, F, 345-6, S I, 507-9). The "commentaries on the divine names" also contain interpretations of the terms according to various theological orientations. They may bear various titles: Qârîb al-asma- l-husnî (31 in Hâjîdî Khalîfî, ii, 1031-5), but also Tafsîr, Kitûb, etc. (D. Gimaret, Les noms dows en Islam, Paris 1988, 16-29).

In the context of hadîth, qârîb is used for the commentary on a single tradition. Some traditions have been subjected to extensive commentary, in particular Qârîb hadîth 'Umm Zârî: al-Tabârî (Gilliot, Eli (see Böll), 67), al-Kâfî 'Iyâd (ibid., no. 8); Qârîb hadîth 'Umm Zârî by Ibn al-Anbarî (Sezgin, viii, 154) and Ibn al-Khalîlî (lor. ca. 1000/1591). The major collections of prophetic traditions, in particular the "six books", have been the object of an impressive number of commentaries, the majority of which are supplied with titles: 27 for al-Mawacid, all recensions combined (sometimes also Tafsîr al-Mawacid', M. Muranyi, Ein MIDEO, xx, no. 66); 56 for al-Šâhîb, 27 for Muslim (Sezgin, ii, 115 ff.), etc. In the genre of the "Forty
Prophetic Traditions", the collection of al-Nawawi (d. 676/1277), al-Abd al-Munawwir, has been the object of some forty commentaries, including one by the author himself (L. Pouzet, Une Hermenéutique de la tradition islamique, Beirut 1982, 55-7). In the terminology of hadith, pride of place probably belongs to the Mukaddima of Ibn al-Salâh [q.v.], which was commented on, glossed and summarised (Brockelmann, F', 441-2, S I, 610-12; MIDOE, xix, no. 43; xxi, no. 121).

The energy of the commentators in Muslim law is no less impressive (Spies, 238-69; Sezgin, i, 409-524). In Hanifi law (Spies, 238-47; Sezgin, i, 409-57), at least 15 manuals were known to have been made on one of the oldest Hanafi compilations offitri, al-Qāmūs al-Kabîr of al-Shaybâni (d. 189/805), including those by al-Tahawi (d. 321/933) and al-Marghânî (d. 539/1146). The latter's Taqrib al-‘ābat’id, with the commentary of al-Shârîf al-Dîjdjânî and the glosses of the Indian 'Abd al-Hâkim al-Sijâlkî (d. 1067/1657) and of Hasan Celîbi al-Fanârî (d. 886/1484) (W. Madelung, in GaP, ii, 333). As in law, there were occasions when theologians of different trends commented on one another. Thus the Muṣâṣâṣ al-‘alîr of the Aḥârî Fâhrî al-Dîn al-Râzî was the object of commentary by a Shâfi’î of Muṣâfî’s persuasions. Furthermore, Násîr al-Dîn al-Târî (d. 964/1557), later's Taqrib al-‘ābat’id, was glossed by the Zaydîs al-Amîr al-Sanjî (d. 1128). As in mysticism, numerous texts were the objects of commentary, beginning with the K. al-To’arîfîn of al-Kalâbîhî (d. 380/990), in particular by 'Alî al-Kûnâwî (d. 712/1316; Sezgin, i, 669), the Rîwâlî of the Kûshâyî (d. 465/1072) by Zakariyâ’i al-Ansârî (d. 926/1520; Brockelmann, F', 556, S I, 771-2). The standard edition of the work, with a long introduction dealing with logic and ontology, was commented on by the Şâhîf’s Aḥârî Muḥmûd al-İsľâhânî (d. 749/1349) under the title Taqrib al-‘ābat’id (‘al-Shârî al-ţadîm), then by the Sunnî astronomer and philosopher al-Kâfîrî (d. 879/1474) [see ‘Alî al-Kâfîrî (‘al-Shârî al-ţadîm)]. These two commentators were in turn the object of commentaries and glosses by Shîfî and Sunnî authors (Brockelmann, F', 670-2, S I, 925-7; W. Madelung, in GaP, ii, 333).

In mysticism, numerous texts were the objects of commentary, beginning with the K. al-To’arîfîn of al-Kalâbîhî (d. 380/990), in particular by ‘Alî al-Kûnâwî (d. 712/1316; Sezgin, i, 669), the Rîwâlî of the Kûshâyî (d. 465/1072) by Zakariyâ’î al-Ansârî (d. 926/1520; Brockelmann, F', 556, S I, 771-2). The standard edition of the work, with a long introduction dealing with logic and ontology, was commented on by the Şâhîf’s Aḥârî Muḥmûd al-İsľâhânî (d. 749/1349) under the title Taqrib al-‘ābat’id (‘al-Shârî al-ţadîm), then by the Sunnî astronomer and philosopher al-Kâfîrî (d. 879/1474) [see ‘Alî al-Kâfîrî (‘al-Shârî al-ţadîm)]. These two commentators were in turn the object of commentaries and glosses by Shîfî and Sunnî authors (Brockelmann, F', 670-2, S I, 925-7; W. Madelung, in GaP, ii, 333).
which derived in part from the scholia of their base texts or from the commentaries which were at their disposal. Numerous terms need to be taken into consideration, especially in the domain of logic, even though it is not always easy to tell them apart.

Tafsîr is a generic term which signifies literally “to bring to light, reveal” something which is hidden, and consequently “to interpret, elucidate, explain”, and sometimes even to interpret in the sense of translating. This generic sense appears under the rubric of De interpretatione, in Fihrist, 249, where the authors of writings called “synopses” or “epitomes” (summariam, @rawd, “abridgments” (maddâsâr, takhrî), or “commentaries” (sharks), were defined as exegetes (al-mufassirun). Sharh is “the commentary on a text which is not an interpretative abridgment, but which may nevertheless be of variable length” (Gutas, 35). This can be a developed commentary, ad letteram (“à la lettre”), or an interpretation according to the sense (“à la mânâa”) in the form of a paraphrase (e.g. Talkhsât Safsata, Exposition or Paraphrase of the Sophistic elenchi by Ibn Rushd). It can also have the appearance of notes on the text (e.g. Sharh K. Bûnîmîyds ‘alâ hatî al-ta’tîk of al-Fârâbî; for a full analysis, see Endress, in GaP, ii, 461-73, iii, 19-20; Gutas, 31-43.

V. Other elements of the semantic field of “commentary”.

It is appropriate to include other terms here e.g. takhrî (revision of a text, or even “edition”), a term which refers to remarks on a text of the ancients (al-ma’dâld, al-madrasa al-nahwiyya fi Misr wa ‘l-Shâm, O. Spies, in C. Burnett (ed.), Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, Beirut 1980; M. Muranyi, Shuruh al-a’la, an Arab Islamic city, London 1983, 146). “It is the Street called Straight, the main street of Damascus” in Ibn ‘Asîkîr (N. Ellisfeïf, La description de Damas d’Ibn ‘Asîkîr, Damascus 1959, 85 n. 10) (but in Ottoman times, the three main traffic arteries were called târik suldmîn). Al-shârî al-‘alam came to mean the main axis, of ‘Abbasîd Sâmrârî or the kasba of the Cairo of al-Makrî. In the course of their long history, the names for traffic routes did not necessarily express differences in width, length, form or function. Nor, with the exception of sharh, did they indicate the open and freely-circulated nature or, on the contrary, the closed nature of what they designated. To define the status of a way, legal language resorted to a single criterion, nâfîd or âlît “throughway” and qâf nujd “closed way, cul-de-sac”. A sharh was nâfîd, “it denotes a road properly open at both ends ... a public road where everyone has the right to circulate” (R. Brunschvigel, Études d’Islamologie, Paris 1976, ii, 11), and a road along which clear passage must be maintained.

At the time when cities and towns were being transformed and the vocabulary of urban patterning evolved, sharh became a key element in the new terminology, as is seen in the Khitat al-tawfikiyya al-djadida of ‘Ali Mubârâk Pâsha. Sharh was henceforth used for any road of some importance, corresponding to a “street” or to Fr. boulevard or avenue, as in Cairo, in the quarters built up since the end of the 19th century. Or it could be used only for the main arterial roads, whilst for the secondary ones, other terms, which were part of the local tradition, would be used. This was still the case in Cairo, where, in the historic centre, sharh co-exists with sâkd, hârî, dârî, nujd and zâkâk, in accordance with a terminology laid down by the city administration at the end of the last century. Similarly in Tunis, where the term co-exists with nâfîd and zanka, which are by no means exclusive to the medina.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): D. Deverdun, Marrekch des origines à 1912, Rabat 1959-66; J.M. Rogers, Sâmrârî, a study in medieval town planning, in A. Hourani and S.M. Stern (eds.), The Islamic city, Oxford 1970; A. Raymond and G. Wiesbaden 1976; O. Spies, Shurûh—a, pl. ‘shurûh’—“clearly-defined way, main road, highway”: “situated on a main road, at the side of the road (e.g. a house)”.

Compared with other terms having similar urban denotations, such as dârû and zûkâk, the uses of sharh as a common noun are not the most numerous in the pre-modern texts. Thus there is no chapter in al-Makrî’s Alâqîs devoted to this term: the treatise entitled devotes itself to the study of the road of the 9th century, the K. al-Fârâbî’s Alâqîs chemistry ex. “on the road of...” (see S. Denœux, Pierre le Charpentier-Plutarque d’après Ibn Daghîqî et Maqûfî, Cairo 1993, 143). But it also becomes a genuine toponym. In the geographer Ibn Rusta (p.e.), the sharh divides Sârî’s two halves (see R.B. Serjeant and L. Lewcock, Sârî, an Arabic Islamic city, London 1983, 146).
sémantique sociale de la ville d'après les auteurs tunisiens du XVIII et XIX siècles, in A. Bouhdiba and D. Chevallier (eds.), La ville arabe dans l'Islam, Paris-Tunis 1982; L. Fernandes, Hadis et prescriptions légales, in IREMAM, L'héritage traditionnel dans les pays musulmans autour de La Méditerranée, ii, L'histoire et le milieu, Cairo 1990. (J.-CH. DEPAULE)

SHAR'I (a.), derived from the root š-an'a, having a primary range of meaning in relation to religion and religious law; also SHAR', frequently synonymous. The word š-an'a is common to the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Middle East and designates a prophetic religion in its totality, generating such phrases as š-an'a Miṣ'at, š-an'a al-Maṣāb (the law/religion of Moses or the Messiah), š-an'a al-Mağfū (the Zoroastrian religion) or š-an'a-šan-nă (meaning our religion and referring to any of the monotheistic faiths). Within Muslim discourse, š-an'a designates the rules and regulations governing the lives of Muslims, derived in principle from the Kur'ān and hadīth. In this sense, the word is closely associated with š-ak [q.v.], which signifies academic discussion of divine law. The noun š-ir is used to designate a single rule is most obvious in the Old Testament into Arabic attributed to Sa'da b. Ishak Ibn Zur (d. A.D. 139). A characteristic feature of the Arabic lexicographical tradition (see 5. below).

1. Shart'a in Kur'ān and hadīth
2. Shart'a in Jewish and Christian literature
3. Shart'a in Muslim literature
4. Shart'a and š-ak
5. Shart'a in the lexicographical tradition

1. Shart'a in Kur'ān and hadīth
1.1. Shart'a occurs once in the Kur'ān, at XLV, 18 ("We have set you on a Shart'a of command, so follow it"), where it designates a way or path, divinely appointed. The cognate š-ata is also used once, at V, 48, in parallel to minhāj, meaning way or path ("To each we have appointed a š-ata and a minhāj"). The verb š-an'a occurs twice, once with God as subject (š-an'a la-kum min al-dīn ... , "He has laid down for you as religion that which he appointed also for Noah"). Shart'a occurs not more than a dozen times, mostly in locutions like š-an'a al-šarī' wa-š-ir, once in a string of terms indicating rules: inna li-'l-imān š-ir'i' wa-š-ir'i' wa-hadīth wa-sunnah. The word š-an'a does not occur with the connotation of religion or law, and the verbal form š-an'a occurs only once with these connotations, in a set of variations of the same hadīth: "God has laid down for his (var. your) Prophet the rules of guidance" (š-an'a l-nabi'hi nūn al-ḥudūd). The noun š-ir, the verb š-an'a and derivatives occur frequently with secular meanings, corresponding to those discussed in 5. below.

This paucity of usage and connotation make it unlikely that these sources constitute the beginning of the development of this term in Islam or in the other monotheistic faiths.

2. Shart'a in Jewish and Christian literature
2.1. The Jewish tradition. The translation of the Old Testament into Arabic attributed to Sa'īd b. Yūsuf al-Pā'yūmī, known as Sa'īdya Gaon (d. A.D. 933 [q.v.]), demonstrates that š-an'a had become a central component of the religious vocabulary of the Arabic-speaking Jewish community. The most commonly used term for translating Hebrew torah is Arabic š-an'a or its plural. When the Hebrew word clearly designates a single rule, or set of rules, the favoured terms are š-an'a and šarā'ī. The same is true when the Hebrew term designates the law as a totality, the law delivered to Moses. There are many instances, especially in Deuteronomy, where the Hebrew word is retained in an Arabic form, al-tauwārī. The use of š-an'a to designate a single rule is most obvious in a group of verses in Leviticus, e.g. Lev. vi, 8, "This is the law of the burnt offering (š-an'a); shara'a"; cf. vi, 14; vi, 25; vii, 1; vi, 7 etc. The plural form is found at Exod. xviii, 20, "And thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws" (al-nūmūm wa t-sharā'ī); cf. xviii, 16. The more general sense, where the word torah means the whole of the law, is exemplified at Exod. xiii, 9, "And it shall be a sign unto thee [Moses] ... that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth" (l-takun š-an'a Allāh fī fi-khā). The plural form is found at Exod. xvi, 5, "That I may prove them whether they will walk in my law, which I have given them" (l-takun š-an'a Allāh fī fi-khā). A characteristic feature of the Arabic lexicographical tradition (see 5. below).

A similar reliance on the nouns š-an'a and š-ir, and the verb š-arka, for reference to God's law-making activities, is found in Sa'īdya's theological (polemical) work, K. al-Amdndt wa 'l-i'tikād. This book, though it reflects Sa'īdya's participation in the Rabbanite-Karaite [see KARAITES] struggle, may be accepted as a reflection of the general religious vocabulary used in polemical contexts by those who shared the monotheistic traditions of the Middle East. Shart'a and its plural designate individual laws (141, 173) and also systems of law revealed by God through prophets (113). Rational laws are distinguished from revealed laws (al-shar'ī' al-akdī'ya wa t-sam'ī'ya, 115-18). Shart'a is used synonymously with š-an'a; and the verb, š-arka with God as subject, meaning to lay down a law (128-9). A context which generates multiple reference to the law (religious system promulgated by a prophet) is abrogation (nabd), the question whether the law of a later can abrogate that of an earlier prophet (131). Arabic tauwārī is used to designate the Pentateuch: š-an'a al-tauwārī, šarā'ī al-tauwārī (139).

2.2. The Christian tradition. A similar use of this vocabulary can be found in Christian writers, discussion of abrogation being particularly likely to generate systematic reference to š-an'a. A characteristic example, from the 4th/10th century, may be found in a polemical tract directed against the Jews, by the Jacobite Ḣābīb b. Iṣāh Ibn Zūrā' [q.v.]. Shart'a refers to a system of laws brought by a prophet and subject (perhaps) to abrogation by later prophets. The word sunna (pl. sunūn) [q.v.] covers the same semantic field. Both terms are extended to carry distinctions
between natural, rational and revealed laws. The Christian religion, the Law of the Messiah, is referred to as sunnat al-Masih (34) and shari'at al-Masih (35).

The question of when this cluster of Arabic terms emerged as part of the self-expression of Jews and Christians is unclear. But, whatever model is adopted for the emergence and early development of Islam, it is necessary to acknowledge the co-existence or prior existence of Arabic-speaking Jewish and Christian communities. The development of an Arabic vocabulary for the expression of concepts and ideas integral to the prophetic religions of the Middle East is perhaps best understood as the common achievement of several communities engaged in polemical encounter throughout the 7th to the 9th centuries A.D. The most radical and stimulating account of this encounter is that of J. Wansbrough (1977, 1978).

3. Shari'ah in Muslim literature.

Shari'ah and its cognates appear, in Islamic religious literature, reflecting the same range and type of reference as in Jewish and Christian literature. Shari'ah (pl. shar'iyya) designates a rule of law, or a system of laws, or the totality of the message of a particular prophet. In so far as it designates a system of laws it is synonymous with the word shar', which is probably the more common word in juristic literature for divine law. The verb shar'ah may appear with God as subject (following Kur'anic usage). More frequently, the process of demonstrating the law is a prophetic activity, and the word shar'i (law-giver) characteristically to Muhammad in his function as model and exemplar of the law. In a rare extension of meaning, the word shar'i is transferred to the jurists, thereby highlighting the creative aspect of their interpretative activity (al-Sha'ist, iv, 245). These patterns of usage may be found in all the major genres of religious literature.

3.1. Kalâm. Theological literature is likely to generate reference to shar'i wherever the message bearing activity of a prophet becomes the focus of discussion. Al-Bakillânî (d. 403/1013 [g.a.]), in a discussion of prophets as bearers of the divine message (al-kadîd al-'akliyya), phrased the phets as having the quality rule (al-shar'iyya) or laws (al-shar'at al-Ma'asû). Here shar'i functions perhaps as a plural for shar' (20). In the Mu'tazili tradition, the words shar', shar'i, etc., kept their general sense, meaning the totality of a prophet's religious activity, but were also used systematically to distinguish rational from revealed laws. The Shi'ite (Mu'tazili) scholar al-'Allâma al-Hillî (d. 726/1325 [g.a.]) accounts it a benefit of prophecy that the prophet brings rules which are not accessible to the intellect; he refers to these as shar'î or 'shartr and wâli shar'. The Shi'ites and the Sunnis both continued this usage.

3.2. Ta'fîr. Works of Kur'anic commentary draw on the conceptual structures of kalâm while developing some arguments specific to Kur'anic usage. The word shar' is usually declared to be synonymous with shar'. Comparison of Kur'ân, V, 48 ("To each [community] we have appointed a shar'ah") and XXII, 13 ("He has laid down—shar'ah—for you as religion—dîn—that which he had laid down also for Noah") prompted a systematic distinction between God-given law, and different for different prophets, and dîn, implying recognition of the one God, and the same for all prophets. From al-Tabari, citing Kätâba, ad V, 48: the Torah, the Gospels and the Kur'ân have each their own shar'ah... but dîn is one, meaning "ta'wîl and ikhlasbi fî-l-dîn," and brought by all prophets.

3.3. Juristic literature. In so far as juristic literature gives an account of or a statement of rules, it need not generate self-referring locations. When it does so, there was a considerable number of technical terms meaning rule: sunnat/sunnah, hadîm/ahkâm, fatâsfi/fatî'dîn, hadîd/hadîd, shar'ah/shar'i. The latter does not dominate in the earliest texts. Even later, general reference to the law is more likely to elicit the word shar' than shar'i. Systematic distinction between ordinary linguistic usage and technical juristic usage depends on the contrast hurûf/shar'ah. Hermeneutical literature (works of wali al-fihû) generated an increasing quantity of reference to the law, the law-giver etc., but the earliest work of this kind, the Risâla of al-Shâhidf, makes little use of the word shar'i or shar'. Later works generated numerous references. A characteristic context relates to the question whether Muslims and/or Muhammad were subject to the laws of earlier prophets. Al-Ghazâlî, in his Musta'fî, phrased the question in relation to shar'ah and shar' man kâila- nâ, our law and the law of those before us. He asked whether Muhammad was bound by the law (shar') of earlier prophets, and whether he abrogated the shar'i (sic) of Moses and Jesus. The rapid transition from shar' to shar'i suggests no distinction between these terms in this context. Espousing one of the views current in juristic circles, al-Ghazâlî affirmed that the shar'i of our Prophet (shar'at rasûl-nâ) abrogated previous systems; for, if Muhammad had been bound by any other shar', he would not deserve the title of law-giver (qâ'îf).

Most of the problems attendant on the word shar'i were perspicuous to the tradition and capable of being explained. The Hanâfi jurist Ibn 'Abîdîn (Muhammad Amin b. 'Umar, d. 1255/1836) explained it as having the meaning of a passive participle of the verb shar'a, meaning that which is laid down, or decreed. When the Prophet is identified as the law-giver, the shar', this is metaphoric usage (mudâ'îz); in truth (hâlik), it is God who is shar'. Shar' means the same as milad and din (i.e. the totality of religious beliefs), but it may be applied absolutely to the rules (ahkâm) governing human actions. Both shar'i and din may be ascribed (in a genitive construction) to God, the Prophet and the community: God's law, the Prophet's and the community's law. (Ibn 'Abîdîn, 1, 11)

4. Shar'i and fîkh.

The academic discipline whereby scholars described and explored the shar'i is called fikh. The word designates a human activity, and cannot be ascribed (in a genitive construction) to God or (under certain conditions) to Muhammad. Fikh is a genitive construction with the name of a scholar: the fikh of Mâlik, the fikh of Ibn 'Abîdîn. The shar'i, contained in God's revelation (Kur'ân and hadîlifî), is explained and elaborated by the interpretative activity of scholars, masters of fikh, the fakharî. Since this is in practice the only access to the law, the two words are sometimes used synonymously, though shar' retains the connotation of divine, and fikh which of
human. Since the late 19th century, the linguistic
caique al-kdnun al-islami (Islamic law, borrowed
from European usage) has become a part of Muslim dis-
course and carries with it connotations of legal sys-
tem, as in modern states [see KANUN]. Western studies
of fiqh are still dominated by the works of Joseph
Schacht, who produced the articles fiqh and short's
for EI, the former lightly edited for EF.

4.1. The origins of Islamic law. The earliest large-
scale and systematic expressions of the law are found
in a bundle of texts attributed to scholars of the late
2nd/8th and early 3rd/9th centuries, notably Mālik
b. Anas (d. 179/795), al-Shāfi`ī (d. 204/820), al-Shay-
bāţī (d. 189/805) and Abū Yusuf (d. 182/798 [q.v.]).
The last two are pujiers of Abū Ḥanifa (d. 150/767
[q.v.]), who, together with Mālik, al-Shāfi`ī and, later,
Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [q.v.]) gave his name to
a broad tradition or school of madhhab (jurispru-
dent) of juristic thinking. These four schools dominated the Sunnī
community. The Imāmī Shī`a developed an inde-
pendent tradition of their own (finding literary form
only in the 4th/10th century). And there were a num-
ber of minor traditions, e.g. those of the Zaydfs
and Khurāṣīs (both alleged to be early) and the Zāhiris
(or Literalists), followers of Dāwūd al-Zāhirī (d. 269/
882 [q.v.]). The emergence of the dominant traditions
is presented inside Islam as the result of a process,
described in historical terms, but perhaps a narrative
expression of a theological conviction. The Prophet,
by virtue of his ideal practice or sunna, was exemplar
and model for his followers, whose duty it was to
conform to his sunna. To this end, his words and
deeds were preserved by his Companions in the form
of discrete narratives or hadith which were passed on
from generation to generation, giving rise to discus-
sion, debate and finally to formal juristic thinking, or
fiqh. The eponymous founders of the schools, by virtue
of their piety and commitment to Kur`ān and hadith,
together with their learning and capacity for system-
atic thought, derived from this inheritance structures
of rules which were adopted by subsequent genera-
tions, and preserved and developed in an ongoing tra-
dition of commitment and loyalty. The actual and
historical location of the juristic traditions in Islam were
thus traced back to the Prophet through the decisive
intervention of great jurists.

As an account of history, this sequence of events
was challenged already by Ignaz Goldziher (Mukh.
Stud., 1888-90). Building on his work, Schacht offered,
in his Origine, a coherent account of early Muslim jurispru-
dence. He proposed that the earliest works were reflec-
tions of a "living tradition" which had grown locally in diverse countries (Kufa, Basra, Dama-
cus, Mecca, Medina). The systematic structures that
ever emerged reflected local (and Imperial, Umayyad)
prac-
tice, and the ongoing thought of local scholars. They
were not dependent on Prophetic hadith, perhaps not
even on the legal aspects of the Kur`ān. Increasing
polemical encounter, in the early 'Abbasid period, led
to a search for justification of the law and this took
the form of appeal to Prophetic practice expressed in
the form of hadīth. The first scholar to argue sys-
tematically that law was necessarily related to Prophetic
hadith was al-Shāfi`ī, who emerges, for Schacht, as
the master architect of Islamic law. Eventually all the
schools succumbed to al-Shāfi`ī's argumentation and
developed a common hermeneutical approach to the
law, presenting it as derived, by a systematic act of
interpretation, from Kur`ān and hadith. According to
Schacht, the demand for Prophetic hadith, even before
al-Shāfi`ī, and certainly after him, ensured that they
were produced (created) in numbers appropriate to
the need. Schacht derived his theory primarily from
the study of al-Shāfi`ī's Umm and Risala, works which
not only exemplify (in marked contrast to other early
works) the principle of Prophetic authority for the law
but systematically justify the six major schools for
their failure to adhere to this principle.

All subsequent scholarship in this field has responded
to Schacht, whether to refute, to qualify, or to con-
firm and extend his findings. Several Muslim scholar-
ars (e.g. M.M. Azmi) have denied them. Both Muslim
and secular scholars have searched for qualifications
and refinements whereby to discover the antiquity and/
or authenticity of at least some Prophetic hadīth (G.H.A.
Jaysboll, D.S. Powers). J. Wansbrough has developed
Schacht's methodology, arguing that the Kur`ān too
must be recognised as the end product of two cen-
turies of community experience (1977). N. Calder
argues that the major early works of Islamic law are
not authored, but organic, texts, reflecting generations
of thinking about the law, expressed through succes-
sive redactions of school material (1993). F. Rahman
initiated a Muslim theological response to Schacht's
ideas (1965).

4.2. The literature of the law. There are a num-
ber of genres of juristic literature, of which the two
most important are furū` al-fiqh (a literature of rules)
and wasl al-fiqh (a literature that identifies the sources
of the law and the methodology for deriving rules from
revelation). It is possible to identify a number of minor
genres, but many of these can be classified as mono-
graphic developments of topics that are proper to furū`
(e.g. special studies of the rules relating to govern-
ment, or judicial practice) or wasl (special studies of
analog or consensus, etc.). Collections of fatwas (sing.
fatwa [q.v.]) and studies on the authority of mujtahīds (sec-
tion 4.3, below) may be recognised as independent
genres, the first having some affiliation to works of
furū`, the second to works of wasl.

Furū`. The genre of furū` is continuous from the
3rd/9th to the 13th/19th century. All the major works
of the genre have the same basic structure. They offer
a network of rules roughly grouped into topics. The
major topics of the law are, first, purity, prayer, alms,
fasting and pilgrimage. These, together, sometimes,
with dhimmīs, are the major 'obdāt (acts of worship).
Their importance is signalled by their being posi-
tioned at the beginning of a work of furū`. More
loosely ordered are the remaining topics of the law,
the mu'amālāt (interpersonal acts). These include
family law (marriage, divorce, inheritance, testamen-
tary bequest, slavery, etc.), mercantile law (contracts
of sale, debt, hire, loan, gift, partnership, etc.), laws
relating to agency, land ownership, compensation for
injury, killing and the usurpation of goods, penalties
(resisted to the divinely specified penalties for
adultery, false accusation of adultery, theft, wine-
drinking and highway robbery), judicial procedure
and other topics. Though various attempts were made
to devise more analytical approaches to the topics of
the law, a sequential approach based on loose groupings,
and subject to considerable variation, prevailed. Since
the topics are not a single category, the major categories
of a pious, and a social, life, and since, further,
the tendency of the jurists was to hold on to the con-
crete and to elaborate precise and distinct "cases" for
analysis, a work of furū`, formally at least, constituted
a literary depiction of social reality in normative
form. As works of literature, books of this kind were
subject to the usual tendencies of literary formal-
ism, sufficiently indicated in the notions of linguistic,
structural and conceptual virtuosity, of imaginative exploration, of realism transformed into artifice, etc. At the same time, in so far as they were intended to control and guide social life, they display also qualities of practical concern and hard-headed realism. The interplay of literary and imaginative qualities with practical and mundane ends was not predictable and varied immensely both within a work and across works and schools. The four major schools of law, and the Shi'i tradition, show a broadly similar approach to the genre and a broadly similar exploration of its possibilities.

To the casuistic and exploratory aspects of a work of furū' were added patterns of justificatory argument. These had two major forms. First, the interpretative relationship between school tradition (madhhab) and revelation (Kur'an and Sunna) was re-expressed from generation to generation, constituting a major part of the ongoing task of jurists. At the same time, loyalty and commitment to tradition were expressed through demonstration that later articulations of the law were derived from and were justifiable in terms of earlier articulations within the school. Works of furū' had thus a dual hermeneutical aspect: an interpretative relationship to the school tradition and a further interpretative relationship to Kur'an and Sunna. It is the former which dominates. Jurists did not act as independent interpreters of revelation, they submitted to the authority of the school and the eponymous founder. They were committed, by a prior act of loyalty (usually determined by birth or geography), to a discursive, hermeneutical, engagement with their past. The creative aspect of their work was termed iṣḥābāt, the duty of submission taskīlī [q.v.]. The original act of iṣḥābāt characteristic of the eponymous founders was absolute and independent, that of succeeding jurists qualified and limited.

The various components of a work of furū' can then be summarised with reference to topics and concepts, rules and "cases", and justificatory argument related to Kur'an and Sunna, and to school tradition, the whole capable of being drawn towards an exploratory and hypothetical pole or towards a pragmatic and practical pole. The literary tradition as well as the legal tradition was determined by the distance which point (perhaps not accidentally) towards an infinite concern with detail. This tendency naturally engendered the opposite need, namely that of synthesis, control and concision. The play of expansion and concision is reflected in two literary types within the genre, mukhtasar and mabsūṣ. A mukhtasar or epitome is a concise exposition of the law, often preferred, permitted, disliked and forbidden, and the distinctions between valid, defective and null (ṣaḥīh, ḥāṣīd, bātīl). The sources always include Kur'an, hadith and consensus (issāt) [q.v.], and might include intellect (limited for the Sunnis to a presumption of continuity, issāt al-bā'il), the law of earlier prophets, the opinions of the Companions, juristic preference (issāt al-bal), and public welfare (mawāla [q.v.]). The hermeneutical principles relate first to language and rhetoric (usually presented in a set of antithetical pairs: ambiguous and clarifying, the evident and the inferred, commands and prohibitions, general and particular, etc.) and secondly to the operation of analogy (iṣābāt [q.v.]).

All of these items were contained in an open-ended and modularised and exploratory and expository pattern of discourse. The body of hermeneutical principles leads to conflicting possibilities (ta'rīd) and to the exercise of preference (takhfīd), the methodology of which is explained under the heading iṣḥābāt. iṣḥābāt literally means effort. Technically, it means the exertion of the utmost possible effort by a trained jurist, taking into account all the relevant texts and principles of interpretation, to discover, for a particular human situation, a rule of law. Underlying this definition there is an important epistemological message. It conceives that most of the details of the law are not known for certain but are a matter of skilled and pious deduction, leading, however, only to opinion. Final certainty on the details of the law is not accessible, but the duty of searching for and justifying opinion by argument is absolute. Committed in this respect to argument and debate, the jurists (in this context mudājahid, these who undertake iṣḥābāt) also acknowledged a need for final decisions in particular cases, and a necessity for the jurist to argue that the result of an act of iṣḥābāt was binding both on the mudājahid and, where relevant, on those who were not trained in the law. The latter (the 'āmmīs) were required to submit to the mudājahid, becoming thereby mukāllātī (lit. followers or imitators). In so far as a mudājahid responded directly to a particular question, he was acting as a mujtihid and his decision was
a fatawa. This network of topics was a part of the hermeneutical thinking of the Sunni and Shi'i traditions, and it was capable of varied and sometimes highly individual development.

4.3. Shar'i practice. The literature and intellectual structures which were the highest expression of shar'i had their most important social realisation in the Islamic educational system. With the emergence of madrasas [q.v.] in the 5th/11th century, fikh was recognised as the chief end of education, and retained this position until the decline of the traditional system in the 19th and 20th centuries. Common to all Islamic lands, and taught almost exclusively in Arabic, the curriculum provided cultural homogeneity and fostered the emergence of a pan-Islamic cultural elite. The discipline of fikh became a powerful and flexible intellectual tool, adapted to various social needs, aesthetic, imaginative and theological as well as strictly legal. The training in this discipline was usually practical in respect of the needs of the mercantile classes and the governing bureaucracies, as well as the religious hierarchy.

The topics and concepts of the law were closely aligned to life in the community and could be made so by systematic exploratory thought. But a work of fatawa was never a set of rules governing practice in the way that regulations and statutes do. In a given city, at one time, different jurists produced different works, reflecting different concerns; intended to influence certainly, but also to provoke thought and to delight. The actual realisation of the law depended always on personal and local factors: the customs of a family or a quarter, the traditions of a city or a region, the specific rules and practices of a judge, a governor, or a sultan. The pluralist and exploratory aspects of the law had a varied and unpredictable relationship to the necessarily single and pragmatic actuality. This relationship itself became a part of the subject matter of fatawa. The interplay of legal theory and reality has become increasingly an object of scholarly study, exemplified in Heyd (1973) and Johansen (1988).

One aspect of the development was the systematic transformation into administrative structures. Central amongst these was the office of judge (kādit [q.v.]). His competence covered many aspects of family law (marriage, divorce, inheritance etc.), the administration of charitable endowments (waqf) and the property of orphans, and the adjudication of civil disputes. His appointment and terms of office were controlled by political authority. His efficiency was often thought to be limited by the stringency of shar'i rules and this led to the emergence of parallel judicial structures (called mazālim [q.v.] in early 'Abbāsid times) which had a more pragmatic attitude to the law and were closely related to government. In Ottoman times the integration of the kādit into the structures of government was nearly complete. (Tyyn, 1960)

Mediating between the law as theory (object of study and subject of literary endeavour) and law in practice was the mufīs. The mufīs was a jurist, preferably highly qualified, who made himself available to give specific answers to specific questions of the law. In many areas and periods, and notably under the Ottomans, the higher ranks of mufīs were controlled and salaried by the government (Heyd, 1969). The responsa of mufīs were called fatāwa, and, in the case of intellectually outstanding, or politically important mufīs, might be preserved either as individual items or in collections. These have been recognised as important to our understanding of the law in practice (Masud et al., 1995). Theoretical accounts of the authority and ranks of mufīs stimulated some of the most instructive general theories of Islamic law.

4.4. Modern developments. From the mid-19th century, three major factors affected the history of the Shar'i, all of them, at least in part, a result of Western influence. The first was the creation of secular educational systems, aimed initially at the needs of the military, then of the administrative and mercantile classes. This development reduced the numbers of students in the traditional system, deprived them of a career structure, undermined their social alliances, and marginalised the subject matter of the curriculum. In the Shi'i world, where the jurists had greater access to independent finance, the major centres of juristic education survived better, but even there, there was a decline in provincial centres and some loss of status. Secondly, with the emergence of modern, independent nation states, there was a rapid development of law-codes, constitutions, and statute law. In some respects, these are continuous with the procedures of government by decree that characterised older systems. But the enactment of the Magdala (see magelle) (a partial codification of Hanafi law for practical ends) in 1876, by the Ottoman authorities, initiated a long history of (selective) codification of traditional law that continued through the 20th century. The reformist ideas of theoreticians (like Muhammad 'Abduh, d. 1905 [q.v.], in Egypt) brought increased flexibility based on a renewal of ishāḥād, an abandonment (or curtailment) of school loyalties, and a patchwork approach to the juristic tradition as a whole (ulūfīk [q.v.]). Jurists and the religious-minded found it possible to accommodate themselves to the idea of constitutions. A majority even of the Shi'i jurists supported the Persian Constitution in 1906. Throughout the 20th century all modern Muslim states have acquired legal systems, suited to modern nation states, in an astonishing act of creative system building, in which the Shar'i has always been one influence (Western legal systems being another, often a dominant influence). The actual role of the Shar'i, meaning the tradition of fikh, has varied both in terms of its symbolic foregrounding and in terms of its real input (always greatest in the area of family law) (Anderson, Coulson).

A third area of development relates to political opposition. The ideology of political opposition in the Muslim world has been influenced by Western thought (by French revolutionary, or socialist and communist ideologies, etc.), but is nearly always accompanied by appeal to the Shar'i as an ideal of social justice. In these contexts, the word is characteristically deprived of detail, of complexity, and of association with the intellectual tradition of fikh. It functions instead as a constitutive element in a demand for loyalty, unity, and commitment; it represents an ideal (unreal) governmental system. With this pattern of connotation, it permeates the ideological statements of the Muslim Brothers and of more recent fundamentalist groups. It is sometimes closely associated with the name of the scholar-hero Ibn Taymiyya (q.v.) [exploited for his arguments in favour of a renewed ishrād, based on a return to the earliest generations—the salaf [see alsalaf wa 'l-khalaf, salafyyā]; or with selected items of the law which take on the disproportionate ideological burden (e.g. the hadd penalties for fornication).

Neither the practical aspects of the history of the Shar'i in the 20th century, nor its ideological aspects, take up or draw on the complex of cultural, philosophical and theological messages that are embedded in the tradition. In so far as these messages can be
recovered and translated into idioms appropriate to the 21st century, it seems likely to be the task of modern universities in the Muslim world, these being now the dominant institutions that preserve the cultural inheritance of traditional Islam.

5. Shari'a in the lexicographical tradition.

The lexicographical tradition recognises two major (and a number of minor) areas of use which are without religious connotation. In a corpus of poetry and of hadith evoking a pastoral and Bedouin environment, the verb ḥarā'a and its derivatives relate to watering animals at a permanent water-hole. The verb implies the verb and its derivatives relate to watering animals en route to or lapping at a place at which the animals drink, a place and not a road—maṣṣaf, maṣṣaf. Ḥarā'a, ḥarā'a, possibly ṣafā', all mean to drive (or lead) animals to water. Adjectival usage indicates animals en route to or lapping at a water-hole, or the point of entry to it, the place at which the animals drink, a place and not a road—maṣṣaf, maṣṣaf. Shari'a, ḥarā'a, possibly ṣafā', all mean to drive (or lead) animals to water. Adjectival usage indicates animals en route to or lapping at a water-hole, or the point of entry to it, the place at which the animals drink, a place and not a road—maṣṣaf, maṣṣaf. Shari'a, ḥarā'a, possibly ṣafā', all mean to drive (or lead) animals to water. Adjectival usage indicates animals en route to or lapping at a water-hole, or the point of entry to it, the place at which the animals drink, a place and not a road—maṣṣaf, maṣṣaf.

The language of Islam is primarily Malay and Indonesian and cognate languages. Islam dates from the late 14th century and from that time the Shari'a has been expressed in a number of different forms. In general, we can distinguish three such forms.

(l) The pre-modern texts.

These are in Malay, Javanese and Arabic, and extant mss. date mostly from the 18th and 19th centuries. The texts in Malay most usually, consist of elements of fikḥ as well as localised provisions (adat) [see 'Adat]. Commonly, these two elements are distinct and separate parts, and may easily be distinguished. However, it is not uncommon in some texts (e.g. Malacca laws, the Undang-undang Minangkabau) for explanations to be given as to different functions for each source of law. (One, adat, expresses the practice of mankind, the other, fikḥ, the will of God. Differences are always reconcilable in the texts. The Java-Muslim texts, on the other hand, are written in an Indian-adapted form (aṣwa, pepakem, javansing) in which the Islamic element is confined to references to promulgation by a Muslim ruler and to ḥukum, the law of God. There is little or no substantive fikḥ. One has Javanese laws administered under the aegis of a Muslim sovereign. Whether this was always the case in Java is uncertain because of the Dutch practice (18th-19th centuries) of revising or improving ('verbeterd') existing mss. for administrative use.

The major Arabic texts of the Shari'a circulated widely in South-East Asia. The standard works of al-Shafi'i, al-Ansārī, al-Nawawī and al-Haythami were either imported from the Middle East or were available in locally produced reprints. They were, and still are, the standard works for use by ḥaṭth and in the pesantren [q.v.]. It was common practice for interlinear translation and/or glosses to be added. There was a considerable industry in the translation of these verses, especially into Malay. In the 18th and 19th centuries, elements of each of these pre-modern laws appeared in European (Dutch and British) rationalisations of Muslim laws (see 'Anglo'). The practice was to take selected portions of the Shari'a and incorporate them into administrative manuals for colonial use. There are many examples (see below).

To sum up: there is a vast mss. source which shows the adaptation and incorporation of the Shari'a into South-East Asian laws. The forms vary wildly and, so far as context is concerned, the Shari'a is reproduced in part, re-defined and re-stated and (in some cases) exactly translated. However, by the mid-19th century, one can say that there was a definite trend toward the more classically-exact Arabic language prescription. This was a consequence of greater access to the Middle East centres of learning, brought about ironically enough by the colonial powers themselves,
but it was a trend interrupted by the imposition of colonial rule.

(II) Shari'a in the colonial period (18th-20th centuries).

In the pre-European Muslim lands, Islam was central to kingship, rule, sovereignty and morality. With European dominance from the 18th century onwards, Islam lost this function. Its status was reduced to that of a private religion and its political function was reduced to but a pale shadow, if that, of its former position. The Shari'a, likewise, was similarly limited in its scope and narrowly limited in its implementation.

(a) The Netherlands East Indies.

Islam was always an ideology of resistance to Dutch rule in the Indies and this intensified in the 19th century when V.O.C. rule was replaced by direct Netherlands State Government (1800). From this time, the N.E.I. Government adopted a consistent long-term policy toward the Shari'a in its legal administration.

N.E.I. legal policy was to introduce separate legal regimes for the various population groups. Thus for Europeans or persons assimilated to that status, the law was the law of the Netherlands. For the native population(s) it was adat (custom). There were about nineteen named adat law areas (“adatrechtskring”). The Shari’a, as such, had no place in this system. Islam was a religion only and not one which necessarily had legal consequences. This policy of separate law regimes became ever more complex throughout the 19th-20th centuries and ultimately proved unworkable.

For example, special provisions had to be made for Native Christians, provisions had to be made for assimilation, i.e. change from one group to another, there were serious difficulties in inter-racial family law as well as in commercial law, and a complex intra-racial law of conflicts of laws had to be developed.

For the Shari’a, it was realised by 1882 that Islam could not be excluded from the legal régime, whatever its status in politics might be. In that year a “Priests’ Court” (Priestertribunal) was instituted for Java and later extended.

Its competence was severely limited, mainly to family law but excluding inheritance, and its decisions had to be approved by the secular courts. Substantial revisions were made in 1937 which extended jurisdiction and also extended this competence of the courts (now the “Penghulu Courts”) to Borneo. At the same time, the 1937 law withdrew jurisdiction in specified forms of property which were also in dispute in the civil (Landraad) courts.

In short, the Shari’a was subject to very restrictive laws and its pre-colonial trend toward a more exact implementation was halted. On the other hand, it received a new form; now it was expressed in regulations and in bureaucratic practice. These are characteristics which persist into the post-colonial period (below). It is the politics of laws, rather than the Shari’a itself which determines the status of fikh.

(b) The British Territories.

These comprised the following:

(1) British Burma (1826-1947). The Islamic presence in Burma was an accident of imperial expansion. Muslims were immigrants, and the history of Shari’a is the history of Burma in Bengal. The only exception is some precedent on persons of mixed race (“Zerbadi”), one of whom was Muslim (see references).

(2) Second, the Straits Settlements and Malay States (1786-1957). It was British policy to recognise and give effect to the “manners, religions and customs” of the subject peoples. In effect, this meant the legal recognition of religious laws in the areas of family law and land ownership. To this extent, the Shari’a had recognition in purely family and religious (e.g. mosque administration, wakf) matters. However, there are some special features which should be noted. First, references were taken from the pre-modern texts, but only in relation to land, and not to religion as such.

Second, the Shari’a administered in the courts was taken from colonial experts not from the standard texts. It was only in the 1930s that standard texts from British India were commonly consulted. Third, Shari’a was never permitted to influence inheritance where land was involved; this was always a matter governed by adat.

From the late 1880s, the Shari’a gradually came to be organised in legislation and in the creation of a Shari’a court system, together with the necessary bureaucracy. Various “Muslims’ Ordinances” or legislation with a similar name were promulgated. The purpose of the legislation was to regulate marriage (by registration), define the duties of the kadi, and regulate property matters as between husband and wife. The legislation was many times amended. The point is that Shari’a, while recognised in a limited way, was a “local” law or a “personal” law for a defined group. The Shari’a was dependent on recognition by the colonial authority. It had no existence outside of its colonial dependence, and it was never the law of the country.

(3) British Borneo comprised Sarawak (1841-1963) and British North Borneo (1888-1963). In both cases, the Shari’a was only one of a number of “native laws”. There was no attempt to apply it; instead, there was a mélange of custom (adat) with some rather eclectic, mostly inaccurate, selections of fikh. This composite was not imposed by the British authority.

Instead, by taking evidence from the local Muslim populations it grew and took on a life of its own. The most striking example is the Undang-undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak “Laws of the Sarawak Malay Court” (1915).

(c) French Indo-China and the American Philippines.

These can be dealt with rather shortly. In the Indo-China territories, the minority Cham [see CAM] of western Vietnam and eastern Cambodia were Muslim. There were no links to Java. The only reliable information dates from 1941 (see Bibl.) and shows a sort of “Customary Islam”. For the Philippines [q.v.], the main Muslim population is in the southern islands.

Here, the Shari’a was only one element in an adat-Islam complex of prescriptions. While in respect of the Cham the French did manage a classification, that of civil asiatic assimile, in terms of private international law, the Americans attempted nothing of the sort. Islam was considered only in political terms; the Shari’a/adat was ignored.

(III) Shari’a since the Second World War.

The end of the war saw the effective end of the colonial presence in South-East Asia. For Islam, this had two important consequences. First, Islam could now have an open and legitimate political presence in what became Indonesia and Malaysia. The result was that the Shari’a immediately attained a status of something more than a personal law. Indeed, even in the transition periods, new provisions were already being made.

(a) Indonesia.

The Republic Indonesia has had a complex history since 1945, and the history of Islam has been similarly complex. The colonial courts system (now renamed Pengadilan Agama) has been retained and extended to all of Indonesia. In addition, a Department of Religious Affairs has been established for the whole
Republic. The jurisdiction of the courts has been extended somewhat, though not to the extent asked for by Islamic activists. However, the latter have been successful in preserving the position of Shari’a in the contemporary reforming legislation, such as family law. There is no Muslim or Islamic Code of law as such in Indonesia. Various drafts have been proposed and are still under discussion.

(b) Singapore and Malaysia.

The 1950s saw a considerable activity in the regulation of Shari’a. Singapore and all the states of Malaysia now have enactments (The Administration of Islamic [or Muslim] Law) in force. Generally speaking, the legislation provides mechanisms for (i) the determination of Shari’a’s entrusted to a Council (Majlis) of scholars; (ii) a system of Muslim courts; and (iii) statements of substantive principles of law, including family law, trusts and offences against religion. In Malaysia, though not in Singapore, constitutional amendments in 1988 have re-enforced the Shari’a. Since the 1980s also, the various states in Malaysia have considerably extended the scope of Shari’a.

(c) The Philippines.

After many years of neglect under the Spanish, American, and Republic of the Philippines’ governments, the Shari’a received formal recognition in 1977 with the proclamation of the “Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines”. It is in five books and covers persons and family relations, succession, disputes, legal opinions penal provisions and transition provisions. In short, the Code recognises the separateness of Islamic principle and provides for its administration in the Philippines for the first time. Data are lacking on its success or otherwise at the moment.

(d) General.

The Shari’a has been much re-defined in South-East Asia. We can trace adaptations to local form and culture as in the pre-modern texts, and its colonial redefinitions into European form. These have been continued into the post-War years. More recently, however, there has been a consistent trend toward reintroducing the rules of Shari’a in a more classically accurate formulation. If this progression is even partly implemented, for the first time, in the application of a “classical” Shari’a to South-East Asia. The legal history of Islam in the area will thus have come full circle; from its introduction in the Arabic, its social and political implications, since it favours a classless society and a revolutionary ethos. Therefore, Abü Dharr [q.v.], a “God-worshipping socialist”, and Fātimah [q.e.] are presented as role-models for modern Muslim men and women. Sharf’ati’s sometimes wretched of the earth translated and with whom he corresponded. Upon his return to Iran, in 1964, he was arrested for importing banned books and jailed for several months. After his release he taught, first in a village and then in a high school in Mashhad, and he was employed at the university of Mashhad to teach sociology and history of religion. In 1970 he was dismissed and two years later he went to Tehran, where he soon became the key figure of the Husaynīya-yi Irshad, a centre for the study of Islam, established in 1965. At the end of 1973 the centre, renowned particularly for the well-attended public lectures it organised, was shut down by the government and Sharf’atī went into hiding, but after some time he gave himself up in order to secure the release of his father, who was kept hostage. After 18 months of solitary confinement, he was allowed, in March 1975, to return to Mazinān where he was kept under constant police surveillance. In the spring of 1977 he managed to go to London, but shortly after his arrival there, he died of a heart attack on June 19.

His ideas centred around the reconstruction of true Islam, which he equated with the original Shari’a Islam, i.e. the Islam of ‘Alī and his family and their patriarchs, as opposed to the highly institutionalised and clerical (post-Šāfawī) Shī‘ism. In this original Islam, tawḥīd is central not only in its theological, but also in its social and political implications, since it favours a classless society and a revolutionary ethos. Therefore, Abū Dharr [q.v.], a “God-worshipping socialist”, and Fātimah [q.e.] are presented as role-models for modern Muslim men and women. Sharf’atī’s sometimes revolutionary approach to Islam made him popular with many young Iranians, university students in particular, as well as with some more reform-minded members of the Shī‘a clergy. In the eyes of the traditional segments of this clergy, however, he lacked the necessary qualifications to be an authoritative spokesman on Islamic affairs. Sharf’atī is often considered to be one of the most important ideologues of the process culminating in the Islamic Revolution in Iran. However, there is no real congruence between his ideas and the theoretical foundations, let alone the policy, of the ensuing Islamic Republic of Iran. Nevertheless, it is not to be denied, that his ideas have played and still play an important part in the discussions on the role and significance of Islam, both in Iran and through the translation of several of his writings, in many other countries of the Islamic world.

Bibliography: In the absence of a comprehensive and religious study of Sharf’atī’s ideas and reflections on his life and ideas are to be found in S. Akhavi, Religion and politics in contemporary Iran. Clergy-state relations in the Pahlavi period, Albany 1980, 143-50; H. Dabashi, Theology of discontent. The ideological foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, New York and London 1992, 102-47; N.R. Keddie, Roots of revolution. An interpretive history of modern Iran, New Haven and London 1981, 216-25; M.M.J. Fischer and

SHARʿAT MADARĪ, ĀVAT-EH LĪHAYĀT MUSLIM- MAD KĀZĪM, a high-ranking and influential Iranian cleric (d. 1986). He was born in 1905 in Tabriz where he started his theological studies. In 1924 he continued his studies in Kūm, and in 1935 he returned to Naḍajf. His return to Tabriz was the starting-point of a career as a teacher, first in his native city and subsequently in Kūm, where he had moved toward the end of the forties, at the invitation of Ayyatullāh Būrūjirdī (q.z. in Suppl.). Here he became one of the most respected leaders of the Shiʿī community and in his capacity as Mardī-i Taklīd (q.z.) he drew his support mainly from the Ādārī-speaking part of the population. In the 1960s he started an institute for Islamic education and propaganda, called Dār al-Tablīgh. From the educational point of view, the programme offered by the institute to boys and later on also, albeit separately to girls, stood midway between the curricula of a modern school and the traditional madrāsā system. The propaganda activities of the institute included the publication of books and journals. Three of the journals were in Persian, Maksūbat-i Islām (“School of Islam”), Nasīr-i Nāv (“New Generation”) and Payām-i Ṣādī (“Glad Tidings”) for adults, for adolescents and children respectively, and one in Arabic, al-Ḥādī. The Dār al-Tablīgh also provided for the training of preachers, and finally served as an oracle for many Shiʿīs outside Iran, who consulted the institute on religious questions. The only book which Sharʿat madgānī appears to have published, was his version of the thesis that traditionally confirms a cleric’s position as muḥādīth, Taṣdiḥ al-mastāwil. His ideas, which he mainly expressed in interviews, can overall be characterised as the ideas of highly traditional Shiʿī cleric. And so, during the Islamic Revolution, he strongly supported the view that the clergy must not be directly involved in politics. He was one of those who favoured the model incorporated in the Iranian Constitution of 1906-7, that accorded to the clergy, or, to be precise, to a committee of five muḥādīth, the right to monitor the legislative process and to veto any legislation that they judged was incompatible with Islamic laws and regulations. His name and ideas were claimed by the predominantly Ādāharbāḏgānī Muslim Republican People’s Party, although he himself carefully avoided direct association with the party, as he equally carefully avoided accepting any official posts. In the discussions concerning the constitution of the Islamic Republic, Sharʿat madgānī protested against the fact that the draft constitution had not been submitted to a constituent assembly. A compromise was reached, to the effect that an Assembly of Experts, consisting of 73 elected members, was given the power to amend the draft. But when the new draft was presented and about to be submitted to a referendum, Sharʿat madgānī expressed his disagreement with the leading principle of the intended constitution, viz. the wilāyat al-fakīh, that was to give the clergy a direct and even ultimate say in politics. He even threatened that he would abstain from voting. Thereupon his house was attacked and there was even an attempt on his life (on 5 December 1979), which provoked a general strike and demonstration in his home town Tabriz. But Khumaynī and those who shared his view proved too strong for Sharʿat madgānī and his partisans. In a referendum the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people voted in favour of the draft that bears almost exclusively the stamp of Khumaynī’s ideas. The Muslim Republican People’s Party won 45 seats in the draft itself, and two years later, Sharʿat madgānī himself was silenced rather drastically. In April 1982, after his son-in-law, accused of being an accomplice of Sādīk Kūtzbāz, who had been shortly before executed, had been sentenced to prison, an orchestrated effort was made to discredit Sharʿat madgānī. Forged documents circulated that denounced him as a traitor. Members of Parliament and clerics accused him of having made common cause with the enemy of the Islamic Republic. His Dār al-Tablīgh was shut down and he was placed under house arrest. His opponents even managed, through the influential Society of Teachers of Seminaries in Kūm, to have his demoted and stripped of his title as Mardī-i Taklīd or source of emulation. Virtually no protests were heard against this, and four years later, in April 1986, he died.


SHARĪF (a.; loanword in P. and T.) (pl. ʿadrāf, sharīfīya; in the Maghrib, sharīf, q.s.), sharīf (seldom) "noble", “exalted”, “eminent” [in religious or worldly esteem], derives from the root ʿ-r-f, which expresses the idea of exaltedness and prominence. Its pre-Islamic as well as its most basic use in Islamic cultures is to denote a free man who can claim a distinguished rank because of his descent from illustrious ancestors (LA, xi, 70-1); that is, a person possessed of nobility (šarīf, or, less frequently, ṣafī; both also used in P.; in T., sharīf, šarīfīya), whether conferred by inherited or personally acquired glory and honourable conduct or, both. Possession of šarīf is expressed often by the phrase ʿdāu l-haṣāb wa l-taḥṣāb, “possessing great honour [lit. estimation] and unblemished ancestry” [see ḥāsīb wa-nasāban; nasāban]. Early in Islamic times, kindship or even "companionship" [see ṣansāra] with the Prophet became a new and special form of šarīf. To be a sharīf meant having a claim to: (i) most commonly, some type of Ḥashīmid descent—from the family or clan of the Prophet, the Banū Ḥāšim (after the Prophet’s great-grandfather, Ḥāšim b. ʿAbd Manāf [q.z.]); or, (ii) more specifically, Ḥādī—normally Ḥāsanīd or Ḥusaynīd—descent (from Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law ‘Alī and his daughter Fāṭima, through either of their two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, or one of their daughters, or one of ‘Alī’s children by other wives); or, (iii) still more narrowly, Ḥusaynīd descent only—the term ʿṣayf “lord”, being used to denote Ḥusaynīd descent. The last two usages reflect the fact that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were widely regarded as the noblest by birth (see al-Thaʿālībī, Lātīf al-maʿārif, ed. P. de Jong, Leiden 1867, 51 ff., tr. C.E. Bosworth, The Book of curious and entertaining information, Edinburgh 1968, 79).
SHARIF

(1) Generic (pre-Islamic and Islamic) meanings of the term.

Traditionally in the Arab, and also in the wider Islamic world, as in most cultures, it has been assumed that the meritorious qualities of forebears are transmitted to their descendants. Thus it is typically the possession of illustrious ancestors, or estimable "house" (bayt, pl. buayyad), Ibn Khaldun, Makaddima, i, 243; cf. Ibn Durayd, Lihbdhik, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854, 174; see also AHI. AL-BUQYgr), which is requisite for a sharif (or hasab) dakhm, a "substantial/great nobility" (I. Goldzher, Muk. St., i, 41-2; H. Lammens, Le bureau de l'Islam, Rome 1914, 289-90). Although in Islam there did develop the doctrine of the equality of all Muslims—based on Qur'an, XLIX, 13, inna akraddm in'd Allâdh akâdimm, "Truly the noblest among you in God's eyes is he who is most Godfearing" (cf. Muslim, tr. Herklots, J. Sharif, op cit., i, 50-3, 69-76), it never quite displaced the old Arab reverence for a distinguished genealogy. An oft-reported hadith of the Prophet underscores that "the most noble (abü) people are the most pious (abdûhâm), but adds that "the best (abdîr) of them in the Jbiystayi (p.3) are the best in Islam, if they have understanding in religious matters (abdîr fakhrî)" (Muslim, Sahih, ed. 'Abd al-Bâkî, Beirut 1955-6, 43 [Fad'dîr]'il, trad. 168; 44 [Fad'dîl'î al-sâhîhah], trad. 19; Al-Bukhârî, Sahîh, ed. Al-Nawâvî, 'Îbrâhîm and Khaßalî, Cairo 1378/1958, 60 [Anbîyâ].) 8.5, 14.19.1; 61 [Manâhî], 1.5,6.

Among the Arabs before and after the advent of Islam, the 'ashrîf were either persons from noble tribes or specifically the heads of prominent families—those who over time had gained recognised status vis-a-vis others and were entrusted with administering the affairs of the tribe or alliance of tribes or towns: e.g. min ash-rîf al-kaum, Ibn Hîghâm, Sra, ed. Al-Sakkââ, 'Abd al-Abîyârî and 'Îshâqî, Cairo 1355, repr. Beirut 1391/1971, i, 386,17 = ed. Wüstenfeld, 237; the 'ashrîf of Muham-mad's kaum [i.e. Kurayyî], al-Tabarî, i, 1191; the 'ashrîf of the Hîh, ibid., i, 2017; the 'ashrîf of Al-kadîlî, ibid., ii, 541,17; the 'ashrîf in Kûfa, ibid., ii, 631 ff. passim; the 'ashrîf of Khûrasân, ibid., iii, 714; the 'ashrîf of Al-Masîdî, ibid., ii, 398 ff. In Islamic times as before, 'ashrîf also meant a person strong in noble pedigree, character, and importance, in contrast to one who is "weak" (da'ff, also wusqî), especially in his or her nasab (al-Bukhârî, op. cit., i [Budî al-nasab], 6; 86 [Hûdût], 11,12; Muslim, op. cit., 33 [Imâra], trad. 16). 'Ashrîf and da'ff could also refer specifically to those able to bear arms and those "unarmed", respectively—the right to bear arms being an important social distinction in Islam as in many other societies (I. Ahmad, ch. Endogamy and status mobility among the Muslims of rural West Bengal, 1979-80). Similarly, in many other regions today, e.g. Turkey and Persia, 'ashrîf is used primarily to designate social or economic "nobility" status without reference to Prophetic descent, which is signalled by the specific use of sâyyid (see below), not 'ashrîf. One should note also the presence in Islamic societies alongside (as well as among) the blooded 'ashrîf and/or sâyid (pl. of sâyyid [p.3]) of what has been effectively a "noblesse de la robe", to use Tyan's phrase (Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam (Paris 1938), 1Leiden 1960, 552, n. 1), namely the religious scholars (išlâmîn).

(2) The Islamic meanings of the term.

The broadest specifically Islamic meaning of 'ashrîf has been "descendant of the Prophet". Early on, the ability to show kinship with the Prophet was an important claim to 'ashrîf (cf. Al-Bayhaqî, cf. [ib. ca. 300/912], Al-Mahâdsin wa 'l-masdm, tr. Herklotz, rev. ed. Cooke, London 1921, 9-13; see also irid, ii. Ethnography, at III, 41 la; and on the use of these categories also in Nepal, M. Gaborieau, Muslim minorities in Nepal, in R. Israeli, The Crescent in the East, London 1982, esp. 85-90). Similarly, in many other regions today, e.g. Turkey and Persia, 'ashrîf is used primarily to designate social or economic "nobility" status without reference to Prophetic descent, which is signalled by the specific use of sâyyid (see below), not 'ashrîf. One should note also the presence in Islamic societies alongside (as well as among) the blooded 'ashrîf and/or sâyid (pl. of sâyyid [p.3]) of what has been effectively a "noblesse de la robe", to use Tyan's phrase (Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam (Paris 1938), 1Leiden 1960, 552, n. 1), namely the religious scholars (išlâmîn).
membership in the “house of Muhammad” became a mark of special distinction in Islamic societies. There was, however, considerable variation in how such membership was defined.

The expression al-bayt [q.v.], “People of the House”, is from Qur’an, XXXIII, 33b, “God will remove the stains from you, O people of the House, and purify you completely”. Although this verse may well have referred to Muslims as people of the Ka’ba (c.f. R. Paret, in Orientalistische Studien Enno Littmann überrechts, Leiden 1935, 127-30), it was interpreted frequently among Sunnis, but especially among the Shī’īs (as early as al-Kumayt [q.v.], who died in 126/743, 39,11 ff.; cf. 92:9 ff, and R. Srothmann, Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen, Strasbourg 1912, 19-20), as referring to Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, his son-in-law and cousin Ali, and his grandsons al-Hasan and al-Husayn. The key proof text for this is the well known “mantle hadīth” (hadīth al-kisā’/’abî’a), from which these five are also known, above all among the Shī’īs, as the “People of the Cloak”, al-bayt al-kisā’ [q.v.], and cf. Murâhala, at VII, 276b, or al-bayt al-abî’). This hadīth recounts how Muhammad one day brought the other four under his cloak (kisā’/’ubî’a), mirâj, or thawb) and called them al-bayt al-abî’, or simply “my family”, al-Mukhtar, ed. Yahyâ, Cairo 1394/1974, 230-3; Al-Makrîzî, Futuhdt, ed. Mahdawi Damghânî, Qum 1409/1988-9).

The identification of the two main Hāshimī lineages — with the al-bayt al-abî’ was based chiefly upon one version of the so-called hadīth al-thakalayn (in which thakalayn refers to the two sources of guidance that Muhammad says he is leaving behind for the Muslims: Scripture, sc. al-Kutb, and the al-bayt al-abî’). In this version, the al-bayt al-abî’ are identified as those to whom, as members of the Prophet’s family, the sharing in sadakâ [q.v.] is forbidden; specifically mentioned are the Al ‘Ali, the Al A‘īk, the Al Dja’far (i.e. descendants of Abu Taib’s sons), and the Al Al-Bâbâs (Muhammad, op. cit. 44 [Fatîd al-sâhâbâ], trad. 61 [cf. trad. 32]; Al-Mukhtar, ed. Yahyâ, ibid. 232.3 Ibn Hanbal, ii, 409-10, iv, 367; Al-Nabhanî, 35-54, 68-74; Al-Makrîzî, 30-1, 33; Ibn Hâjard al-Haytambat, 147; Lamens, Fâtima, Rome 1912, 95-100 [for references to still other groups counted as al-bayt al-abî’, see esp. 99, n. 4]; C. van Arendonk, De opkomst van het Zenditische Imamaat in Yemen, Leiden 1919, 65 ff; see also Al, on tabrîm al-sadaka, cf. e.g. Al-Sabbâb, 108, 110, 117, 121).

The tendency to equate the main Hāshimī lineages with the aghâf of the al-bayt al-abî’ appeared as early as the 2nd/8th century. The special status of the Banu Hâshim was trumpeted already by al-Kumayt, op. cit.; just as he lauds eusively the noble blood of the Prophet (14,5-15,12), he praises the Banu Hâshim as “the highest of creatures” (2,9) and “the peaks of splendid nobility (harâb)” (5,6), who are granted “a pre-eminence among all humankind” (58,8), and he celebrates them as aghâ/ and sitâ (10,4, 55,2). The editors of the Porèthe’s Sra especially bolstered the prestige of the Banû Hâshim by putting forward the idea that God, after a gradual process of elimination of others, deliberately chose the Hâshimids as the family to produce the Prophet. A tradition which occurs in several versions has the Apostle of God say: “God chose Ismaîl from the sons of Ibrahim, and from the sons of Ismaîl the Banû Kinana, and from the Banû Kinana the Keraykh, and from the Keraykh the Banû Hâshim” (Ibn Sa’d, i, 2,2; cf. Ibn Hâjâr, iv, 205 = ed. Wustenfeld, 933; Al-Nabhanî, 76-7, 172; cf. ibid., 78-9; Al-Sabbâb, 120; cf. Al-Husaynî, Fadillât, 57-148). One version concludes with the Prophet’s words, “consequently I am the best of you as regards family and the best of you as regards genealogy” (Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihî, op. cit. ii, 247. Cf. also Al-Khalâfî (d. 1069/1659), Nastîm al-rûyât fi sharîh shiykh al-Kâfiyyât, Cairo 1235-7/1790-9, i, 429 ff, ch. on the sharîf of the Prophet).

According to al-Suyûtî, R. al-Salâlî al-zunâmîyâ, fols. 4a-b (cited in Al-Sabbâb, 121; Al-Nabhanî, 82), al-sharîf designated in the earlier period (al-yadr al-aawal) anyone who belonged to the al-bayt al-abî’, whether Hasan or Husayn, ‘Alawî (a descendant of any of ‘Ali’s sons, esp. Hasan, Husayn, or Muhammad b. al-Hâshiyya), Dja’far or ‘Aâkî (a descendant of one of ‘Ali’s brothers), or ‘Abâsî (a descendant of the Prophet’s uncle al-Abbâs). He also points out that in the Tarîkh of Al-Dhahabî [q.v.], who died in 748/
SHARIF

1348, we often meet with titles like al-shanf al-abbdn, al-shanf al-cakili, al-shanf al-d^offari, al-shanf al-zaynah (which, however, proves very little for the older period).

There are indications that in 'Abbāsids times, no later than the mid-4th/10th century and probably earlier, al-shanf was said to be attributed to another that also a sign of 'Abbās's desire to identify, in contrast to the Umayyad "usurpers" before them, with the Ḥāshimī legitimacy of the abī al-bayt (J. Lassner, The shaping of 'Abbāzīd rule, Princeton 1980, 151-2). We know that the Ḥāshamīd Abū Ahmad al-Husayn b. Musa (d. 4007) was reserved especially for the descendants of al-Abbās and Abu Tālib. Al-Saffah’s (r. 132-6/750-4) nickname of Abu Ahmad al-Husayn b. Musa (d. 4007) was also the usual name for the head of the Arab Ḥāshamīd family (ibid., 61), writing of an event in 178/794-5 (iii, 29; al-NasaT, 117, 123, 124; al-Sabbān, 115; al-Nabham, 143; A. Amin, Dūhā 'l-Islam, iii, Cairo 1362/1943, 287), while their mother Fatima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of this community/ community or "mistress of the women of the world" (sayyidat nisb, nisbat nisb, sayyidat nisb al-ilāmin) (Ibn Sa’d, viii, 17, 17; al-NasaT, 116-20, passim), and as "mistress of the women of the people of Paradise (ahl al-djann)" (al-Bukhair, 92, 201; ‘Fitan’, 22, 1). The case of Abī Ahmad al-Husayn b. Musa (d. 4007) has often been compared to the Fatimid use of the title ‘al-djann’ (ahl al-djann) for the Fatimids, the Fatimid sultans, and the Fatimid people (al-Nabi, 244; 62, 42; ‘Fitan’, 22, 14; al-NasaT, 117, 118, 123, 124; al-Sabbān, 115; al-Nabham, 143; A. Amin, Dūhā 'l-Islam, iii, Cairo 1362/1943, 287), while their mother Fatima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of this community/ community or "mistress of the women of the world" (sayyidat nisb, nisbat nisb, sayyidat nisb al-ilāmin) (Ibn Sa’d, viii, 17, 17; al-NasaT, 116-20, passim), and as "mistress of the women of the people of Paradise (ahl al-djann)" (al-Bukhair, 92, 201; ‘Fitan’, 22, 1). The case of Abī Ahmad al-Husayn b. Musa (d. 4007) has often been compared to the Fatimid use of the title ‘al-djann’ (ahl al-djann) for the Fatimids, the Fatimid sultans, and the Fatimid people (al-Nabi, 244; 62, 42; ‘Fitan’, 22, 14; al-NasaT, 117, 118, 123, 124; al-Sabbān, 115; al-Nabham, 143; A. Amin, Dūhā 'l-Islam, iii, Cairo 1362/1943, 287), while their mother Fatima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of this community/ community or "mistress of the women of the world" (sayyidat nisb, nisbat nisb, sayyidat nisb al-ilāmin) (Ibn Sa’d, viii, 17, 17; al-NasaT, 116-20, passim), and as "mistress of the women of the people of Paradise (ahl al-djann)" (al-Bukhair, 92, 201; ‘Fitan’, 22, 1). The case of Abī Ahmad al-Husayn b. Musa (d. 4007) has often been compared to the Fatimid use of the title ‘al-djann’ (ahl al-djann) for the Fatimids, the Fatimid sultans, and the Fatimid people (al-Nabi, 244; 62, 42; ‘Fitan’, 22, 14; al-NasaT, 117, 118, 123, 124; al-Sabbān, 115; al-Nabham, 143; A. Amin, Dūhā 'l-Islam, iii, Cairo 1362/1943, 287), while their mother Fatima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of this community/ community or "mistress of the women of the world" (sayyidat nisb, nisbat nisb, sayyidat nisb al-ilāmin) (Ibn Sa’d, viii, 17, 17; al-NasaT, 116-20, passim), and as "mistress of the women of the people of Paradise (ahl al-djann)" (al-Bukhair, 92, 201; ‘Fitan’, 22, 1). The case of Abī Ahmad al-Husayn b. Musa (d. 4007) has often been compared to the Fatimid use of the title ‘al-djann’ (ahl al-djann) for the Fatimids, the Fatimid sultans, and the Fatimid people (al-Nabi, 244; 62, 42; ‘Fitan’, 22, 14; al-NasaT, 117, 118, 123, 124; al-Sabbān, 115; al-Nabham, 143; A. Amin, Dūhā 'l-Islam, iii, Cairo 1362/1943, 287), while their mother Fatima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of this community/ community or "mistress of the women of the world" (sayyidat nisb, nisbat nisb, sayyidat nisb al-ilāmin) (Ibn Sa’d, viii, 17, 17; al-NasaT, 116-20, passim), and as "mistress of the women of the people of Paradise (ahl al-djann)" (al-Bukhair, 92, 201; ‘Fitan’, 22, 1). The case of Abī Ahmad al-Husayn b. Musa (d. 4007) has often been compared to the Fatimid use of the title ‘al-djann’ (ahl al-djann) for the Fatimids, the Fatimid sultans, and the Fatimid people (al-Nabi, 244; 62, 42; ‘Fitan’, 22, 14; al-NasaT, 117, 118, 123, 124; al-Sabbān, 115; al-Nabham, 143; A. Amin, Dūhā 'l-Islam, iii, Cairo 1362/1943, 287)
tion to persons regarded as holy, especially mystical masters of particular tankas or zdwiyas [q.v.] or ṣṭdfys [q.v.] in general. This can be seen in the many Muslim shrines dedicated to saintsy persons addressed as ṣāyyid, e.g. the tomb of “Ṣādī Ṣāfīyīn l-Dīn” (Muḥyī l-Dīn Bīn Ṣāfī al-Kurṭubī) in Damascus, the Husaynid Amir Ṣāfī al-Nakīb al-Adīlamī, and the Sidī Muhammad Ṣafī al-Kurṭūbī in Cairo, as well as the ṣāyyidīs of Mecca and Medina. See the Meccan madīnatī in al-Batānīn al-Ṣāfī al-Nakīb al-Adīlamī, ed. Snouck Hurgronje, Amsterdam 1933, i, 111-172, or the shrine of “Ṣādī Muḥammad Ṣafī al-Kurṭūbī” (a descendant of Ṣāfī b. al-Kurṭūbī) in Jerusalem 1950, 49-50, 167). He had to keep a watch on the behaviour of the ashrdf, to restrain them from excesses, and so that the title “ṣāyyid” is doubly earned. This is above all the case in Morocco, on which, see SNHE:47; cf. E. Gellner, Saints of the Atlas, Chicago 1969, 70-80. Ṣāyyid Aḥmad b. Ṣāfī al-Muḥājirīn, the Husaynīd Ṣāfī al-Nakīb al-Adīlamī, forefather of the prestigious Hadrências (see the Meccan madīnatī. According to Snouck Hurgronje, Mecca, i, 57 n. 1, ṣāyyid, Vergr. Gesch., iii, 163, v, 31, 40; cf. al-Nabhānī, 82-3).

(3) The Nakīb al-ṣāḥrīf and Nakīb al-ḥārīf.

In the ‘Abbasid period, the ṣāḥrīf, both ‘Abbāsid and Tālībī, were usually under the authority of a ṣāyyid al-ṣāḥrīf or “marshal of the nobility” (also nakīb al-ṣāḥt, or ra’ī al-ṣāḥīf) chosen by them. The history of this office remains largely uninvestigated (with the notable exception of M. Winter’s study of the Egyptian case). For centuries the custom to call only those ṣāyyid al-ṣāḥrīf, which is a compendium of nakībī in various cities; on both, see Bibli. below). That the nakīb already existed under the Umayyads, as per Kremer (Kulturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chāfīn, Vienna 1875, i, 449, n. 1) supposed (supported by Tyan, op. cit., 552, 4), based upon Ibn Ḥadhīl, Thar, Bulāk 1284/1867-8, i, 134, is very doubtful, as the passage at issue is probably corrupt (cf. al-Tabārī, i, 16, 17-17). The two branches of the Banū Ḥāshim were from the first ‘Abbāsid under a marshal, as was the case about 301/913-14 (‘Arīf al-Qurṭubī, Silat Kitāb al-Ṭabarī, ed. Goje, Leiden 1887, 47, 10); yet we find mention in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1516, of an administrator of the affairs of the Tālībīs (yatawwal amr al-Tālimīyin), in the year 250/864, during al-Mutawakkil’s reign, one Ṣāfī b. Fāraḍ al-Rukhkhadjī, who was apparently not a Ḥāshimī. The ʿAlīd ʿAlī b. Muḥammas b. Ṣafī al-Ḥāmidīn (d. 280/893-4) was nakīb al-ṣāḥrīf in Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 138-39). By this date there were apparently marshals of the local nobles who answered to a single grand marshal (nakīb or ṣayyid al-nakībī): in the late 3rd/9th century, Abu Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAflāf Ibn al-Riḍā was ṣayyid al-nakībī in Baghda (al-Murwaḥ, al-Fakhri fiünst al-Tālimīyin, ed. Qādīyīn, Kum 1408/1988-9, 9; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rażī, al-Salṭat al-walī al-muhirak, Kum 1409/ 1989, 79-80), and in Nīṣābūr in the same era, the ṣayyid al-Aḏjall al-Zabbara was an influential nakīb of the ‘Alīids and raʿīs of the town, as was his son also after him in the reign of the Sāmānid ʿAmr Abu Ḥasan Nāṣr b. Ṣāfī al-Nakīb al-Riḍā (301/914-3). Ibn Funduk, Taʾrīḫ-i Bihāsh, Tehran 1317/1938, tr. in C.E. Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, Edinburgh 1963, 196). In Fāṭimid Egypt, there was a nakīb al-tālimīyin or al-taʿṣseṣṣṣyin, who (as under the ‘Abbāsids) belonged to the political-military rather than the religious or administrative leadership; in Mamluk Egypt this figure was known as nakīb al-ṣāḥrīf and, not being of the ruling Turkish military elite, was considered a religious functional, or raʿī (Winter, 31; cf. Tyan, 550-4). In general theory, it was the duty of the nakīb, who had to possess a good knowledge of genealogical matters, to keep a register of nobility, to enter births and deaths in it and to examine the validity of alleged ʿAlīid genealogies (on which see al-Kurṭūbī, 49-50, 167). He had to keep a watch on the behaviour of the ṣāḥrīf, to restrain them from excesses, and in the late 4th/10th century to its end in 1924, the Ṣāmānid ʿAmīr of Mecca (who began as Zaydīs, but by the mid-9th/14th century had become Sunni adherents of the Ṣhāfi’i school) used the title ṣāḥīf, as did also, however, the ruling Ḫūsaynīds of Medina and Mecca (see the Meccan madīnatī in al-Batānīn al-Ṣāfī al-Nakīb al-Adīlamī, ed. Snouck Hurgronje, Amsterdam 1933, i, 111-172). At the turn of the last century, the title ṣāḥīf was reserved for Ḫūsaynīds alone, but the Meccans addressed the Ḫūsaynīd Amir of Mecca, or so-called “Grande ṣāḥīf” (a European usage), as ṣayyid, and he likewise gave his Husaynīid kin the title ṣayyid (Admiralty War Staff, Intelligence Div., A handbook of Arabia, i, London 1916, 109; Snouck Hurgronje, Mecca, i, 57 n. 1, ṣayyid, Vergr. Gesch., iii, 163, v, 31, 40; cf. al-Nabhānī, 82-3).
to remind them to do their duty and avoid anything that might injure their prestige. He had also to urge their claims, especially those on the treasury, to endeavour to prevent the women of noble blood from making mésalliances, and to see that the ashrāf trusts on the ashrāf were properly administered. He had to participate in, and to be responsible for participation of the ashrāf in special religious ceremonies. The chief nākiḥ had also other special duties, including specific and sometimes important judicial powers, which varied from era to era and region to region. See al-Mawardi, 164-71; Tyan, 550-8; von Kremer, i, 484-49; L. Massogno, Cadis et nasirs bagdadis, in WZKM, ii (1948): 106-15; Winter, 52-3; H. Bodman, Political fac tors in Almor. 1760-1826, Chapel Hill 1965, 79-102; Mez, op. cit., 145; al-Damurdiḏ, Kāṭib al-Durr al- muṣūna, tr. D. Cresceius and 'A. Bakr as al-Damurdiḏi’s chronicle of Egypt, 1688-1755, 43, n. 108; H. Halm, op. cit., 60-1, 64-5; A. Laroui, Les origines sociales et culturales du nationalisme marocain, Paris 1977, 93-4; and NAKĪB (esp. the Būl.).

If the case of Egypt (Winter, 34-9) is indicative, the social and even the religious importance of the nāka institution has waned in most areas, especially in the past two centuries, and most sharply in the present one; this goes along with the fact that today the ashrāf rarely represent the distinctive and cohesive, often élite social class that they did several centuries ago in most Islamic societies. Nor do they today typically enjoy the special tax status or other special favours they once did.

(3) Marks of Sharīf status.

Traditionally, the most common public mark of a sharīf has been the green turban that became usual for male ashrāf and sayyids to wear, especially in Egypt and Persia. Its origin may lie in a 773/1371-2 edict of the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Sha’ban b. Hasan (764-78/1363-77) that the male ashrāf should wear a green badge (ṣaffa) fastened to their turbans to distinguish them from other people and as an honour for their rank (ʿAli Dadah, Muḥādārat al-ʿawlī’i wa-maṣṣarat al-awshārī, Būlāk 1300/1883, 65; al-Kattānī, 95, 97; Ibn ʿIyās, Badda’l-ṣalāt, Cairo 1311/1893-4, i, 277; Snouck Ṣurīdān, al-zuḥrī, Cairo n.d., xi, 56-7; Dozy, Dict. des noms des veïnets chez les arabes, Amsterdam 1845, 308; Mez, 59; H. Algar, art. ʿĀmīma, in Ehr, i, 920a). According to the Ḥasanid Muhammad al-Kattānī (d. 1345/1927), in his treatise on the turban (97-8), this Mamluk edict, which is commemorated by the poets of the time, recalls that of the caliph al-Ma’mūn in Ramadan 201/817, which replaced the black colour of the ʿAbbadid house with green at the time when he designated the Husaynid ʿAlī b. Mūṣa al-Riḍā as his successor (cf. al-Taḥfīz, iii, 1021-13). Al-Kattānī opines that the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima henceforth retained green as their colour, but confined themselves in practice to wearing a piece of green material on the turban. This, he thinks, fell in time into disuse until Sultan Sha’bān revived it by his edict. According to the Durar al-aṣṣāf, which al-Kattānī quotes (98), the wearing of an entirely green turban dates from an edict of the late 19th century. According to Snouck Ṣurīdān, the wearing of a green turban by Ottoman Pasha, governing Egypt, al- Ṣayyid Muḥammad al-Ṣarīf (cf. Muhammad al-I ḥāṣbā, Akhbār al-ʿawlī’i fi-man taṣawaf ṣaff fir mīr min arbaʿ al-duwal, Cairo 1311/1893-4, 164) in 1004/1596; when he had the kissa [q.v.] for the Kaʿba exhibited, he ordered the ashrāf to come before him, each wearing a green turban.

Al-Suyūṭi observes that the wearing of this badge is a permissible innovation (biʿa muṣḥaba) that no one, whether a sharīf or not, can be prevented from following, if he or she wishes to do so, and one that cannot be forced upon anyone who wishes to omit it, since it cannot be deduced legally. However, Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-ʿAṣḵalānī tells of a ṣarīf, Ṣafqīr al-Dīn, who lost his post of a green turban because he was said to take bribes and to have let non-ṣayyids wear green badges (inbā’ al-ṣarīf, i, Ḥaḍarābād 1387/1967, 39). At most, it can be said that the badge was introduced as a distinction for the ashrāf; it is therefore equally permissible to limit it to the Ḥasanids or Ḥusaynids and to allow it also to the Zaynābiyya and the still wider circles of the remaining Ṭalibids. An endeavour is made to connect this custom with Kurʿān XXXII, 59, in which some scholars see a suggestion that learned men should be distinguished by their dress, e.g. by long sleeves or the winding of the ṣafī-lān, so that they may be readily recognised and honoured for the sake of learning (al-Suyūṭi, fols. 5a-6a; in al-Ṣabbān, 206-7, abbreviated in Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-Ḥaytamī, Fāṭīma, 144, 23-4, and al-Nabhānī, 84-5; cf. al-Kattānī, 98-9). With regard to the aforementioned Kurʿānic verse, according to al-Ṣabbān it should be taken to imply that wearing the green badge or turban is recommended for the ashrāf and blameworthy for others than they, because the latter by wearing it would be claiming a genealogy that is not theirs, which is not permitted (206). On this account, according to al-Kattānī, even the Mālik authorities considered the wearing of a green turban as forbidden to a non-ṣarīf. With regard to a tradition transmitted by Ibn Ǧanbal, according to which, on the Day of Resurrection the Prophet will be clothed by his Lord in a green turban, ʿAshraf teachers are said to incline to the view that this headgear is desirable for the ashrāf (al-Kattānī, 98-9; cf. 95). Other authorities note that green is the colour of the garments of the dwellers in Paradise (idem, 96; cf. Kurʿān, XVIII, 30, LXXVI, 21), and that it was the Prophet’s favourite colour (idem, 95-6, with references to Ḥadīth).

The green turban has been frequently adopted, but never became the general headgear of the ashrāf throughout the world. The wearing of a green turban by men and women in India and Persia in the 19th century it was a mark of a ṣayyid/ṣarīf, many entitled to wear it, especially the more learned, often chose to wear instead the white turban of a ṣayyid or ṣūrm (E.W. Lane, Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians [1836]. New York 1973, 31, 132; Winter, 22); in Arabia several decades after (today), ṣayyids rarely wore other than white turbans (Snouck Hurgronje, Verspr. Geschr., iv/1, 63). The green colour was preferred in Morocco at the turn of this century (Westernmark, ii, 21) and, according to J. Chardin (loc. cit.) and also in late-18th-century Persia, although in this last country, according to Algar, in op. cit., i, 921a, the black turban (as opposed to white) has long been the standard sign of a ṣayyid. However, Iranian contemporaries report consistently that black is worn instead of green rarely by ṣayyids; normally, black turbans are used only by the most venerable scholars or most elderly ṣayyids; most ṣayyids wear green. In India ṣayyids traditionally have worn green; they were therefore occasionally known as ṣayyid bakhshī “green-robed” (Sharīf, 303). According to al-Nabhānī (d. 1932), 85-6, the green turban was not in his time a mark of noble blood in Istanbul. It was worn there not only by learned men and students but also by artisans and street merchants, especially in winter, as it did not show dirt so quickly. On this account, many ashrāf there were even said to avoid the colour green.
Other marks and special treatment of the Ashraf.

Those of the Prophet’s blood are also distinguished in other ways according to common Sunni views. For example, the Shanees in the hadiths (p. 72, see zarin, al-Husayn, ed. Khoury, i, Beirut 1970, 385-9, cf. 340-1). One may only enter into marriage with a Shanees if he knows he is in a position to afford her all that is due her, will obey her and will offer her his share in the gain which he has received from the action of his father, and always to remember all the deeds he has performed, but always to remember God’s watchful care for them” (al-Fatwa al-makkiiya, Cairo 1329/1911, ch. 29, i, 196, 17-8, 25, esp. 196, 31 ff.; cf. 197, 14 ff; cited also in al-Makrizi, 44; cf. al-Nabhanî, 23-4, 155-6). In a similar vein, Ibn Hadjar al-Haytamî notes that a Shanees who has received hadath (p.r.) punishment for fornication, taking intoxicants or theft may be compared with an amir or sulûh whose feet have become soiled but are wiped clean by one of his servants. He is also likened to a refractory son who is not, however, deprived of his inheritance (Fatwa, 142, 26-9; al-Nabhanî, 92).

The duty of love for the ashraf is based on Kurdistan, XII, 23, “Say, ‘I ask of you [all] no reward except love for the kinsfolk (khâlid), where khâlid is taken as kin of the Prophet (al-Sabbân, 105-4; al-Nabhanî, 154 ff; Ibn Bîriq al-Hilli, 73, 26; al-Shubrawî, 51 ff; idem, Umâa, ib. al-Makrizi, 78; al-Shubrawî, 4, 50-3, 5-8; Ibn Hadjar al-Haytamî, âlvi, 167-9). It is
further pointed out that the conclusion of the tašahhud contains a prayer for the Āl Muhammad (ibid., 145-6; al-Nabhānī, 155). A saying attributed to al-Shāfi‘ī (g.v.) is as follows: “O members of the house of the Prophet, there is a duty to God that He has placed upon you in the Qur’ān. It is that everyone who does not say the taṣliyya over you has not performed the salât (g.v.)” (ibid., 184). There are further a large number of traditions that urge this affectation, represent it as a proof of faith or a defence against Hellefire, promise in return for it the gharīf of the Prophet on the Day of Resurrection and a reward in the next world, and forbid signs of hatred towards the āhl al-karb, even describing such animosity as infidelity (al-Shubrāwī, 3-7 ff.; al-Nabhānī, 171 ff.; Ibn Ḥadżar al-Haytamī, Sawā‘ib, 153-4; al-Husaynī, Fadā‘īl, 220-40).

According to al-Shubrāwī, an 18th-century Rector of al-Azhar, reverence and respect ought therefore always to be shown to the gharīf, especially to the pious and learned among them; this is a natural result of reverence for the Prophet. One should be humble in their presence; the man who injures them should be an object of hatred. The unjust treatment from them should be patiently borne, their evil returned with good; and they should be assisted when necessary. One should refrain from mentioning their faults; on the other hand, their virtues should be lauded abroad. Good; and they should be assisted when necessary. One should refrain from mentioning their faults; on the other hand, their virtues should be lauded abroad. According to al-Shārānī, one should treat a gharīf with the same distinction as a governor or kadi al-maṭāba, keep all snkh al-tamhid li-uhur dawlat al-sādīkat. Msalāt al-sada‘īyān, ed. M. Shafī‘, Lahore 1360-8/1941-2, ii/2, 711).

According to al-Sha‘rānī, one should treat a gharīf with the same distinction as a governor or kātib al-‘asrar; one should not take a seat if a gharīf is without one. Special reverence should be paid to the gharīf; one dare hardly look at her. Anyone who really loves the children of the Prophet will present them with anything they wish to buy. Whoever has a daughter or sister to give in marriage with a rich dowry should not refuse her hand to a gharīf, even if he has no more than the bridal gift for her and can only live from hand to mouth. If one meets a gharīf or gharīfī on the street and he or she asks for a gift, one should give him or her what one can (al-Nabhānī, 185-9). Ibn Bāṭūṭa (d. 779/1377) presents a good example from East Africa of such an attitude toward the Prophet’s progeny in his remarks on the sultan of Kilwa, Abū Muṣṭafar Ḥasan: his kunya was Abū Mawālib (“father of gifts”) because of his largesse to any gharīf who approached him, even one from abroad (Rīhā, ii, 193-4, Eng. tr. Hamdun and King, Ibn Battuta in Black Africa, London 1975, 19-20).

One should not refuse marks of respect even to a gharīf who is a sinner (fiṣīk) in the eyes of the law, because one knows his sin will be forgiven him. This high esteem is his due on account of his pure origin (al-t ‘unṣur al-tahīn) and fiṣk does not affect his genealogy (ibid., 91). As Doughty reported on the Hidjaz, see Snouck Hurgronje, Mecca, i, 32 ff.; 7 ff.; for Acheh and the Indonesian Archipelago on the 19th century, see idem, Achehnes, i, 153-64; for Kilwa, see Bosworth, 194, n. 77 (citing al-Muṣaffādīs); for Morocco, Wemarck, i, 169-71.

(7) Social and political roles of the Ashraf: Sayyids and gharīfīs have been and are represented in large numbers throughout the entire Islamic world. Historically, several dynasties of Prophetic lineage have ruled in various regions for longer or shorter periods, e.g. in Egypt and North Africa (see Šafī‘īs); in Persia in general [see ŠAFAWIDS]; in Tabarestan (Māzandarān), Daylam, and Gīlān (see e.g. MAR‘ĀBIS; AL-ZAYDIYYA; B. Manz, The rise and rule of Tamerlane, Cambridge 1989, 92-5; W. Madelung, art. Alids, in Elh, i, 881-6, H.R. di Borgomale, Les dynasties locales du Gīlān et du Daylam, in JAR, xxvii (1949), 301-50; in western Arabia (see Snouck Hurgronje, Mecca, i; Admiralty War Staff, Handbook of Arabia, 107-11; cf. the articles HĀSHIMĪ at III, 262b; MARRAKA, at VI, 148a f.); in the Yemen (g.v.; see also AL-ZAYDIYYA); in modern Jordan [see HĀSHIMĪ at III, 263 ff.]; and in Morocco [see ŠURFĪ; IDRISĪS; ḤĀSHĀN; SA‘DĪS; AL‘AWĀT; TALFA‘L; AL-MACHRĪB at V, 1191-2]. The Māghribi case is especially striking, for religio-political claims have been tied strongly to Šarīfian blood lineage, and such lineage has been commonly a key qualification for temporal leadership (see M. Kably, Meshum ft ta‘ railī al-umūr li-‘izār dawla‘ al-sā‘īdīyya, in Markallat Khulayyat al-Adīb ... [Qim‘a‘t al-Muhammād al-Khālimī], al-Qāhirah [1978], 7-59; M. Combes-Schilling, Sacred performances, New York 1989; M. Garcia-Arenal, Muḥdi, Muḥti, gharīf: l’avènement de la dynastie sa’dienne, in SI, bxii [1990], 84 ff.).

Families of gharīfī have also exercised local influence even without holding overt political power, as evidenced especially in mediaeval sources by frequent, recurring references to šādūr or gharīfī as one class of the local social, political, or intellectual élite (ṣa‘īds
gathering on a given occasion alongside 'ulamā', šuyūkh, kuddt, ḥukamā, ʿabār, waṣīf al-balad, etc. (see e.g. Al-Damūraḥī, 66-7, 91, 224, 326, 331, 342, 380; Ibn Baṭṭuta, i, 188-90, tr. Gibb, ii, 377-8; J. Aubin, Maitrise pour la biographie de Shāh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Waṭṭār bin Ṭurāb, Paris-Ṭehran 1361/1982, 174; R. Mottahedeh, Consultation and the political process, in C. Mallat (ed.), Islam and public law, London 1993, 20 (citing Miskawayh), 23 (citing Bayḥakī). Thus in many places the aʿshrāf were an influential local or regional elite—"a blood aristocracy without peer" (R. W. Bulliet, The patricians of Niepceur, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 234)—with considerable political as well as social, power: e.g. Nṣḥāpūr (see ibid., 234-45; Bowdrew, 195, 197-5, 263-4); Harīk (cf. 'Abd Allāh Wāḥīd, Maksad al-ikbāl-i sultānīyya, (cf. C. VAN ARENDONK-[W.A. GRAHAM])

This recension of the name Nāṣir. In some other copies "Sharīf" is replaced by "Nasir-i Khusraw", while the manuscript

Despite its prestige historically, the great majority of aʿshrāf, given their constantly increasing numbers, have probably lived and still live in poor circumstances (see e.g. Snouck Hurgronje, ibid., i, 71; Burke, 98).

The genuineness of an 'Aḍid pedigree has historically often been open to question, despite efforts at regulation and authentication such as the institution of the nīkabar discussed above. See, e.g. ʿHurrā, and Westerman, i, 37, on the difficulty of distinguishing between a ḥurra or ḥurra and a ʿAḍid dynasty. In Morocco, see the refs. given above and also the handbook of Arabia, in Arabia is given in the article). The genuineness of an 'Alid pedigree has historically often been open to question, despite efforts at regulation and authentication such as the institution of the nīkabar discussed above. See, e.g. ʿHurrā, and Westerman, i, 37, on the difficulty of distinguishing between a ḥurra or ḥurra and a ʿAḍid dynasty. In Morocco, see the refs. given above and also the handbook of Arabia is given in the article). However, for all their prestige historically, the great majority of aʿshrāf, given their constantly increasing numbers, have probably lived and still live in poor circumstances. (citing Naʾfma, Taʾrīkh, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, vi, 402-5; Katib Celebi, Fadlīkh, Istanbul 1280/1867-80, ii, 142-7; Z. Bhatti, 94, concerning false claims of false claims of a ḥurra or ḥurra as their equals in birth (see HADRAMAWT, Arabian 1986, 291-302 and passim; Laroui, 92-7).

However, for all their prestige historically, the great majority of aʿshrāf, given their constantly increasing numbers, have probably lived and still live in poor circumstances. (citing Naʾfma, Taʾrīkh, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, vi, 402-5; Katib Celebi, Fadlīkh, Istanbul 1280/1867-80, ii, 142-7; Z. Bhatti, 94, concerning false claims of false claims of a ḥurra or ḥurra as their equals in birth (see HADRAMAWT, Arabian 1986, 291-302 and passim; Laroui, 92-7).

However, for all their prestige historically, the great majority of aʿshrāf, given their constantly increasing numbers, have probably lived and still live in poor circumstances.

The patricians were an influential local or regional elite—"a blood aristocracy without peer" (R. W. Bulliet, The patricians of Niepceur, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 234)—with considerable political as well as social, power: e.g. Nṣḥāpūr (see ibid., 234-45; Bowdrew, 195, 197-5, 263-4); Harīk (cf. 'Abd Allāh Wāḥīd, Maksad al-ikbāl-i sultānīyya, (cf. C. VAN ARENDONK-[W.A. GRAHAM])

The genuineness of an 'Alid pedigree has historically often been open to question, despite efforts at regulation and authentication such as the institution of the nīkabar discussed above. See, e.g. ʿHurrā, and Westerman, i, 37, on the difficulty of distinguishing between a ḥurra or ḥurra and a ʿAḍid dynasty. In Morocco, see the refs. given above and also the handbook of Arabia is given in the article). The genuineness of an 'Alid pedigree has historically often been open to question, despite efforts at regulation and authentication such as the institution of the nīkabar discussed above. See, e.g. ʿHurrā, and Westerman, i, 37, on the difficulty of distinguishing between a ḥurra or ḥurra and a ʿAḍid dynasty. In Morocco, see the refs. given above and also the handbook of Arabia is given in the article). However, for all their prestige historically, the great majority of aʿshrāf, given their constantly increasing numbers, have probably lived and still live in poor circumstances.
published by Fagnan retains the verse mentioning "Sharif" (three lines from the end) but adds a final verse giving the author's name as "Nāṣīr b. Ḫūsraw." It is quite obvious that (except in the version represented by Taḵawī's ms.) the text has been tampered with. The poem is clearly not by Nāṣīr-Ḥūsraw, whose pen-name was "Ḫūsraw" and not "Sharif," and whose style is quite unlike that of the Sa’dat-nāma; moreover, the latter poem contains no trace of Iṣmāʾīlī doctrines. Nothing else is known of our Sharīf, except that he must have lived before the middle of the 9th/15th century, the date of the earliest manuscripts, though he could very well have been a good deal earlier.

The modern Persian scholar M.T. Bahār (in his Sāḥib-ābān, iii, Tehran 1321/9394, 168) identified the author of the Sa’dat-nāma as one ʿAṣārīl-Ḥūsraw, who supposedly died in 735/1334-5, but in fact this person is totally fictitious. Bahār merely misconstrued the entry on the Sa’dat-nāma in the Kashf al-zunūn of Ḥājjī Khalīfa, who, following Dawlataḥ (61-4), wrongly makes ʿAṣārīl-Ḥūsraw a native of Iṣfahān (see ed. Flügel, iii, 596, ed. Yaldkaya/Bilge, ii, 990; the date "735" is evidently a misprint in the oriental edition used by Bahār). A striking feature of the poem is the vehemence with which the author denounces the "great ones" and his insistence that, after the prophets and saints, the best of mankind are the peasants, and then the artisans.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(F.C. de Blois)

AL-SHARĪF ‘ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ‘IDRĪS b. ‘Alī, called Imād al-Ḍīn, a Ḥasanī sharīf of Yemen. Belonging also to the Zaydī-Rasulid struggles of the late 7th/13th century, he is usually given the nisba of Yemen. He was a Ṣaḥāḥi, was born in 673/1274 and died in 714/1314. Idrīs had a strict Zaydī background and his early days were spent under the eye of his father, Djiāmīl al-Ḍīn Ḍawrī, who played a prominent military part on the side of the Zaydīs in the Zaydī-Rasulid struggles of the late 7th/13th century. By the time his father died in 699/1299, he had made his peace with the Rasulīd sultan ʿAṣārīl-Ḥūsraw and Idrīs was left in peace of all the Ḥanīfī ʿṣūr of the Yemen. From 700/1300 onwards relations between Idrīs and the Rasulīd sultan al-Muʿayyad ʿDawwād became progressively closer. The Rasulīd granted him as fiefs (iṣṭāʿāt) al-Ḵaḥma and Mawza in Tiḥmā and the administrative and military experience which he gained during more than fifteen years of service with the Rasulīd was considerable.

Idrīs was also renowned for his learning, particularly in the fields of fiqh, poetry and history, and there is mention of numerous books composed by him. But it was in the latter discipline that he was in particular famous. Alone extant among other historical works is his Kanz al-akẖābār tāʾalīf al-muʿṣar ṭalīw ‘l-akẖābār, the Yemenite part of which has recently appeared in print (Kuwait 1992), edited by ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Maḍḍāj. The work begins as an abridgement (iṣṭāʿāt) of Ibn al-Aṯīr’s [g.v.] Kīmālī, treating the history of Islam from the time of the Prophet. Additional material is provided, however, on the history of ‘Īrāq, Egypt and Syria. Of great value is the final section of the third part and the whole of the fourth and final part of the work which concern the history of Yemen down to the year 714/1314, i.e. the date of the author’s death.

The Yemenite section also begins with the period of the Prophet. The chief town, Ṣanʿa [g.v.], is given fairly detailed treatment, its foundation and early development, its most important early buildings like the Great Mosque and the castle of Qummān [g.v.]. On the early history, the Kanz is an extremely useful source for the governors of the Yemen during the period of the Prophet, the Orthodox caliphs, the Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids down to the year 204/819, when the author turns his hand to the earliest dynasty in Islamic times in the Yemen, the Ziyādīs [g.v.] and thereafter to the various dynasties which ruled over different parts of the Yemen in early Islam. As we might expect, he does not neglect the history of the Zaydī imāms and chronicles too the appearance in the Yemen of the Ismāʾīlīs dawwa in the late 3rd/9th-early 4th/10th century. The work is also of value as an important source of the Rasulīds in the Yemen, and from fol. 191a of the British Library ms. Or. 4581 (ed. Maḍḍāj, 111), the author speaks as an eyewitness of the events which played out around him. The Kanz was itself the subject of a further abridgement, Naḥbat al-akẖābār ʿl-khūṣūr, composed by the Rasulīd sultan al-Afdāl ‘Abbās (d. 787/1385).


(G.R. Smith)
gramarian and a singer whose performance he did not appreciate, and corrupt officials. Another of his genres consists of rasaidiyat, i.e. descriptions of gardens, flowers, ponds and fountains. Interesting are his poems describing inanimate objects, such as a painted rawdiyyat, i.e. descriptions of garlands. The genre consists of which he regularly placed at the end of every one of his Diwan (i.e. sections of the rhyme letters alif, baa, ta, etc.).

His long poem on “Rejection of wine in the evening and praise of wine in the morning” (Muzaddida fi djam an al-qahhah wa-maddah al-sabah, in Diwan, 301-7) was intended both as an imitation and contradiction [see NAKâ’i] of an earlier poem by Ibn al-Mu’tazz, on “Rejection of wine in the morning” (Urduja fi djam an al-sabah). In general, al-‘Akhîl proved himself a late supporter of the new style which Ibn al-Mu’tazz [q.v.] had begun to advocate some one hundred years before.


(PSMoor)

**SHARIF AMULI, a Mughul noble of the 16th/17th century. Persian by birth, he spent some time at Balkh in the Khânâkah of the Shî’i Muhammed Zâhid, but allegedly because of his heretic views was driven away from there and forced to go to the Decan. But then, too, his heresies drew upon him the unfavourable attention of the local rulers, leading to his flight to Malwa, then in Akbar’s empire (984/1576-7). He was acclaimed as a great scholar by the Persian notable, and was granted audience by Akbar, whom he introduced to the doctrines of the Naqawâ’i sect founded by Mahmûd Pasîkhânî [see NUKTAYWA]. Henceforth, he became one of Akbar’s advisors in religious and legal matters. Official appointments followed (1586/1675), and in 1590, 1594 and 1595 he was made kâdi of Bihâr and Bengal (1000/1591-2); and governor of Ajmîr with the purgâna of Mohan near Lucknow in 1597-9. In 1594/1595 he had the rank of 900 dhât. His status remained high under Djahângîr, who, while recording impressions of nobles immediately after his accession (114/1605-6), praises him highly in his memoirs, and says he raised this nobles immediately after his accession (114/1605-6), praises him highly in his memoirs, and says he raised this nobles immediately after his accession (114/1605-6), praises him highly in his memoirs, and says he raised D.C. Phillott, Calcutta 1927, i, 502-4.

(M. Athar Alî)

**SHARIF AL-DIJURDIANI, and a singer whose performance he did not appreciate, and corrupt officials. Another of his genres consists of rasâ‘idiyat, i.e. descriptions of garlands. The genre consists of which he regularly placed at the end of every one of his Diwan (i.e. sections of the rhyme letters alif, baa, ta, etc.).

His long poem on “Rejection of wine in the evening and praise of wine in the morning” (Muzaddida fi djam an al-qahhah wa-maddah al-sabah, in Diwan, 301-7) was intended both as an imitation and contradiction [see NAKâ’i] of an earlier poem by Ibn al-Mu’tazz, on “Rejection of wine in the morning” (Urduja fi djam an al-sabah). In general, al-‘Akhîl proved himself a late supporter of the new style which Ibn al-Mu’tazz [q.v.] had begun to advocate some one hundred years before.


(P.SMoor)

SHARIF AMULI, a Mughul noble of the 10th/16th century. Persian by birth, he spent some time at Balkh in the Khânâkah of the Shî’i Muhammed Zâhid, but allegedly because of his heretic views was driven away from there and forced to go to the Decan. But then, too, his heresies drew upon him the unfavourable attention of the local rulers, leading to his flight to Malwa, then in Akbar’s empire (984/1576-7). He was acclaimed as a great scholar by the Persian notable, and was granted audience by Akbar, whom he introduced to the doctrines of the Naqawâ’i sect founded by Mahmûd Pasîkhânî [see NUKTAYWA]. Henceforth, he became one of Akbar’s advisors in religious and legal matters. Official appointments followed (1586/1675), and in 1590, 1594 and 1595 he was made kâdi of Bihâr and Bengal (1000/1591-2); and governor of Ajmîr with the purgâna of Mohan near Lucknow in 1597-9. In 1594/1595 he had the rank of 900 dhât. His status remained high under Djahângîr, who, while recording impressions of nobles immediately after his accession (114/1605-6), praises him highly in his memoirs, and says he raised his mansûb from 2000 to 2500 dhât. The date of his death is not recorded.

Sharîf Amulî seems to have been possessed of exceptional learning and eloquence, and is said to have written a book called Tarâwîq-yih-i zuhâr, though neither this nor any other work from his pen has survived. He earned the bitter enmity of theologians like ‘Abd al-Kâdîr Bâdûnî [q.v.], the famous historian, who mentions his arrival in India in order to insert a diatribe against him and his heretical views. The author of the Tahâbâ’i Akbarî, however, acclaimed him as “a monotheist (mawâniqî) of the time, having a true expertise in mysticism”.

Historia de los autores y transmisores andalusies (HATA), forthcoming.

(MARIBEL FIERRO AND MANUELA MARÍN)

AL-SHARIF AL-IDRISI [see AL-IDRISI].

AL-SHARIF AL-MURTADÁ [see AL-MURTADÁ].

SHARIF PASHA, Muhammad (1823-87), Egyptian statesman in the reigns of the Khedives Ismá'il and Tawfik. He was of Turkish origin and was born in Cairo, where his father was then acting as ka'īd ‘l-kudrat sent by the sultan. When some ten years later the family was again temporarily in Cairo, Muhammad ‘Ali [q.v.] had the boy sent to the military school recently founded by him. Henceforth, his whole career was to be spent in the Egyptian service. Sharif was a member of the “Egyptian mission” sent to Paris for higher education which included the future Khedives Sa‘īd Pasha and Ismá’il Pasha and the statesman ‘Ali Mubārak Pasha. He then took a military course at St. Cyr (1843-5), and served for some time in the French army until the mission was recalled by ‘Abbās I in 1849. For the next four years he acted as secretary to Prince Ḥālim, then took up military duties again in 1853 and attained the rank of general under Sa‘īd Pasha. During this period, he was much associated with the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, Sulaymān Pasha (de Sèves [see SULAYMĀN PASHA, AL-TRANSAWĪ]), whose daughter he married.

In 1857 Sharīf Pasha began his political career as Minister of Foreign Affairs and he acted as deputy for the Khedive Ismā’il [see ISMĀ’IL PASHA] when the latter went to Istanbul in 1865. He later fell in with all the high offices of state. It was he who in 1869 drew up the plans for the new Maṣāfī al-munawwi’d [see MAṢĀFĪ, XVI].

After the inauguration of constitutional government in Egypt in 1878, three cabinets were formed by Sharīf Pasha. When in February 1879 Nūbār Pasha’s [q.v.] cabinet (which included two Europeans) had been overthrown by the nationalist parliament, a constitutionalist movement was begun under Muhammad Sharīf Pasha, the leader of which in Parliament was ‘Abd al-Salām al-Muwālīlī. This party drew up a plan of constitutional reforms, which was laid before the Khedive, who in April 1879 entrusted Sharīf Pasha with the formation of a cabinet composed of purely Egyptian elements. This new cabinet instituted a Conseil d’État and had a new organic law passed by the Chamber (promulgated on 14 June 1879). After the accession of the Khedive Tawfik Pasha [q.v.], Sharīf Pasha’s cabinet was remodelled, but the new government was not so nationalist in complexion as the preceding. In August of the same year, the new Khedive refused to approve the constitution drawn up by the Prime Minister, hence on 18 August Sharīf Pasha resigned and was succeeded by Muḥammad Riḍā Pasha. Sharīf Pasha then took part in the formation of the “National Society” or “Party” at Ḥulwān, which published a manifesto against Riḍā Pasha on 4 November.

During the two years or so of mounting tension between the Khedive and the rising influence in the state of the nationalist elements of the army led by ‘Abū Ḥadīdīlī al-Miṣawi al-‘Alawī [q.v.], Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha endeavoured to put forward the idea of constitutional reform in order to forestall an attempted putsch by the ‘Urābīists elements. He became Prime Minister in September 1881, but had to resign in January 1882 in favour of Muḥammad Sāmī Pasha al-Bārūdīlī [q.v.]. Yet in the late summer of that year, when the Khedive had been restored to power in Cairo by British force of arms and the ‘Urābī revolt crushed, Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha again became Prime Minister (August 1882). He held office during the beginning of the British occupation, but in the end came in conflict with the British government and its Consul-General in Egypt, Sir Evelyn Baring (the later Lord Cromer), when the government required the evacuation of Egyptian forces from the Sūdān in face of the rising power there of the Mahdī [see MAHDĪYYA], and resigned in January 1884. He then retired from political life, suffered ill health and died at Graz, being buried at Cairo in April 1887.

By birth, Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha stemmed from the Turco-Egyptian ruling class, so that his attitudes were bound to be more Khedivalist than nationalist, but he managed to establish a reputation for sincerity with the nationalists, who recognised his genuine desire to make Egypt a constitutional state under Muḥammad ‘Abī’s house.


(J.H. KRAMERS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])


His father Abū Ahmad al-Ṭāhir (not Abū Ṭāhir, as Krenkow writes in EI, vol. IV, 329, Duḥ ‘l-Manākīb (“the pure man of noble qualities”) as the Būyid amin dubbed him, was born in 304/916-17. He was a distinguished man who was extremely influential, both in the caliphal court and among the populace, on account of his noble ancestry and his cultural eminence. In 354/965 he was appointed nakib or marshal of the ‘Alīfs, and given responsibility for the mażālīm and for the Pilgrimage. His career was interrupted in 369/979-80, in which year he was imprisoned by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [q.v.], with his brother ʿAbd Allāh and numerous other dignitaries, in a fortress in Ṣhirzā. He had been accused—on the basis of falsified documents—of revealing state secrets and of abuse of trust (Ibn al-Djawzi, Mināzīm, vii, 98). The real charge against him seems to have been the mounting prestige which he enjoyed, prestige which exceeded, if Ibn Ṭaghribīrdī is to be believed (Nudūm, iv, 223), that of the caliph himself. If to this is added the enormous wealth possessed by Abū Ahmad and coveted by the Būyids, the real reasons behind his detention are easily deduced. It was not until 376/986 that he was freed, following the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and the accession of his son Sharif al-Dawla [q.v.]. Rehabilitated, he was reinstated in his official functions and all his property was restored to him.

In the political domain, Abū Ahmad played an important role. He was entrusted with numerous missions of mediation, all of which he accomplished successfully, through his wisdom and his diplomatic skills. Such was the case, for example, when serious conflict erupted between Sunnīs and Shi’īs at al-Karkh in 380/990. The consequences could have been very grave had it not been for the intervention of the nakib, who succeeded in soothing passions and putting
an end to this confrontation (see H.F. Amedroz, Three years of Buwaihid rule in Baghdad, in JRAS [1901], 619 ff.). Towards the end of his life, Abū Ahmad suffered poor health and lost his sight. In 400/1009-10 he died, at the age of 97 years (Dīwān, ii, 293).

The mother of al-Radī, Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn (d. 385/996), was also of 'Ālīf descent, more precisely from al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, her grandfather al-Nāṣir li-l-Ḥakk, poet and man of letters, was the ruler of Daylam. Al-Radī apparently had two sisters, Khadidja and Zaynab, as well as two brothers, al-Āthar, mentioned by the poet al-Ma‘arrī (d. 449/1057) in his ode to Abū Ahmad (Ṣākī al-zand, Beirut 1957, 35), and al-Sharīf al-Murtada (355-493/967-1044 [q.v.]), renowned as a poet, writer, theologian, polemist and leading defender of Imārism. While the two brothers al-Radī and al-Murtaza are often mentioned conjointly, their contemporaries seem to have preferred the former, in particular for his poetic gifts and for his personal qualities (cf. Ibn Abī 'l-Hadīdī, Sharḥ Nahlī, 39-40).

As regards al-Radī’s own immediate family, little is known. He apparently had a son, Abū Ahmad ‘Adāmī, known like his grandfather by the cognomen of al-Ṭāhir Dhu l-Mansūk. He followed the example of his ancestors in occupying the post of nākīb. Furthermore, after his death, a second son was born, Abū Ahmad al-Mūsawi (Ibn ‘Inaba, Umda, 211).

Intellectual formation.

Al-Radī had an education worthy of his rank. While he was still at an early age, and during the absence of his imprisoned father, his mother entrusted him, with his brother al-Murtada, to the eminent Imāmī scholar al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 399/1002), among others. Al-Radī was very much attached to the last-named, in particular. In fact, in 380/990, at 24 years old, he was entrusted with his father’s responsibilities (the nīkāba of the ‘Alids, the mazālim and the Pijramage), when the latter’s state of health prevented him from performing these duties himself. Sometimes, it was the two brothers together who assumed the responsibility. He was probably not officially appointed nākīb until 403/1013. Furthermore, Baha‘ al-Dawla persisted in showering him with honorific titles: al-Sharīf al-Qa‘īlī (“the venerable noble one”) (398/998), al-Radī (“the well-pleasing”) (398/1007), al-Sharīf al-Adīlī (“the most venerable noble one”) (401/1011), Dhu l-Haṣābin (“of the two nobilities”) and Dhu l-Munkataṭīn (“of two virtues”). To this writer’s knowledge, in the entire history of Islam no one has ever surpassed al-Radī in terms of official honours and distinctions.

Poetic activity.

A writer and scholar versed in various disciplines (Kūrān, Ḥadīth, language and literature), he was most appreciated and successful as a poet. His contemporary al-Thalālibī (op. cit.) asserts that he was considered, in terms of quality as well as quantity, the best poet of the Tālibīs, indeed of Kuraysh in general. Whatever the case, one thing is certain: al-Radī was passionate about his poetry. He was proud and jealous where it was concerned. He never permitted himself to utilise it for material ends, nor to obtain presents and benefits, as was the practice of innumerable poets of his time. He sought only honour and prestige as rewards for his poetry. His panegyric poems were devoted mostly to his relatives and friends; the others were addressed to certain public figures, those whom he genuinely trusted. Among the latter, worthy of mention is the caliph al-Tā‘ī (d. 393/1003 [q.v.]), to whom he dedicated numerous laudatory poems revealing sincere affection and respect for the man. One of his most moving poems is that in which he recounts the deposition of the caliph in 381/991 by Baha‘ al-Dawla (Dīwān, ii, 444-8). He continued to dedicate poems to him until the former caliph’s death twelve years later in 393/1003 (Dīwān, 197-201). But his relations with al-Ka‘dīr (d. 422/1031 [q.v.], successor to al-Tā‘ī, were not so favourable. Indeed, he wrote some eulogies addressed to him, but without much conviction. On the contrary, he composed a number of audacious, impertinent and provocative poems which sometimes roused the ire of the caliph, such as that
cism, al-Radī was open to all tendencies. He showed some sympathy for Shafi‘ism and for Mu‘tazilism (cf. Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Sharīf, 46-7). He made his own convictions clear in declaring (Hakā‘īk, v, 17) that he had been drawn, in early life, towards Mu‘tazilism, but that he had later opted for the dogma of the hadīth and was ‘ud‘ (promises and threats in the life beyond), one of the five fundamental principles dear to the Mu‘tazilīs (cf. Dīwān, ii, 270).

Political activity.

His biographers, led by Ibn Abī ‘l-Hadīdī (op. cit., i, 34), state that, from an early age, he harboured political ambitions and even aspired to the highest authority in the state, the caliphate itself; some of his verses express this unequivocally (Dīwān, i, 358, 359, ii, 167, 406-12). It seems that his friend Abī Ishāq al-Sābir encouraged him and built up his hopes (Dīwān, ii, 89-90; cf. Ibn Abī ‘l-Hadīdī, op. cit., 26). This idea, which he cherished throughout his youth, came to nothing, and many of his poems convey a sense of disappointment, of deep dejection and of acute pessimism. He was finally obliged to come to terms with reality and to be content with the honours lavished on him by the Buyids, Baha‘ al-Dawla [q.v. in Suppl.] in particular. In fact, in 380/990, at 24 years old, he was entrusted with his father’s responsibilities (the nīkāba of the ‘Alids, the mazālim and the Pilgrimage), when the latter’s state of health prevented him from performing these duties himself. Sometimes, it was the two brothers together who assumed the responsibility. He was probably not officially appointed nākīb until 403/1013. Furthermore, Baha‘ al-Dawla persisted in showering him with honorific titles: al-Sharīf al-Qa‘īlī (“the venerable noble one”) (398/998), al-Radī (“the well-pleasing”) (398/1007), al-Sharīf al-A‘ṣāfī (“the most venerable noble one”) (401/1011), Dhu l-Haṣābin (“of the two nobilities”) and Dhu l-Munkataṭīn (“of two virtues”). To this writer’s knowledge, in the entire history of Islam no one has ever surpassed al-Radī in terms of official honours and distinctions.

The portrait provided by his biographers, corroborated furthermore by his poems, is that of a man of honesty, sensitivity, sincerity and finesse, a staunch and loyal friend. He was also immensely proud and conscious of his dignity; he accepted no gift from anyone. On the contrary, he was generous and well-disposed towards scholarship and scholars. He had founded a school, the Dār al-līm (“house of knowledge”), where the students were lodged and provided for (Ibn ‘Inaba, op. cit., 209).

A committed Imāmī, but without excess or fanati-
in which he compares himself to the latter, declaring in his presence (Diwdn, i, 42):

"Alas, Amr of the Believers! We are equal, at the summit of glory ..."

Only the caliphate, of which you hold the reins, separates us.

Rahib Al-Dawla was one of the few amirs to enjoy eulogies on the part of this poet, in the guise of appreciation for all the privileges which he had accorded him (Diwdn, i, 13-18, 53-64, 277-8, 413-18 and pasim). But the poems in which al-Radfi displays innovation and skill of the highest order are those devoted to praise of his father. There are some forty of these, and no other Arab poet has ever produced anything comparable. He treated his father, whose personality fascinated him, as though he were a caliph. On the occasion of every festival, he presented him with a poem. Furthermore, it was the arrest of his personnel unique in Arabic literature—their art of the pen (Diwdn, i, 175):

“I have loved but, as God knows,
    I have only needed to see, to enjoy it ...”

His elegiac poetry is a model of sincerity and sensibility, full of wisdom, of meditation on man, life and death. Among his most moving elegies, notable are those dedicated to al-Husayn b. ‘Ali, to his mother, to his father, to his friend al-Sabi and to his master Ibn Djinni (Diwdn, i, 26-30, 44-8, 187-90, 381-6, ii, 63-7, 75-6, 290-6 and pasim). His last poem of the genre was the elegy addressed to his friend, the writer and poet Ahmad al-Battal, at the time of his death in Shaban 405/1015 (Diwdn, i, 170-1).

In this poem, al-Radfi seemed to have a sense of his own impending demise, as he declares (op. i, 170):

“After you have hurt the one whom you love,
    Misfortunes will never spare you!”

In fact, a few months later, his own death supervened. He expired on Sunday, 6 Muharram 406/26 June 1016, at 47 years old. He was buried first in his home town, al-Karkh, in the precincts of the mosque of the Anbariyin, in the absence of his brother al-Murtaḍa, who was, it is said, too distressed to attend the ceremony. It was the wazir Fakhri al-Mulk who conducted the funeral prayers. According to Ibn ‘Inba (op. cit., 210-11), the remains of al-Radfi were said to have been later transferred to Karbala’, to the mausoleum of al-Husayn unfinished, hand of his father. Numerous poets paid their respects to him, in particular, his brother al-Murtaḍa. Abu ‘l-Kasim al-Maghibi (d. 418/1027) and his disciple Mihyar al-Daylam (d. 428/1037).

Works.

Despite his relatively early death, and in spite of his weighty official responsibilities, al-Radfi had the time to compose numerous works, reflecting his extensive and varied culture. His contemporary al-Nadjash (Ráqíd, 283) has listed some fifty of them. Particularly worthy of mention are the following: (1) His Diwdn, of 10,000 verses, the poems in which are often dated (374/405-985/1015), was assembled by several compilers, his son Ahmad and Abû Ḥakim al-Khabr (d. 476/1083) among others (ed. Bombay and Baghdad 1889, Beirut 1890, 1893, and more recently ed. Dar Šādir, n.d.). (2) Rasîdî’s al-Imam ‘Ali ("Special characteristics of the Imam ‘Ali") (ed. Nadjash 1949 and Maghād 1986); written in 383/994, this work was in fact the draft of a more ambitious project. The author intended at the outset to deal with the characteristic virtues of the twelve Shi‘ī Imams (Rasîdî’s al-A’īman). He began with ‘Ali: his biography, his qualities and some extracts from his speeches and his wise aphorisms; this gave him the idea of devoting a second work exclusively to the sayings of ‘Ali, with the object of illustrating his oratorical gifts. With the study of the other Imams still unfinished, he turned immediately to this new enterprise which culminated in the celebrated Nāhī al-balâgha (cf. Nāhī, 1-3). (3) Nāhī al-balâgha ("The way of eloquence") [g.v.] (ed. Beirut 1885, Cairo 1905, 1910, 1925 and ed. M.M. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, n.d. and Beirut 1983): this is the anthology of the speeches, homilies and letters traditionally attributed to ‘Ali, which al-Radfi compiled in 400/1010 (see on this subject M. Djebli, Encore à propos des authentications de Nadjash al-balâgha en Isl, lixiv (1932), 36-52; (4) Ḥakīb ‘al-ta’wil fi masâlik al-tanzîl ("Interpretation of Kur‘anic images"), sometimes mentioned under the title of Ma‘ānî al-Kur‘ân al-kabîr ("Obscure meanings in the Kur‘ān") this was a monumental work, considered one of the most important exegeses of the Kur‘ān. Unfortunately, only the 5th volume has survived (ed. Nadjash 1936). (5) Talâtî al-bayyin fi ma‘âṣirat al-kur‘ân ("Summary of metaphors in the Kur‘ān") (ed. Cairo 1964, Baghdad 1965): begun on Thursday, 28 Shahrūb 401/1011 and completed on Sunday, 13 Shawwâl of the same year, this book is probably a summary of the preceding work (cf. Talâtî, 288). (6) Ma‘âṣirat al-nabawaya ("Metaphors in the Ḥadîth") (ed. Baghdad 1911, Cairo 1971). As a talented writer and an admirer of literature, the author wanted to seek out eloquence, rhetoric and metaphor in the three principal sources of the Arabic language, these being the Kur‘ān, the Ḥadîth and the sayings of ‘Ali. It was in this spirit that he composed these last two works (al-Nadjash al-balâgha, al-Talâtî al-bayyin fi ma‘âṣirat al-kur‘ân) ("Correspondence with al-Safadî"). If al-Šafadî is to be believed (Wâfi, ii, 374), this correspondence, in prose and in poetry, constituted three volumes. But unfortunately, only an infinitesimal part of it has survived, in a ms. belonging to the Tunisian scholar H.H. ‘Abd al-Wahhab (ed. Kuwait 1961). Other works, apparently no longer in existence, deserve mention, in particular: (1) Shat wâllidih Abî
Ahmad (biography of his father), composed in his youth, in 379/990. (2) Al-Mustawfi al-Sadr (An Anthology of the poems of Abū Tammādī)

Abū Tammādī, who was appointed governor of Bidjaya, where he died in 756/1355), Abu Musa al-Mashaddalr (a native of the region of Bidjaya, d. 745/1345). (3)

Al-Mansūr ordered his release in or before 379/990-90, either because of a dream-vision of the Prophet or thanks to the intervention of al-Mansūr’s pet ostrich; the supposedly supernatural cause of his release is said to have given rise to his cognomen, which in one source is said to be "Ṭa'llīk al-나’āma, "released by the ostrich".

Although he is reported to have been a prolific poet, little of his work is extant, and that only in fragmentary quotations. His friend, Ibn Ḥāmzah calls him the greatest Andalusian poet of his time and compares his rank among the poets of the Andalusian Umayyads to that of Ibn al-Mu’tazz among the ‘Abbasids because of the "gracefulness of his poetry and the beauty of his similes." Particularly appreciated was his kāf ‘īyya beginning:

ghusn yaḥāzzu fī ḍi‘āt nākā
dīdān minhu fī‘ādī ḥūrādā
("A bough, quivering on a sandy hillock/from which my heart burns burning!"; but only 41 verses, probably not the entire poem, are extant. The extant fragments deal mostly with wine and flowers.)

Ibn al-Mu‘taṣr, the name given to a distinguished group of scholars of Tlemcen.

1. MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD, Abu Ṭalib (a) Life

This scholar (al-‘ām) of Tlemcen, who was born in 710/1310 and died in 771/1369 or 1370, is the renowned ancestor (maqhsir) of a family which has produced several generations of jurists (fuqahā‘), and more specifically of "philosopher-jurists" (Abū Bakr Ibn Shu‘ayb or philosophers of law, also known as "theoreticians of law" (W.B. Hallaq), particularly distinguished among whom are his two sons.

He was nicknamed al-‘Alaw, being the native of a village situated a day’s journey from Tlemcen and called al-‘Alawiyīn.

He studied under masters of repute, including Abū Zayd (d. 743/1342) and Abū Mūsā (d. 749/1348), with whom he studied science of law (fiqā‘), sources of law (ašāl al-fikā‘) and dogmatic theology (‘ilm al-kalām). He also studied under the teacher of Abū al-‘Allām and Yahyā Ibn Khaḍīr, Abū ‘Alī Ibn al-‘Alī (d. 757/1356), a citizen of Tlemcen of Andalusian origin (from Avila), later a resident of Fās, where he became the disciple of the mathematician Ibn al-Bāna‘ (d. 721/1321). Among his other distinguished teachers were the savant and mystic Abū ‘Allām b. Ibrāhīm al-Muqāfī, nicknamed “the Weeper” (al-Bakka‘, Bustān, 121, tr. 102), the kāfī ‘Alī Muhammad al-Tanīmī (who was appointed governor of Bīdāja, where he died in 756/1355), Abū Mūsā ‘Imrān al-Maghdūdī (a native of the region of Bīdāja, d. 745/
Referring to the document for Al-Sharif al-Tilimsani, a representative of that class of Maghribi scholars who were employed by the successors to the Almohads in the training of royal functionaries responsible for the sultan's secretariat and for military, religious or judicial administration, in the context of the official teaching of the madrasas. Furthermore, the need for such functionaries was augmented by the prosperity of Tlemcen and the development of the diplomatic and commercial relations of the kingdom.

His work is situated in the movement whereby institutions and which illustrate the Organon, which correspond to the Kitab al-Shifa (death of 749/1348), which originated in the Orient and spread throughout the West, decimating the intellectual elite of North Africa. On his return to Tlemcen, and until the capture of this town in 753/1352 by the Marinid sultan Abu Inan, he gave courses which were well attended, among others by students from neighbouring countries.

Abu Inan appointed him as a member of his academic council (al-maghiṣ al-imāni) and introduced him to his court in Fas. There he gave instruction to the royal family, to the children of the nobility and to eminent individuals of the court (awral al-ṣuraqṣa wa l-ṣuqama, Busīn, 117). Some of his pupils were to become renowned, such as the notary and astronomer (muqaddam) attached to the mosque of al-Karawīyīn, Abu Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maḍīyūn (al-Kahfīrī, b. 777/1375-6) and the traditionist scholar Abu Zakariyya Yaḥyā al-Sarrāḍīj (d. 805/1402-3). On the death in 759/1358 of Abu Inan and with the consent of the Marinid waṣir Umar b. 'Abd Allāh, al-Ṣaḥīf al-Tīlimsānī accepted an invitation from the sultan of Tlemcen, Abu Ḥāmūtī (723/923-89), who appointed him an advisor, being impressed by his superb intellectual qualities (anfūbuhum), his methodical analyses and the clarity of his language which rendered him a proficient orator. His daily routine began with interpretation of the Qur'an, his favourite reading, the Mudawwana, and his pre-eminence in the different Malikī schools (Kayrawān, Córdoba, Baghda, Cairo, etc.), especially in regard to the Kurānī: its grammatical analysis (nahw), its readings (kāfīlāt) and its variants (ṣūqāl). Furthermore, the art of poetry, ancient history of the Arabs ("Days of the Arabs"), ayām al-'Arab, and "Days of God," ayām Allāh and Sūlim were subjects in which he excelled. In addition to his mastery of the rational and traditional sciences (al-mashayq), the jurist and his judgments (salāmāt al-akhl), he was also endowed with profound mystical knowledge which he sought to share with his pupils, initiating them especially into the rejection of material goods.

What emerges from his personality is the image of a sincere Muslim whom affluence did not deflect from the defence of the spiritual, moral and humanist values contributing to the cohesion and dynamism of the city. Among his pupils, many acquired renown: in the first place his own sons, 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the imām al-Ṣahīfī, Ibn Zamrak, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khādhīn, Ibn al-Sakākī (Abū Yahyā Muḥammad, d. 816/1413), the fākh Muhammad b. 'Arif al-Maḍīyūn, the saint and preacher Ibrāhīm al-Maṣūmdī (d. 804 or 805/1401 or 1402), and the jurist Abu 'Abd Allāh b. 'Arif al-Warghāmī (716-803/1316-1400).
tutions were re-adapted to Malikism after the Almohad period. For Ibn Maryam, he was the last of the great masters of ijtihād according to this period (bābur), as is seen by this period (arba'īn). He was responsible for the revival of orthodoxy (ibid, 169, tr. 185), he resuscitated religious law and dispelled heresy (ibid., 167, tr. 185).

In reaction to the Almohad doctrine, illustrated in particular by the Mahdi Ibn Tūmart, the scholar equally versed in the sources (usūl) of law, permitting the deduction of laws from their principles, and in the applications (furūʿ) of law, exerted his critical sense while applying himself to the original texts. Two methods were combined: idīthā, personal interpretation as a means of rectifying or completing passages in the Mālikī treatises, and takhrīj, using the model of the opinions of Malikī scholars expressed in the treatises on furūʿ, the mystical sense (bātin) taking on an increasing importance in the interpretation of sources.

With al-Ŝarīf al-Tilmānsī, the development of the juristic sources is characterised by an attempt at reconciling these furūʿ with the usūl, as well as by the more profound study of theology, these various elements forming part of the education dispensed especially in madrasas. As with the Ḥafṣīd dynasty, the function of muftīs, initially private and independent, tends to be given official status, becoming an institution designed to bolster the authority of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. Thus in connection with the school of Biłūḥ, and under influences deriving from al-Andalus, from Tunis and from Fās, a judicial practice (ʿamal) is constituted, belonging specifically to Tlemcen and its region, which has left its mark in collections of particular cases (nawzāl), where the position of the Divine Law is expressed by an authorised religious scholar (muftī), in answer to a question put to him by the jurist (fikht, muṣafīt).

The fatwā related by Ibn Maryam (Bustān, 178-84) is not so much an example of a judicial decision, an opinion on a point of law delivered by an expert, as a concise survey of the principal issues debated in the 8th/14th century at Tlemcen in the field of usūl al-fākḥ. More specifically, this fatwā reflects the pedagogical concern of al-Ŝarīf, revealing his characteristic method of addressing the problem from different angles (bi-wuqūṭ al-nazar, ibid., 178). It gives an insight into his way of contemplating the rules of interpretation of the sources of law from which are derived the legal statutes (ahkām) which should govern the judicial problems (nawzāl) which are presented.

The doctrine of al-Ŝarīf is characterised here by:

- Insistence on the authority of the Prophet as representative of the Supreme Legislator, God;
- His concern to reconcile rules which appear to be contradictory, e.g. by linking the particular to the general case;
- The resolution of conflicts through the rule of abrogation (누드); which can concern an explicit text (nass) or a judicial decision or rule (ḥudūd);
- A technique close to that of such Ashʿāri as al-Ŝarīf himself, al-Djwāynī, al-Ğazzālī and al-Raḍī and to that of mediaeval Christian scholarship (the technique of division and of classification, reference to religious authority, the hypotheses envisaged being most often expressed in the form of the syllogism, the use of copious evidence in argumentation, refutation of the opponent through his own arguments or through argumentum ad hominem, al-taṣlīm). Directly, the accent is placed on the delimitation of the question, the de-emphasis of the controversial points, and then the reduction of divergencies by the elimination of faulty interpretations giving approbation (samāk) to the erroneous, then the recognition of the direction of probable certainty, of equitable solutions;
- A rigorous exegesis aided by an analytic logic, bordering on an apodictic logic which does not impute to the texts more than they show, proceeding through the observation of singular principles which resemble one another to the deduction and detachment of the universal rule (e.g. the Aristotelian concept revised by Ibn Sīnā). Simple allegation (ḥudūd) needs to be confirmed (yaqūlū, ibid., 183). His procedure for validating between the valid and the non-valid is close to that of the philosopher (e.g. Ibn Rushd), between the true and the false: simple notions (maḏāni mufadda) are all conceivable, it is their composition (tarbāḥ), which gives the concept (taṣawwur) which permits affirmation and negation (al-ṣīqib uwaq-sāb), and especially, truth and falsehood (al-nūk uwaqq-kadīb);
- A cautious use of analogy (al-khāṣṣ). This is a means of avoiding, on the one hand, assimilation by analogy which brings about an interpretation far removed from the basic case (ṣīqib), by stressing the resemblance to the assimilated case (ṣīqib); and on the other, personal opinion (raʾīy), especially in the absence of a clear expression of legal rules in the texts (ibārāt al-nāiss). The arguments used are non-analogical, arguments a fortiori (faḥū wa-khāṣṣ, where the themes are to be found more decisively present in the assimilated case than in the basic case), starting with the implicit meaning of the typical text (a maṣūr ad minūr or a minūr ad maṣūr, maḏām al-khāṣṣ or dawāt al-nāiss, and reductio ad absurdum, khāṣṣ al-akī);
- Utilisation of logic, in the general structure, as in the different developments of the reasoning, which adds richness to the text and clarity as well, giving it persuasive force and avoiding ambiguity. However, its presence is diffuse and takes the form in the course of the text, after the manner of Ibn Ḥazm, of stylistic features apparently not designed or intended (for example, the non-categorical syllogism, or, according to Arabic classification, of, e.g. al-Šarīf, disjunctive conditional syllogism);

The predominance of idīthā, here in the sense of judicial effort (Abū Bakr b. Ǧuʿayb) where faith and knowledge are partners, and which is tied to the notion of action, will, knowledge, truth, while servile imitation (taḥlīl) is the symbol of immobility, of passivity, or ignorance and of falsehood (al-ghalāl). But the definition of idīthā is fairly broad as applied by al-Ŝarīf, who acknowledges absolute idīthā in the case of the independent interpreter, who decides without reference to any doctrine, whereas for al-Ğazzālī, for example, the independence of this judgment is only valid within the parameters of the school to which the jurisconsult belongs.

It is the concern for just equilibrium (išdāl), and the feeling that the certainty obtained is only a probable certainty, which leads the jurist, a devout Muslim, subject to the omnipotence of the Legislator (God), to an attitude of moderation (hayʾat al-taṣawwur) and of wisdom (al-hikmah). Thus the judge becomes the arbiter, or finds his role in arbitration (since kādī is to settle a dispute, to arbitrate), as is shown by Aristotel’s definition of equity (aequitas): “Equity seems to be justice which goes beyond the written law” (Rhetoric, 1, 1574a).

(b) Works

A book on donations (al-muṣāfa al-mawṣūfa, par ex); Shurṭ Ūṣul al-Khawāṣṣ—Muḥāṣṣūṣ fr ’-olutely
or K. al-Mîṣḥâb fî 'l-fîrah or Mîṣḥâb al-wâsaiîl fi hîyâ al- farkî 'l- atâa 'l-wâsîl, dedicated to the Mârînîd sultan Abî İmân (749-59/1347-58); a work on predestination and the immutable decrees of God (Fi 'l-kâdar); poems (kâhid) composed at the time of the Mârînîd fâti-l-tîwâli; a work on mathematics, ded. to the Mârînîd sultan Abî al-Mâzûnî (d. 883/1478) and of al-Wânsârî, with some of his sons 'Abd Allâh and 'Abd al-Râhmân, as well as in al-Bûstân.


2. 'Abd Allâh b. Muhammad, sometimes called Ibn İmân, b. 748/1347-8, the elder son of the pre-}
as regards the *ism and the kunya, appears to be a combination of that of *Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun and that of Abu Yahya b. al-Sukkak (kadi of Fâs, d. 816/1413), both present on the night of his birth, in his father's house. His acquaintance with the jurist *Kurān, he studied in particular, with his father, the fundamentals of law and the *Mawāṣaṭa*, then with his brother *Abd Allâh, nine years his senior, whose diligent disciple he became. He also undertook study of Ibn al-Ḥâdîjî, of the *Dîvâlîm al-Khânûdâjî* and of the *Idhâf al-Fârisî*, as a pupil of Abû *Uthmân Sa'id al-Ūqbâ (kadi of Biijlja, then of Tîlîmîn, 720-811/1320-1408). Like his brother, he had Muhammad b. *Hâvâdî al-Gharmûfî for a tutor in the study of the *Dîvâlîm al-Zâdîdâjî* and the *Mukarrârîn* of Ibn *Usfîr*. With the Andalusian Abu 'l-Kâsim b. Ridwân, he studied the *Sâkhîh* of Muslim and the *Shâfyî* of *Iya'd*. During his brother's illness, in 784/1382, he taught in his place, before leaving to give a series of lectures in Fâs. Renowned for his skill at exegesis and the analysis of the apparent and hidden (*al-sâhir wa l-bâsin*) meaning of texts, he educated numerous students under the written and printed *Abû al-Allâh*, Muhammad b. *Yâsîn al-Îshârî*, secretary of Abû Hammû II, as well as Abu 'l-'Abbâs Ahmîd Ibn Zâghû (782-845/1380-1441), himself an eminent jurist and teacher of the *kâfit* of Mâznûnî, al-Maghîlî (d. 883/1478) and of Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alî al-Kalâsâdî (d. 891-1486), an Andalusian and a resident of Tîlîmîn who was himself the teacher, in arithmetic and the science of succession of the theologian Muhammad al-Sanûsî (930 of 1481-1545-1499). He died in 826/1425. His works comprise a book on the forgiveness of sins (*Ta'llî* al-'l-maghrîfîn); *Shârîf al-asârî al-akhyâya* (of al-Muktarâh, d. 612/1215-16); and *îshârî al-îkhdîfî* (of al-Dîwâñayîn).


5. Abu 'l-Fârâdî b. Abî Yahya b. Muhammad, brother of Abu Abî 'l-Abbâs essentially followed courses given by Ibn Marzûk al-Îkhdî at al-'Ubbâdî. The details of this education with its different gradations, were typical of Mâlîkî instruction. On the occasion of the presentation of the *i'dâh* he was dressed by his master in the robe of the *Shâfs* (*al-basahu ُkhîrît al-tasâarîwiyî* in which Ibn Marzûk had himself been clad by his father and his maternal uncle. He died in Tlemcên in 868/1463.

**Bibliography** (complementary to preceding sources): Ahmad Bâbâ, 294, 297; Ibn al-Îkhdî, Rabat, ii, 1500, Cairo, iii, 1326; Ibn Maryam, al-Boustîn, 204-6, 209-10, tr. Provenzali, 234-6, 240.

The al-Îshârî al-Tîlîmîsînî family in the cultural life of their time.

The abundant biographical material concerning the al-Îshârî al-Tîlîmîsînî family gives a clear impression of the dynamism of intellectual life and of the institutions which formed its environment, in particular the elaborate system of education in Algeria in the 8th/14th century. The instructive evidence conveyed in the biographical notices show a social promotion of scholars, who are above all jurists, which was owed to their personal merit (*hasâb*) rather than to their genealogy (*nasâb*). The traditional sciences play a significant role in the career of a jurist in this period, the sources being the *Kurâ* and the Sunna. Judicial logic flourished, as did the theological logic manifested in dogmatic theology (*kalâm*), and there seems to have been, in this context, a scholastic tradition at Tlemcên, which is seen, in the following century, in al-Sanûsî, with an original synthesis between theology, logic and Sufism, as well as the jurist, logician and historian al-Tanâsî (d. 899/1494). As in Christian Europe, the work of Ibn Sînâ is one of the central pillars of education, with the huge encyclopedia constituted by the *K. al-Shâfs* (known and annotated in Latin under the title of *Sufficientia*) as a universal work of reference for the age.

This system of education was developed not only at the instigation and under the control of royal power but also in response to a prodigious appetite for knowledge and to the enthusiasm aroused by new ideas and by the growing social prestige of masters. The attraction of the allowances paid to the students admitted to courses (*al-marâsîh, Boustîn, 170*) and the social utility of studies, success in which brought privileges (*injîdâ*), honours and the guarantee of public careers in the administration or even in the diplomatic service, or confidential occupations (such as that of notary)—all these factors contributed to an increase in the numbers of students (*jalâbâh*), which created problems of accommodation and catering. The hierarchical ranking of disciplines led to the consolidation of the lucrative scholarship of the time, that of law. However, grammar did not fall into disfavour, as it did in Europe, and the epistolary art (*dictamen* or *ars dictaminis*, corresponding to the art of inditing, *injîdâ*), which is one of the *ilâm al-a'dâb* in association with the practice of rhetoric, enjoyed a revival on account of the development of commercial and diplomatic relations in the Mediterranean region, which necessitated the composition of more numerous and more complex official documents.

SHARIFA AL-TILIMSAÑI — SHARIKA


SHARIH UL-MENAR-ZADE, Ahmed (?-1067/?-1657), Ottoman historian.

The son of the Ottoman atim ‘Abd ul-Halim (d. 1051/1641-2), he was born probably in Amasya and himself followed an atem career, rising to be a middle-ranking muharris in Istanbul. His father being the author of an Ottoman commentary on an Arabic work on jurisprudence, Menar al-ammar, the son became generally known by the lakab Sharih ul-Menar-zade. He died in Istanbul in Shabir 1067/May-June 1067 (H.), Kisilgin (ed.), ‘Usaqi-zade’s Lebensbeschreibungen berather Gelehrter und Geistesmanner des Osmanischen Reiches in the 17. Jahrhundert (Zey-i Saigiiq), Wiesbaden 1965, 221-2; Mehmed Shekhyi Ef, Web ‘il-filda’a, ms. Suleymaniye, Beşir Aga 479, fol. 197a; Babinjer, GOW, 191-0; L.V. Thomas, A study of Naima, New York 1972, 136-8).

Sharih ul-Menar-zade compiled a world history from the creation to the year 1065/1655 which remained in draft form at his death (Kisilgin, op. cit.). This draft was subsequently presented to the Grand Vizier ‘Amni-i-jda Husyan [Koprulu] Paşa [q.v.], who commissioned Na‘ima [q.v.] to write a new Ottoman history based upon it. The earliest references by Na‘ima to Sharih ul-Menar-zade’s original are to 1018/1609 in the reign of Ahmed I and the latest to Mehmed Koprulu Paşa [q.v.] in 1065/1655 (Musafa Na‘ima, Ta’rikh, Istanbul 1281/1864, i, 10; Thomas, op. cit., 138). It is thought that for the intervening period Sharih ul-Menar-zade’s work was incorporated almost entirely into Na‘ima’s history and that the latter’s text is therefore heavily dependent upon it (Ta’rikh, i, 10-11, and passim; Thomas, 138-9). Sharih ul-Menar-zade’s history was never published separately; the manuscript is presumed lost.

Sharih ul-Menar-zade’s own sources appear to have been (i) for the late 16th-early 17th centuries, a written history now thought lost but possibly closely related to the chronicle of Hasan Bey-zade [q.v.]; (ii) the history by his contemporary Kara Celebi-zade [q.v.]; (iii) his own notes and information from oral informants. According to ‘Usaqi-zade, Sharih ul-Menar-zade was an avid participant in social and official gatherings and was thus well-informed; Na‘ima regarded him as a shrewd and reliable observer of events (Kisilgin, ‘Usaqi-zade, 221-2; Na‘ima, Ta’rikh, i, 10).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

CHRISTINE WOODHEAD

SHARIKA, Shurka (A.), nouns with a basic meaning of partnership, association (see Lane, Lexicon, s.v.) hence from the same root as the theological term sharik [q.v.] “associating other gods with God”, hence polytheism, and shurik, pl. sharikas “partner associated in divinity”, both frequent in the Kur’an.

As a term of Islamic law, it takes different forms according to the contents and conditions. According to al-Azhari, it signifies the mixing (khaliq) of two or more assets (mali) together with the permission of each partner that the other can trade with it. Shurika is principally divided into partnership by property (milki), and by contract (‘akdf). The former originates when two “persons” become owners of one property without a contract. This can occur by choice, when they “accept” the subject through someone’s gift. Alternatively, it may be brought about without choice; this is the case in inheritance (see mirāt). In both cases, it is not lawful for either partner to perform any act with the other partner’s share without his permission.

A partnership contract is controlled by the principle of proposal and consent (takfīb wa-kabīl). The classification of companies seems to be incompatible between the largest schools of fiqh, the incompleteness probably arising from the varying recognition of authentic sources, as well as from the question of what constitutes a valid partnership. The Hanafi school, which permits all kinds of partnerships, appears to have the most consistent and logical classification. One can observe that they divided it from a “liability” point of view into:

1. Partnership in traffic (sharikat ‘inān); this is contracted when each party contributes capital. Each partner would accordingly become an agent of the other but not his bail. Equality in capital, responsibility or profit need not result.

2. The muftiwaqa (q.v.) or equal partnership, is contracted between two persons of equivalent property, privilege and religious persuasion.

From a “subject” point of view, partnership for the Hanafis can be divided into:

1. Partnership in crafts or trades (sharikat sanda’?). This is contracted between two craftsmen in a similar trade, such as cobblers or tailors; they agree to work together and share the profit produced. The condition that Malik makes for sharikat al-sanda’? to be valid is that the partners should be in the same or related trades. The Hanbalis permit this kind of partnership, while the Shāhīis and Imāми Shī’is totally reject it on the grounds that it can only take place in regard to capital and not in regard to work.

2. Partnership of capital (sharikat amudl). This is contracted when two partners put their capital in one project and agree on certain conditions for administration, profit and loss.

3. Partnership of personal credit (sharikat waqfah). This is contracted when two well-known persons (waqfahad) ask others to sell to them goods without payment on the basis of their reputation, and then sell the goods for cash. This use of personal credit is rejected by scholars, including al-Albani and Mufīrān, on the basis that it involves work and money that are not actually present, and that it also involves uncertainty and risk (gharan) in the traded subject.

The Hanbalis do not seem to identify “liability” as an element of classification when they place both muftiwaqa and ‘inān on equal footing with other divisions based on the subject element.

The madāran (q.v.) also called by the Hidjāzis kirdā (q.v.), is another early Islamic form of sharika which has been focused upon by modern Muslim writers in Islamic banking. The main difference between the two forms lies in the instruments that each utilises. Sharika uses similar “assets”, whereas in madāran the owner of various “forms” of assets can be partners, in return for a share of the profits, in accordance with their agreement. The risk for the capitalist is his capital, while for the manager, it is his time and effort.

Sharika, together with profit-sharing, madāran, are seen by scholars of Islamic banking as the main legal structures for various school Banking. The idea of IFB has gradually evolved over the last forty years into a fairly comprehensive, though controversial, model of banking. Partnership arrangements (muftiwaqa), according to John Presley, represent a total of 7%-10% of the total financing package of IFB.


**Al-Sharika**, a shaykhdom of the Gulf, named after its capital city, since 1971 one of the seven United Arab Emirates, third in importance and wealth after Abu Dhabi and Dubai. The capital is located 14 km/8 miles north of the latter city, on the western side of the Musandam Peninsula in the lower Persian Gulf. Commonly rendered in English as Sharjah, reflecting the dialectal pronunciation al-Sharjda, the town is mentioned as early as the 15th century. The 1985 census counted 268,723 inhabitants, 75% of whom lived in the capital. With a total surface of 2,590 km², it has the most fragmented territory of any of the seven emirates. The main body stretches inland from the capital on the coast; in addition, there is an area around Khawer Fakkân, and the immediate surroundings of the town of Kalbâ—both on the Bátina coast along the Gulf of Oman—and three further small enclaves around the Kalbá area.

The precise borders are the result of boundary-drawing exercises by British officials in the 1960s, based on surveys of local loyalties to the various rulers. The Emirate also claims the island of Abû Músâ in the Persian Gulf—jointly administered with Persia since 1971, but forcibly occupied by the latter in 1992. Effective control always fluctuated between the two empires alone and their various dependencies, but since 1974 the British have been content to recognize the site of the ancient Hasta Regia, 2 km/1.2 miles from the latter's land-based power. A revival came with the establishment of the main British airfield in the Gulf (on the route to India) in al-Sharîka in 1932. Yet the commercial growth of Dubayy, as al-Sharîka's creek began to silt up, had reversed the situation again by the 1950s. A major dispute with Dubayy was solved in 1985, but a number of others (e.g. with al-Fudjîrayra) remained outstanding in 1995.

Since independence and integration into the UAE, al-Sharîka has remained a sovereign emirate, although some powers (including, since 1976, defence) have been transferred to the federal level. The Amir rules by decree, but informal consultation plays an important role. The Emirate distinguishes itself from the others by its relatively greater achievement in education (the first modern school in any of the emirates was established here in 1953, and the Amir himself holds a doctorate from Exeter University), by a relatively outspoken press, and by the fact that alcohol was banned in 1985. Development has taken off on the basis of oil revenues, initially mainly through aid from al-Kuwayt and Abû Zabî, but since 1974 also from al-Sharîka's own small oil and gas exports. Crude oil output since 1988 has totalled some 40,000 b/d.

Some light industry has developed, and agriculture and fishing retain a diminishing part of the labour force, yet their contribution to GDP has been small by comparison to hydrocarbons, construction and services. The development boom since the 1970s has also resulted in large-scale labour immigration, as in the other emirates. The foreign population exceeds the number of nationals, although its proportion is probably somewhat lower than the 80-90% which has been estimated for the UAE as a whole since the 1980s.


**Sharish**, the Spanish Arabic place name corresponding to the modern Jerez de la Frontera, in the north of the province of Cadiz. The original Islamic core of the town appeared on the site of the ancient Hasta Regia, 2 km/1.2 miles from modern Jerez. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, the population was apparently moved to a new site, where the town became firmly fixed. The anonymous author of the *Dîkhr bîldî al-Andalus* (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries) merely states that Sharîsh "was built in Islamic times".

Documentary evidence shows that Sharîsh at an early date fell within the kingdom of Shiaţtanîna [*q.v.*], whose chief-lier it was, according to some Islamic historian (e.g. al-Râzî and Ibn Ghâlîb), but it does not seem to have played any notable role in the period of the Umayyad caliphate, and we do not even have a list of governors. In the time of the Taifâs, it came under the authority of the Banû Djîrûn, Berbers who rebelled in Kâlsînâ during the time of *fitna* and who also controlled Arcos and al-Djazîra, the latter probably corresponding to Cadiz, according as British naval control increased the importance of the latter's land-based power. A revival came with the establishment of the main British airfield in the Gulf (on the route to India) in al-Sharîka in 1932. Yet the commercial growth of Dubayy, as al-Sharîka's creek began to silt up, had reversed the situation again by the 1950s. A major dispute with Dubayy was solved in 1985, but a number of others (e.g. with al-Fudjîrayra) remained outstanding in 1995.
to M.J. Viguera. They held power from 402/1011 to 461/1069, when the 'Abbadid al-Mu'tadid [q.v.] of Seville attacked them, toppled them from power and absorbed their territory into his own Taifa. This situation seems to have lasted until the arrival of the Almoravids in al-Andalus. Later, Sharfsh was one of the towns which rose against this North African dynasty; it was there that Abu 'l-Kamar Ibn 'Azzūn, who controlled this region as well as Ronda, proclaimed his independence. With other local rebels, he was one of the original members of the "second wave" of Taifas. Ibn 'Azzūn remained in charge of the administration of this region until the establishment of the Almohads in al-Andalus, to whom he retained fidelity. It was under these last rulers that the defences of the town were strengthened and that its walls were built, described by al-Ídrlī; they contained an area of 50 ha and sheltered some 16,000 inhabitants.

Towards 1176, the lands of Sharfsh and Arcos were attacked by Ferdinand II, and reached by Ibn Hūd [see Rūndūs in the course of his expansionist plans; it was in fact at Jerez that he was defeated by the Castilians in 1320. The town gradually recedes after the Castilian conquest of Seville in 1248, and it was in vassalage to Ferdinand III. After the Mudéjar revolt of 1264, the population of Jerez, Arcos, Medina Sidonia, Vejer, etc. was subdued by Alfonso X. From this time onwards, this region formed the political frontier with the Nasrid kingdom ofGranada [see Nasrīs].

Concerning the natural resources of Sharfsh, al-Rāzī (10th/16th century) states that the region was rich in all the products of land and sea, and al-Ídrlī mentions the vines and olive and fig trees of its fertile agriculture, placing the town at two days' good journey along the road from Seville. The author of the Dhikr describes its pastures and vales, indicating that it was also good for stock-rearing. A famous son of the town was the famed commentator on the Makamat al-Hārīrī, Abu 'l-'Abbas Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mu'mīn al-Sharghī (d. 619/1225 [q.v.]).

Finally, one should note, to avoid possible confusion, that Sharīsh appears in the Arabic sources as a place-name corresponding to Jerez de los Caballeros, in the modern Spanish province of Badajoz.


(F. Roldán Castro)

**AL-SHARISH**

**šarīsh**

**Abū 'l-'Abbās Kāmāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mu'mīn al-Kāfī, grammarian, philologist and littérateur of Muslim Spain (557-619/1161-1222), born at Sharīsh [q.v.], (modern Jerez de la Frontera) in the province of Cadiz and died in his natal town.

He functioned mainly as a teacher of Arabic language, but like many of his compatriots, went to the East, probably to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca and probably search of knowledge (fit talab al-'ilm). The biographies of him cite a piece of verse which he composed when resident in Egypt in which he expresses his regrets at ever having left Syria and his admiration for the land's beauty (*Naḵf al-rīḥ, ii, 116, 392; Nūṣh al-rīḥ, ii, 19).

Al-Sharghī wrote a commentary on the *İshâb* of al-Fārisī and another on the *Lhaml* of al-Zajjādī, as well as treatises on metrics, an anthology of Arabic poetry and a résumé of the *Nawādir* of Abū 'Alī al-Karrār [q.v.]. But he is above all known as author of a commentary on the *Makamat* of al-Hārīrī [q.v.], which soon became known in Spain and, from the opening of the 6th/12th century, formed part of the programme of studies for Andalusian scholars (see al-Ru'aynī, *Barnāmij*, Damascus 1962, 32-3, 44, 51, 60, 79). Al-Sharghī produced three commentaries on the *Makamat*: a large one, literary; a middle-sized one, philological; and a small one, a résumé. The first was printed at Bullāq 1284/1887, 1308/1893, and at Cairo 1306/1889. The second exists in ms. at Leiden, no. 415. Amongst some twenty commentaries produced, al-Sharghī's is undoubtedly the most complete and the most famous; thus the *Makamat* found their most productive commentator in Spain. In his *Shārīsh*, his preface, i, 8-9, al-Sharghī states, in highly respected terms, that his work is dedicated to the Almohad rulers Abū "Abd Allâh al-Nâsîr (356-60/1158-1213) and his son and heir presumptive Abū Ya’kūb al-Mustânisr (410-20/1020-1220).

The biographer Ibn al-Abbârī, i, 136-7 no. 281, mentions having met the author in ca. 616/1219 at Valencia, at the house of his master Abu 'l-Hasan b. Hârîrī, to whom al-Sharghī then submitted his commentary on al-Hârîrī. Al-Ru'aynī likewise states that he met al-Sharghī in 615/1218, followed his courses and obtained his authorisation (*ihāza* [q.v.]) to transmit the whole of his works (see *Barnāmij*, 304-1).

In his *Šahrâb*, v, 392, Ibn al-Ímād confuses Aḥmad with Muhammad al-Sharghī (d. 685/12860) and erroneously attributes to this latter person a commentary on al-Hârīrī which is the work of the former. Al-Makkarī, *Naḵf*, ii, 131-2, in fact draws attention to this confusion.


**SHĀRIYA,** one of the renowned female singers at the 'Abbāsīd court, was born ca. 200/815 in Baṣra as a musallāda of an Arab father and a non-Arab mother. She died after 256/870, probably in Sāmarrâr.

While still a young girl, she was acquired by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [q.v.], who refined her musical education and made her a competent transmitter of his own compositions. After the death of her master in 224/ 839, she first served al-Mu'tasim and she reached the zenith of her career under the caliph and musician al-Wāthīq. Under al-Mutawakkil, an open competition broke out between Shāriya as a representative of the "romanizer" school of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, and the famous "Arīṣ" who stood for the "classical" style of Išâk al-Mawsīlī [q.v.] and his school. Their violent rivalry split the public of Sāmarrâ into two camps. Shāriya was still active under al-Mu'tazz, who wrote her biography and assembled her song texts in a book entitled *Akhbār Shāriya*. It was handed down by Kurayṣ al-Mughanni (d. 324/936) to Abu 'l-Faraj al-Islahānī, who used it in his *Kitāb al-Akhbār al-kabīr*. Al-Mu'tamid was the last caliph to admire her talents, including her skill at cooking. In her songs she showed a predilec-
tion for the “light” (khQfif) form of the metre called
ramal [q.v.].

Bibliography: Aghdnl\, xvi, Cairo 1961, 3-16;
Ibn al-Ta¢høn, Hdkh al-funun tsa-tawati al-mahzun, facs. ed. Frankfurt 1990, 110, 111; ShdBghüdt, Ku11 al-Dhikr, Bagdad 1951, 65, 7 in 90; Nuwarý, Nkhayt al-arab, Cairo 1923 ff., v, 82-8, 8Áfd1, al-
Ident. The sources of Arabian music, Leiden 1965, no. 139; Ch. Pellat, Le milieu bÁrwn, Paris 1953, 251; M. Sigerbauer, Die SÁngerinnen am Abbasidenhof
um die Zeit des Kalifen Al-Mutawakkil, Vienna 1975, 39-49. (É. Neubauer)

SH Ark al-Andalus, an expression which
denotes, in the mediaeval Arabic texts and also in
contemporary historical usage, the eastern region,
adjacent to the Mediterranean, of Muslim Spain.
In both cases, the term has a geographical
and not an administrative application, and it is dif-
ficult to demonstrate a priori which regions of the penin-
sula are being referred to.

The centre of the Shark al-Andalus is the region of
Valencia (Balansiya [q.v.]), but the expression prob-
ably has a wider sense than the modern one of Levante.
The unfavourable attitude of the Valencians to this
last term, which they consider “Castilocentric” and
pejorative, seems to have favoured, in contemporary
historiography, the use of Shark al-Andalus, which
spills over into, in ancient times as now, in a some-
what vague fashion, the surrounding regions.

These last are as follows. To the west, the moun-
tain zones stretching between the region of Valencia
and Toledo. They correspond, in their western part
(modern province of Cuencia) to the kÁra or region
called that of Shntabaríydt [q.v.] (Santauver), but the
neighbouring regions of Balansiya (Teruel, Albarracín,
called Shntamaríydt al-Shark [q.v.]), and above all
Alpuente (al-Bunt) are incontestably part of the Shark.
In the north, the zone ventured on the Ebro valley is
generally called al-Thqåf al-dal al-‘umrèr march”,
but the eastern part (the region of Tortosa) is also
called al-Thqåf al-shA¢rkt, and is easily included in the Shark
al-Andalus. In the south, the modern region of Murcia
traditionally has the name of Tudmir. This last includes
a good part of the province of Alicante, with the
town of the same name, Elche and Orhiabla, as far
as the mountains of the Alcoy massif which separate
the kÁras of Tudmir and Balansiya. The journal of
the Arabists of Alicante, devoted in the first place to
the history of eastern al-Andalus, has however been
given the name Sharg al-Andalus. Finally, the Balearics (al-
Dza‘ár al-Shakiryya) are more or less part of the
Shark, considered in a large sense.

It is, rather, recent historiographical considerations—
polemics concerning the history of this region—than
historical consistency over a geographical-historical
entity, which can justify an article Shark al-Andalus
in this Encyclopaedia. For, from a historical perspective,
it is not very easy to establish the specific nature of the
Shark. In the age of the Umayyads of Cordova, the
eastern part of al-Andalus, urbanised to only a small
degree, is little mentioned in the sources, and it
would seem to be, rather, this negative and “back-
wards” character which ought to be brought out. The
break with Antiquity in regard to urban life is very
striking. The town of Valencia had very little impor-
tance between the 6th and 10th centuries. It was,
from a regional point of view, on a level with Jativa
(Shdjdla [q.v.]), which is no longer today a consider-
able centre. The Balearics were only attached consti-
tively to Cordova in the first half of the 10th century,
and Mndmat Maydkra only assumed a certain impor-
tance at the end of this period. Tortosa was a fron-
tier town which only slowly came to life. Murcia,
founded for military and administrative reasons in
216/831, only became an important centre in the
11th-13th centuries.

This impression of torpor only changes perceptibly
under the crisis of the Umayyad caliphate (399/1222
-1009-31), and very likely marks an evolution already
in train: the progressive commercial reawakening of
the western Mediterranean in the course of the 10th
century probably favoured the development of urban
centres along the coasts. Taifas of Şakilíba [q.v.], sc.
military and administrative elements of servile origin,
grew up at Tortosa, Valencia and Denia (as also fur-
ther south at Almeria, which had enjoyed a considere-
able development in the 6th/10th century) between
400-3/1010-12. It is likely that these elements in the
region were reinforced after the begining of the cri-
sis of the caliphate by the expulsion from Cordova
of further Şakilíba of high rank by the caliph
Muhammad II al-Mahdi, who had been embroiled
with them. The most active and long-lasting of these
Taifas was that of MudjÁfdh [q.v.] of Denia [see DÁnydt],
who reigned there from 403/1012-13 till his death in
436/1044-5. He seized control of the Balearics,
and tried—without success—to invade Sardinia. His son ‘Alf reigned for a further thirty
years after him. The other Şaklabi Taifas were less
durable, except for the one which took shape in the
Balearics after the end of the independent power of
Denia, absorbed by the more powerful Taifa king-
dom of Saragossa in 468/1075-6. Two successive
Şaklbí amírs retained power in the “eastern islands”
until the devastating attack on the islands by a naval
expedition of Pisans and Catalans in 507/1114.

At the end of the 11th century, the greater part
of the Shark fell under the control of the Cid [see
Al-std], who seized power at Valencia in 1087. The
Almoravid conquest of the region was put back by a
decade or so compared with the rest of al-Andalus,
and only took place after the death (in 1099) of the
Castilian chief, sc. in 495/1102. During the crisis of
the years 940-2/1145-7, which ended Almoravid power
in al-Andalus, the eastern region had, like the rest
of the country, a disturbed history, with the formation
of local, autonomous powers at Valencia and Murcia,
both by now amongst the most important economic,
political and intellectual centres of Muslim Spain.
While Almohad authority was being progressively
extended over the rest of al-Andalus, this region be-
came organised into an independent amirate under a
military chief formerly of the Almoravid forces, but
originally from the north of the region of Valencia,
Muhammad b. Sa‘d b. Mardamli [see also Mardamli].

From his capital of Murcia he exercised power over
all the Mediterranean side of al-Andalus (apart from
Tortosa, conquered by the Christians in 1148). Despite
Almohad military pressure, this independent prin-
cipality, the only Muslim power to have controlled
the whole of the Shark (except for the islands), main-
tained itself all through Ibn Mardamli’s reign (542-
67/1147-72). Strongly anti-Almohad, he recognised
in principle the ‘Abbdíd caliphate in Bagdad, and
welcomed the fitihs who had fled from the Almohads,
SHARK AL-ANDALUS — SHARKAWA

... name evidence with its clan and tribal aspects (see also Guichard, in his Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente, Barcelona 1976), the segmentary aspect of Muslim society in the eastern regions of the peninsula on the eve of the Reconquest—have given rise of refutations of the same kind (Epalza, Precisiones sobre instituciones musulmanas de las Baleares, in Les illes orientals d'al-Andalus, V Jornades d'estudis locals, Palma, Majorca 1987). From the archaeological point of view, the “non-feudal” characteristics of Muslim rural fortifications in eastern Spain adduced as evidence by A. Bazzana, P. Cresser and Guichard (Châteaux ruraux d'al-Andalus. Histoire et archéologie des bastins du Sud-est de l'Espagne, Madrid 1986) have also stimulated polemics. Up to a certain point, these debates, which touch on the nature of society in Muslim Spain, may be considered as marking fresh stages and a prolongation of (whilst fairly well removing them from the centre stage) the controversies between Ámero Castro and C. Sánchez Albornoz on the impact of the Arab conquest and the “orientalisation” of the peninsula in mediaeval times.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the articles): A. Prieto y Vives,Precisiones sobre instituciones musulmanas de las Baleares, in Les Illes Orientals d’Al-Andalus, V Jornades d’estudis locals; Mariano Caspar Remiro, Les reyes de taifas, Estudios histórico-nomadistas de los musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la Hégira (XI de J.C.), Madrid 1926; J. Bosch Vilá, Albarracin musulmán, Teruel 1959; G. Rossello Bordoy, L’Islam a les illes balears, Palma 1968; Poveda Sanchez, Introducción al estudio de la toponimia arabe-musulmana de Maiorquí, in Avarq, iii (1980), 76-100; Molina López, De la musulmana a la Múrcia cristiana (VIII-XI s.), vol. iii of Hist. de la región murciana, ed. F. Chacón Jiménez, Murcia 1980; A. de Premare and P. Guichard, Croissance urbaine et société rurale à Valentia au début de l’époque des royaumes de taifas (XIe siècle de J.-C.). Trad. et comm. d’un texte d’Ibn Hayyûn, in ROMM, xxxi/1 (1981), 15-29; M. de Epalza, Origenes de la invasión cordobesa de Mallorca en 902, in Estudios de prehistoria, d’història de Mayurqà i d’historia de Mallorca dedicats a Guillem Rosello i Bordoy, Palma 1982, 113-29; M. Barceló, Sobre Mayurqà, Palma 1984; M.J. Rubiera, La taifa de Denia, Alicante 1985; Barceló, Vopres de feudals. La societat de Sha'r al-Andalus just abans de la conquesta catalana, in La formació i expansió del feudalisme català, Actes del colloqui ... Universitari de Gerona ... 1985 = vols. v-vi of Estudis General (Gerona 1985-6); idem, Maria Antonia Carbonero et alii, Les aigues cercades (els qandts de l’illa de Mallorca), Palma 1986; A. Huici Miranda, Les illes orientals d’Al-Andalus, V Jornades d’Estudis Locals, v (1987); Rubiera and de Epalza, Xàtiva musulmana (segle VIII-XIII), Játiva 1987; Guichard, Els “Berbers de Valencia” i la delimitació del País Valencià a l’època edat mitjana, in Afers (Valencia 1988-9), 69-85; Rubiera, Sección monográfica: berbères, in Al-Qantria, xi/2 (1990), 379-509; Guichard, Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (XIe-XII siècles), Damascus 1990-1; idem, La toponymie tribale berbère valencienne: réponse à quelques objections philologiques, in Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer, Frankfurt 1991, 1, 125-41; on P. Guichard, SHARKAWA or SHRÉKAA, the common ethnoc designat of a Marabout group in central Morocco, belonging to the Shadhili-Dazâlî brotherhood through the intermediary of the mystic Aḥf Fāris ‘Abd al-Azîz al-Tâbbâ (q.v.). The singular is Shârkî, synonym of sharâk (shargh, pl. sharâq), a geographical ethnic name (cf. on the other hand Tâdlî, ethnic from Tâdla confined to the sharâgî of this name, while the geographical ethnic is Tâdlaât). The principal sharâq of the Shârkawa is in the town
of Abu 'l-Dja'd (modern form, Boujad), in the Tadla, between the Middle Atlas and the Atlantic coast. It attained importance at the end of the 11th/17th century and henceforth became one of the most frequented sanctuaries in Morocco.

Among the more notable of this Marabout family may be mentioned: 1. the founder of the zawiya of Abu 'l-Dja'd, Muhammad b. Abi 'l-Kasim al-Sharki al-Sumayri al-Za'ib al-Djaibri, d. 1. Muharram 1010/2 July 1601; a monograph was devoted to him by one of his descendants, Abü Muhammad 'Abd al-Khalik b. Muhammad al-'Arusi al-'Adili al-Sharkawi, entitled al-Murakkab fi dhūr baḍṭ manākib al-kub saryādī M. al-Sharkī, 2. the latter's son, Muhammad al-Muṭṭā, d. Rabī' II 1092/April-May 1681; 3. his son Muhammad al-Salih, who was the patron of the historian al-Ḥāfin [q. v.] (or al-Wafāri); a monograph entitled al-Raṣāl al-yāni al-fāṭīḥ fī manākib al-sharqī Abī 'Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Salīḥ, was devoted to him by a scholar of Fās who was kādī of Meknes (Mīnakāt al-Zaytūn) in the reign of the 'Alwīd sultan Majdī Ilīsa'ī, sc. by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Rāhjīl al-Maḍānī al-'Adilī, d. 1140/1728; 4. the son of the preceding, Muhammad al-Muṭṭā, who restored the zārūṣa and wrote a collection of prayers in no fewer than 40 volumes entitled Ḍhīḥirat al-ḥāfin wa 'l-muḥāth fi sāḥib al-līwā wa 'l-tūqī (there is one volume in the Bibliothèque Générale de Rabat, no. 100, cf. E. Lèvi-Provençal, Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat, i, 36; he died in Muharram 1180/June 1766. A monograph was devoted to him by his secretary Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Abūnī, d. 1189/1775-6, entitled Tattmat al-'udād al-ṣawāṣa fī manākib al-sharqī al-Muṭṭā, entitled Bibliographie: Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Fāsi, Munīt 'al-asima′, lit. Fās 1313, 21; Ṣafi, Šanfar man intašar, lit. Fās 25; Ḍāhirī, Naṣr al-maṭfū Başī, lit. Fās 1310, i, 58, ii, 277; Ḍāhirī, Sabaṭ al-ansāf, lit. Fās 1316, i, 193, R. Basset, Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouāt al-anfās, in Recueil de mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes, Algiers 1903, 34, no. 91, 45, no. 128; Cimitieri, La zuwaia di Boujad, in RMM, xxiv, 277 f.; E. Lèvi-Provençal, Les livres de la maqāla des Chorfa, Paris 1922, 119, 876-8; id., L. Voinot, Confréries et zouasat al Maroc. Les établissements religieux du Maroc oriental, 3. Les ordres secondaires, in Bull. de la Société de Géographie et d'Archéologie de la province d'Ouarzazate, (1937), 30-2 (the list of ṣayghik since the founder given by this author differs from that of Lèvi-Provençal in regard to dates); M. Asin Palačios, Šajīb y al-muḥārīb, in Andal., x (1945), 1-32, 255-84. (E. Lèvi-Provençal)
The third line of each stanza of the *shark!* is called *miydn* or *miydn-khdne* ("the middle" and "mid-house" respectively) and is generally the most effective line of the stanza. If repeated as a refrain, the ultimate line or the last ultimate and penultimate lines of each stanza are called *nakrti* "re refrain," literally "peckings." (Both of these terms are also used for the description of *sharkis* set to music.)

The *sharkis* are generally rather short, comprising 3-5 stanzas (whereas the other types of *musammat* are often longer). The poet states his *makktilas* (pen-name) in the last stanza (as is the case with the other types of *musammat*), though there are exceptions to this rule.

No restrictions with regard to the metres of *'arid* used in composing *sharkis* are known; the preferred metres are *neml* and *hawd*.

The *shark!* is generally about the various aspects of love (and to a lesser degree, about the pleasures of life); the tone is light. The *murabba* shows much more variety with respect to subject matter. The language of the *sharki* is not too intricate, which makes it convenient to be sung. It is simpler than that of the *ghazel*, and generally, but not always, even simpler than that of the *marabba*, yet still elevated and free from dialectal forms. Here, too, it differs from the folklore which is quite free from restrictions as regards subject matter, imagery, and phraseology.

These characteristics oblige us to consider the *shark!* not as a truly independent structure of versification but as a genre of lyric that is undeniably closely related to the *sharkh* and *sharki* as well as between al-"Haytam b. 'Adi, Frankfurt a.M. 1991, index; R. Sellheim, Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwortersammlungen, The Hague 1985, 115-26; H.E. Cengiz, Divan *Nuzhat al-albâd*, v, 302-3, where one of al-Sharkf's stories is referred to as a "muhaddith" and "multi-khad." The third line of each stanza is called *miydn* or *miydn-khdne* ("the middle" and "mid-house" respectively) and is generally the most effective line of the stanza. If repeated as a refrain, the ultimate line or the last ultimate and penultimate lines of each stanza are called *nakrti* "re refrain," literally "peckings." (Both of these terms are also used for the description of *sharkis* set to music.)

The *sharkis* are generally rather short, comprising 3-5 stanzas (whereas the other types of *musammat* are often longer). The poet states his *makktilas* (pen-name) in the last stanza (as is the case with the other types of *musammat*), though there are exceptions to this rule.

No restrictions with regard to the metres of *'arid* used in composing *sharkis* are known; the preferred metres are *neml* and *hawd*. The *shark!* is generally about the various aspects of love (and to a lesser degree, about the pleasures of life); the tone is light. The *murabba* shows much more variety with respect to subject matter. The language of the *sharki* is not too intricate, which makes it convenient to be sung. It is simpler than that of the *ghazel*, and generally, but not always, even simpler than that of the *marabba*, yet still elevated and free from dialectal forms. Here, too, it differs from the folklore which is quite free from restrictions as regards subject matter, imagery, and phraseology.

These characteristics oblige us to consider the *shark!* not as a truly independent structure of versification but as a genre of lyric that is undeniably closely related to the *sharkh* and *sharki* as well as between al-"Haytam b. 'Adi, Frankfurt a.M. 1991, index; R. Sellheim, Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwortersammlungen, The Hague 1985, 115-26; H.E. Cengiz, Divan *Nuzhat al-albâd*, v, 302-3, where one of al-Sharkf's stories is referred to as a "muhaddith" and "multi-khad." The third line of each stanza is called *miydn* or *miydn-khdne* ("the middle" and "mid-house" respectively) and is generally the most effective line of the stanza. If repeated as a refrain, the ultimate line or the last ultimate and penultimate lines of each stanza are called *nakrti* "re refrain," literally "peckings." (Both of these terms are also used for the description of *sharkis* set to music.)

The *sharkis* are generally rather short, comprising 3-5 stanzas (whereas the other types of *musammat* are often longer). The poet states his *makktilas* (pen-name) in the last stanza (as is the case with the other types of *musammat*), though there are exceptions to this rule.

No restrictions with regard to the metres of *'arid* used in composing *sharkis* are known; the preferred metres are *neml* and *hawd*. The *shark!* is generally about the various aspects of love (and to a lesser degree, about the pleasures of life); the tone is light. The *murabba* shows much more variety with respect to subject matter. The language of the *sharki* is not too intricate, which makes it convenient to be sung. It is simpler than that of the *ghazel*, and generally, but not always, even simpler than that of the *marabba*, yet still elevated and free from dialectal forms. Here, too, it differs from the folklore which is quite free from restrictions as regards subject matter, imagery, and phraseology.

These characteristics oblige us to consider the *shark!* not as a truly independent structure of versification but as a genre of lyric that is undeniably closely related to the *sharkh* and *sharki* as well as between al-"Haytam b. 'Adi, Frankfurt a.M. 1991, index; R. Sellheim, Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwortersammlungen, The Hague 1985, 115-26; H.E. Cengiz, Divan *Nuzhat al-albâd*, v, 302-3, where one of al-Sharkf's stories is referred to as a "muhaddith" and "multi-khad." The third line of each stanza is called *miydn* or *miydn-khdne* ("the middle" and "mid-house" respectively) and is generally the most effective line of the stanza. If repeated as a refrain, the ultimate line or the last ultimate and penultimate lines of each stanza are called *nakrti* "re refrain," literally "peckings." (Both of these terms are also used for the description of *sharkis* set to music.)

The *sharkis* are generally rather short, comprising 3-5 stanzas (whereas the other types of *musammat* are often longer). The poet states his *makktilas* (pen-name) in the last stanza (as is the case with the other types of *musammat*), though there are exceptions to this rule.

No restrictions with regard to the metres of *'arid* used in composing *sharkis* are known; the preferred metres are *neml* and *hawd*. The *shark!* is generally about the various aspects of love (and to a lesser degree, about the pleasures of life); the tone is light. The *murabba* shows much more variety with respect to subject matter. The language of the *sharki* is not too intricate, which makes it convenient to be sung. It is simpler than that of the *ghazel*, and generally, but not always, even simpler than that of the *marabba*, yet still elevated and free from dialectal forms. Here, too, it differs from the folklore which is quite free from restrictions as regards subject matter, imagery, and phraseology.

These characteristics oblige us to consider the *shark!* not as a truly independent structure of versification but as a genre of lyric that is undeniably closely related to the *sharkh* and *sharki* as well as between al-"Haytam b. 'Adi, Frankfurt a.M. 1991, index; R. Sellheim, Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwortersammlungen, The Hague 1985, 115-26; H.E. Cengiz, Divan *Nuzhat al-albâd*, v, 302-3, where one of al-Sharkf's stories is referred to as a "muhaddith" and "multi-khad." The third line of each stanza is called *miydn* or *miydn-khdne* ("the middle" and "mid-house" respectively) and is generally the most effective line of the stanza. If repeated as a refrain, the ultimate line or the last ultimate and penultimate lines of each stanza are called *nakrti* "re refrain," literally "peckings." (Both of these terms are also used for the description of *sharkis* set to music.)

The *sharkis* are generally rather short, comprising 3-5 stanzas (whereas the other types of *musammat* are often longer). The poet states his *makktilas* (pen-name) in the last stanza (as is the case with the other types of *musammat*), though there are exceptions to this rule.

No restrictions with regard to the metres of *'arid* used in composing *sharkis* are known; the preferred metres are *neml* and *hawd*. The *shark!* is generally about the various aspects of love (and to a lesser degree, about the pleasures of life); the tone is light. The *murabba* shows much more variety with respect to subject matter. The language of the *sharki* is not too intricate, which makes it convenient to be sung. It is simpler than that of the *ghazel*, and generally, but not always, even simpler than that of the *marabba*, yet still elevated and free from dialectal forms. Here, too, it differs from the folklore which is quite free from restrictions as regards subject matter, imagery, and phraseology.

These characteristics oblige us to consider the *shark!* not as a truly independent structure of versification but as a genre of lyric that is undeniably closely related to the *sharkh* and *sharki* as well as between al-"Haytam b. 'Adi, Frankfurt a.M. 1991, index; R. Sellheim, Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwortersammlungen, The Hague 1985, 115-26; H.E. Cengiz, Divan *Nuzhat al-albâd*, v, 302-3, where one of al-Sharkf's stories is referred to as a "muhaddith" and "multi-khad." The third line of each stanza is called *miydn* or *miydn-khdne* ("the middle" and "mid-house" respectively) and is generally the most effective line of the stanza. If repeated as a refrain, the ultimate line or the last ultimate and penultimate lines of each stanza are called *nakrti* "re refrain," literally "peckings." (Both of these terms are also used for the description of *sharkis* set to music.)

The *sharkis* are generally rather short, comprising 3-5 stanzas (whereas the other types of *musammat* are often longer). The poet states his *makktilas* (pen-name) in the last stanza (as is the case with the other types of *musammat*), though there are exceptions to this rule.
The founder of the Sharki kingdom, Malik Sarwar [q.v.], was a eunuch in the service of Firuz Shah Tughluk [q.v.]. He was custodian of the royal jewel-ellery and *shahna-yi shahr* (City Superintendent). Sultan Muhammad Shah entrusted the eastern districts to him and conferred the title of Malik al-Šark (Lord of the East) on him. Disturbed conditions helped him in extending his territory. He brought all the rich districts of Uttar Pradesh under his control, and his authority stretched to Tirhut in north Bihar and touched the boundary of Nepal. In the west, Kanwajl was oppressing the Muslims (Maktubdt-i Nur Kutbi-i Alam, ms. author's personal collection). Ibrahim set out in the service of Firuz Shah Tughluk and Bengal were under him. Rulers of Dujangar and Bengal were his feudatories. Malik Sarwar died suddenly in Rabl' I 801/November 1399 after a brief reign of five years and six months, but he had firmly planted his dynasty. His administrative talent and political realism were extraordinary. His patronage of scholars made Dujangpur a veritable centre of culture and learning.

Malik Mubarak Shah Karanfal, who succeeded Malik Sarwar, was his adopted son. According to Yahya Sirhindi, he was a nephew of Khidr Khan, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty [q.v.], but some scholars have attributed negroid origin to him. Soon after his accession, he had to face an invasion of Mallu Ikbal [q.v.], but he successfully pushed him back. Sometimes later both Sultan Mahmud Shah Tughluk and Mallu Ikbal marched against Dujangpur. Mubarak set out to face the invaders but died suddenly on the way.

Mubarak's younger brother, Ibrahim, who succeeded him, had also to face a joint attack of Mallu Ikbal and Sultan Mahmud Shah. Mahmud occupied the city of Kannawdij [q.v.]. Ibrahim's efforts to retrieve the fort having failed, he made peace with Mahmud. The Hindu ruler of Tirhut was a tributary of the Shanks. In 1402 Malik Arslan attacked and killed its Raja, Ganisvara. Ibrahim installed his son Kirti Singh on the throne. Later, when Kirti's son Shiv Singh turned hostile, Ibrahim annexed Tirhut. In Dujmâl I 809/October 1406, Ibrahim marched against Kannawdij and conquered it, which immediately enhanced his prestige. Next year, in Dujmâl I 810/October 1407, Ibrahim marched against Kannawdij and conquered it, which immensely enhanced his prestige. Next year, in Dujmâl I 810/October 1407, Ibrahim marched against Dujhî, but when he reached the banks of the Dujmâl he heard that Sultan Muqaffar of Gujrat was moving towards Dujangpur. He hastily turned back. In Muhammam 817/April 1414, he attacked Kalpi [q.v.]. After a feigned retreat he reappeared and captured Mahoba and Ruth. Ibrahim was then conquered. Ibrahim next attacked the fort of Shaykhpur with naphtha-hurling engines and catapults. The garrison became nervous and appealed for mercy. Kadir Khan was allowed to rule over Kalpi on accepting the suzerainty of Dujangpur, but he later gave up this allegiance and conquered Iraqid.

In 817/1414 Ibrahim was invited by Shaykh Nûr Kûbi-i Alam, a distinguished Cîğiş saint of Bengal [see Cîğişyva] to march against Râdja Ganes [q.v.] of Dinâdpur, who had established himself in Bengal and was oppressing the Muslims (Maktubdt-i Nûr Kûbi-i Alam, ms. author's personal collection). Ibrahim set out with a strong army. Ganes approached Shaikh Nûr Kûbi-i Alam with the request to intercede. The saint agreed to his request, provided that his younger son accepted Islam and that Ganes promised not to harass the Muslims. Ganes's son Djuda later ascended the throne as Djâli al-Dîn.

In 840/1437 Ibrahim marched against the Sayyid Muhammad Shah of Dujhî. The latter sued for peace and arranged a matrimonial alliance, giving his daughter, Bibi Râdji, in marriage to Ibrahim's son Mahmud. Ibrahim marched against Dujhî and captured it, which immensely increased his power. But when Bahlul himself assumed royal authority, Mahmud Shah's power prevailed upon her husband to attack Dujhî and dislodge Bahlul. In 856/1452 he accordingly marched against Dujhî. But after a fierce battle at Narela, some 17 miles from Dujhî, Mahmud had to retreat. In 858/1454, however, he did capture Dawa, the capital of Udgâjn. In 859/1455 a non-intervention treaty was reached between the Lodî and the Shanks. But hardly a year had passed before hostilities started again. Mahmud Shah's sudden death in 862/1458 was a serious setback to Shanks power. Bibi Râdji raised his eldest son to the throne under the title of Sultan Muhammad. Muhammad endeavoured to patch up differences with Dujhî, but without any lasting effect, and he fell fighting at Dalmau. His successor Sultan Husayn entered into a four-year truce with Bahlul. He strengthened his hold over Tirhut, Orissa and Gwâliyâr, and in 872/1468 planned an attack on Dujhî. The battle fought at Candwa being indecisive, Husayn Shah sought the support of Bajna and Mewât. In 873/1469 he again marched against Dujhî, but was forced to take to flight, leaving behind even his *harem*. In 874/1470 for the third time he led an army against Dujhî consisting of one lakh of horsemen and a thousand elephants. Through the mediation of Khan-i Djahan Lodî [q.v.], peace was arranged and Husayn Shah returned to Etihâd, avenging his pledged words and he led his armies against Dujhî several more times. In the fifth campaign he was initially successful, but Bahlul's army made a surprise attack which turned his victory into complete rout. Driven to extremes, Husayn turned round and gave battle to Bahlul at Râdjohor, sixteen miles from Farrukhabâd. Ultimately, peace was concluded and both sides agreed to keep to their old boundaries. But in 885/1480 he marched against Dujhî.
a sixth time. In 888/1483-84 Bahlul captured Djawn-
pur, but out of generosity to a fallen enemy, allowed
Husayn to retain a small tract in Cumer which had
once constituted his family diqär [q.v.]. In 897/1492.
Husayn fought against Sikandar Lodí, at Kakhgarh,
but was defeated and had to flee to Buhara. In 909/1502
the forces of Sikandar and Husayn fought a fierce
battle at Benares, in which Husayn was completely
defeated. He fled to Cologong, a dependency of Lakh-
nawit [q.v.] in Bengal. The ruler of Lakhnawit received
him cordially and assigned the pargana of Cologong
to him and permitted him to issue his own currency.
Sikandar Lodí stayed in Djawnpur for six months and
destroyed all the Şarkí policy. When Sikandar Lodí!
was defeated. He fled to Colgong, a dependency of Lakh-
nawit [q.v.] in Bengal. The ruler of Lakhnawit received
him cordially and assigned the pargana of Cologong
to him and permitted him to issue his own currency.
Sikandar Lodí stayed in Djawnpur for six months and
destroyed all the Şarkí buildings. Sultan Husayn
died in 911/1505, and with him the last vestiges of the
Şarkí dynasty disappeared. Though he did not suc-
cceed in achieving his objectives, his tenacity of pur-
pose and mobilisation of resources were remarkable.
He never took any defeat as final but carried on his
struggle against the Lodi till the last moment. Popular
support and regional loyalties helped him in his pro-
longed struggle. He was also a cultured prince,
interested in the fine arts, poetry and music.
Under the Şarkís, Djawnpur became a renowned
centre of culture and a rendezvous of scholars. Timür's
invasion drove many ‘ulamá and distinguished scholars
of Djawnpur were included Shihab ad-din Mushtak!,
and Ansina (Antinoe), but the small number (17) of villages in the
kura of al-Sharkiyya allows us to suppose that the next

The most outstanding mosque was the Atala mosque
of al-Sharkiyya which replaced the
1. The

The Imamate tradition of Oman, Cambridge etc. 1987,
especially 262 ff. Useful, too, are Ministry of Inform-
ation, Sultanate of Oman throughout 20 years—the promise
and the fulfilment, Oman 1989, and Ministry of Informa-
tion, Oman—the modern state, Oman n.d.

Bibliography: For the traditional area of al-
Şarkiyya, see J.C. Wilkinson, Water and tribal settle-
ment in south-east Arabia, Oxford 1977, 14, Fig. 5.
The map also shows the extended region with the additional areas mentioned above. See also idem,
The Imamate tradition of Oman, Cambridge etc. 1987,
especially 262 ff. Useful, too, are Ministry of Informa-
tion, Sultanate of Oman throughout 20 years—the promise
and the fulfilment, Oman 1989, and Ministry of Informa-
tion, Oman—the modern state, Oman n.d.

G.R. Smith

AL-SHARKIYYA, the name of a küra and of a province
(formerly, 'alá, now muháfázat) in Egypt. 1. The
küra of al-Şarkiyya which replaced the

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Yahyá Sirhindí
Ta‘ríkh-i Mubárák—şáhí, Calcutta 1931, 146, 150-5,
159, 181-2; Muhammad Bihámí Kháñí, Ta‘ríkh-i
Muhámmád, ms. Rieu, 194a, fols. 421-6, 450-9, etc.;
Nizám al-Din B défsh, Tabákáti-í Akbarí, Calcutta
1911, 111, 274-89, etc.; 'Abd al-Razzák, Matfá al-
sá‘ádat, ed. Shafi í, Lahore 1942, ii, 782-3; Rúk
Alláh Muhyíddín, Wáliyí-í Muhyíddín, ms. Rieu, ii,
820b, fols. 229-30; Nárá-l-ákhs, Zuhdát al-ta‘árkhík,
ms. Rieu, 1224b, fols. 373 ff.; Ni‘mat Alláh, Ta‘ríkh-i
Khání-í Dja‘áníí, ms. Amáhí-í Aftyáání, ms. Bankípur,
vii, 529; Firishta, Ghiyán-í Iráhíímí, Lucknow 1864-5,
ii, 596-601; Muhammad Kábir, Æfinásí-í sháhí, ms.
Rieu, 1226b, fols. 29b; 'Abd al-Káhir Bádí, Muntakhab
al-ta‘árkhík, Calcutta 1863-9; 'Abd al-Hájí Muhyíddín,
2. Studies. A. Führer and E. Smith, The Şarqí
architecture of Jaunpur, Arch. Survey of India, Calcutta
1889; Muhammad Fašfí al-Dín, The Şarqí monuments
of Jaunpur, Allámáhábád 1908; P. Brown, Indian
architecture (Islamic period), 1968; A. Cunningham, in Archae-
ological Survey Report, xi, Calcutta 1888; Khiyár al-Dín
Muhammad, Dja‘ánpur-náma, Djawnpur 1787; Nár
al-Dín, Ta‘lálí-í yír, Djawnpur 1889-90; M.M.
Saeed, The Şarqí sultanate of Jaunpur, Karachi 1972;
ident, Taqkír-í masábatí-í Şirá-í Hind (Urdu), Lahore
1985; K.A. Nizámí, in Habíb and Nizámí (eds.), A comprehensive history of India, v. See also
Djáwnpur. (K.A. Nizámí)

AL-SHARKIYYA, a traditional name for the eastern
area of the Sultanate of Oman [see 'áma], now the official Eastern Region of the Sultanate, which
lies in the inland area of the Western Hajjar, north-
west of Dja‘án and north of the Wahiba Sands [see
Wilkinson, Water, 14, Fig. 5]. The main towns of the
region are Ibrá, the largest, and Samad, al-Mu‘ádybí,
Sináw and al-Kábl. The whole area is a sandy plain
interspersed with wadis.

Today, the official, extended region of al-Şarkiyya
is made up of thirteen provinces (silâhîs), including
Ibrá, Bídijílá, al-Kábl and al-Mu‘ádybí and also
Dja‘án Baní Bú Hasan, Dja‘án Baní Bú 'Afí and the
port and centre of ship-building, Súr, plus even the
island of al-Maftúra [q.v.].

Ibrá is reckoned to have 23 villages and a popu-
lation of 30,000. It contains the regional government
offices and has a thriving commercial life. Al-Kábl
has 16 villages and a total population of about 30,000.
It is famed for its religious learning and horseman-
ship. Apart from its ship-building, Súr, with its approxi-
mately 70,000 inhabitants, is famed for its woodcarving
and the manufacture of doors, as well as daggers,
jewellery and woven fabrics. The whole region, as in
all areas of northern 'Umán, is scattered with large
and impressive strongholds and fortresses.

Bibliography: For the traditional area of al-
Şarkiyya, see J.C. Wilkinson, Water and tribal settle-
ment in south-east Arabia, Oxford 1977, 14, Fig. 5.
The map also shows the extended region with the additional areas mentioned above. See also idem,
The Imamate tradition of Oman, Cambridge etc. 1987,
especially 262 ff. Useful, too, are Ministry of Informa-
tion, Sultanate of Oman throughout 20 years—the promise
and the fulfilment, Oman 1989, and Ministry of Informa-
tion, Oman—the modern state, Oman n.d.

G.R. Smith

AL-SHARKIYYA, the name of a küra and of a province
(formerly, 'alá, now muháfázat) in Egypt. 1. The
küra of al-Şarkiyya which replaced the

1. The

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Yahyá Sirhindí
Ta‘ríkh-i Muhárák-şáhí, Calcutta 1931, 146, 150-5,
159, 181-2; Muhammad Bihámí Kháñí, Ta‘ríkh-i
Muhámmád, ms. Rieu, 194a, fols. 421-6, 450-9, etc.;
Nizám al-Dín B défsh, Tabákáti-í Akbarí, Calcutta
1911, 111, 274-89, etc.; 'Abd al-Razzák, Matfá al-
sá‘ádat, ed. Shafi í, Lahore 1942, ii, 782-3; Rúk
Alláh Muhyíddín, Wáliyí-í Muhyíddín, ms. Rieu, ii,
kura, Dallās (Nilopolis) or at least al-Kays (Kynopolis) lay on both sides of the Nile. The capital of the kura was very probably Aṭṭīf, since one of the censuses quoted by al-Makrīzī gives it in addition the name of Aḥmed or Aḥles (1690, 15, 277, 278). In the Fāṭimid division into provinces, there was a province of al-‘Aṭṭīfiyya, larger than the old kura (50 villages at the time of Ibn al-Qīṭān).

In the time of the governors of the caliph, the kura of al-Sharkiyya enjoyed at times a certain prosperity. On account of an epidemic of plague, 'Abd al-Azīz b. Marwān transferred the government offices to Hulwān; a little later and for the same reason another governor transferred them to Aṣṣūr (or Sukur) towards the south. To the north of the kura lie the quarries of Turā.

**Bibliography:** See the art. ʿAṭṭīf; Kindī, ed. Guest, index, 643; J. Maspéro and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l’Égypte*, in MIFAO, xxxvi, 22, 112, 173, 175, 177, 180-2, 184, 185; Makrīzī, *Khitat*, ed. MIFAO, iv, 18, v, ch. xi, § 2.

2. The Eastern province of the Delta of Egypt, situated to the east of the province of al-Dakhlīyya and bordered towards its south-west point by that of Kalyūbiyya.

The present area of the muḥāfaẓa of al-Sharkiyya corresponds roughly to the following pagarchies of the Byzantine epoch, divisions retained by the Arabs under the name of kura; Bubaste (Baṣṭa), Arabia (Ṭarābīya) and Pharbaithos (Farbayt). The Delta was at this time divided into three large divisions, not administrative in character, which are mentioned by the historians: the Hawf al-Šahrī situated to the west of the Rosetta arm, whilst the Baṣṭ al-Rif applied to the territory lying between this arm and that of Damietta. All the land which extended to the east of the latter district was called the Hawf al-Šarkī and it is probably this name which gave rise to that of al-Sharkiyya. The Hawf al-Šarkī included 11 or 12 kūras and 529 villages.

At the time of the division into provinces under the Fāṭimids the Hawf al-Šarkī included those of al-Sharkiyya, of al-Muṭrābiyya, of al-Dakhlīyya and of al-Abwānīyya. Thus delimited, the province of al-Sharkiyya, which extended farther than at the present time in the direction of Cairo, still included 452 towns and villages (the three other provinces together accounted for 165). It brought annually to the treasury 694,121 dinārs. The southern part of al-Sharkiyya was separated from it in 715/1315 at the time of the division into provinces under the Mamluks. The capital was Bilbays in the Middle Ages, and it was also in this town that the Turkish chief, the settlement of Bedouins is reflected up to this day by the local dialects (cf. *Tübinger Atlas des Vor- deren Orientis*, TAVO, maps A, viii, 12, B, viii, 13, and B, viii, 13). The modern province (muḥāfaẓa) of al-Sharkiyya included 11 or 12 kūras and 529 villages. It was separated from it in 715/1315 at the time of the Mamluk period. The number of inhabitants was in 1879, 749,130; in 1960, 1,820,000; and in 1966, 2,125,000.


**AL-SHARRAT** (“the manufacturer of string from palm-fibre”). 'Abd ‘Abd Allāh Mūhammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭṭīf, son of a maḏūḥād, slain in battle which the Spaniards at al-Mahdīyya (al-Mahdīyya = San Miguel de Ultramar) was born at Fāṣ in 1035/1625-6 and died there in 1109/1697 after having adopted Sūfism. He is credited with the authorship of a hagiographical collection, but this has sometimes been disputed by his compatriots; this is *al-Raṣād al-ṭārīk al-anṭāf bi-ḥabār al-sāliḥīn min aḥl Fāṣ*. According to al-Kaṭṭānī, it was really the work of Mūhammad al-‘Arabī al-Kaṭṭārī. In it among the biographies is a synopsis of the monākhū of 99 saints of Fāṣ dating for the most part from the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. They are all included again in the *Salwāt al-anṭāf*. There is a manuscript of this work dated 1203/1788 in the Bibliothèque Générale de Rabat, no. 38.


**SHARCHA** or *Schorche*, in conventional French form *Scherche*, a town of Algeria, the chef-lieu of an arrondissement in the department of al-Asnām (formerly Orléansville). It is situated on the edge of the Miliana massif, 95 km/60 miles to the west of Algiers, in long. 2° 29’ E., lat. 36° 37’ N. The estimated population in 1994 was 22,000 (in 1930, ca. 5,500, including 1,500 Europeans). The town is built on a plateau a kilometre broad lying between the sea on the north and wooded hills, the outer buttresses of the massif of the Banū Manāsir, in the south. The calcareous rocks of the plateau provide excellent building materials, the fertility of the soil and humidity of the climate are conducive to the growth of all kinds of produce. The surrounding country is covered with gardens and vineyards. The harbour, sheltered from the west winds by a little island and from the east winds by Cape Tizirine is small but safe.

**History.** The advantages of the site of Sharchal were remarked up to very early times. The Phoenicians had a trading station here called Iol, which later passed to the Carthaginians. After the Second Punic War, Iol became the capital of the kings of Mauretania. Placed on the throne of Mauretania in 25 B.C. by Augustus, King Juba II gave the town the name of Caesarea and adorned it with monuments and works of art. When, after the death of Polemy, successor of Juba, Mauretania had been annexed to the empire the town was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (Colonia Claudia Caesarea) and was the capital
of the province of Mauretania. It was considerably extended and in the second century A.D. had perhaps 40,000 inhabitants (Leveau and Pellet, 1984). Its walls were about 5 miles round. Having previously lost its importance by the partition of the two Mauretanias in the time of Diocletian, it was burned during the rebellion of Firmus (371) and at the beginning of the next century was sacked by the Vandals.

The Byzantines reoccupied it in 585 but never restored to it its past prosperity; at a date which is not accurately known, but probably in the early years of the 8th century A.D., Caesarea fell into the hands of the Arabs. The harbour still existed in the time of Ibn Hawkal (Description de l'Afrique, tr. de Slane, in Jd [1842], 184). In the time of al-Bakrī (Mamlik, tr. de Slane, Algiers 1913, 165) it was in ruins. According to this author there was nothing left at Sharshal but an "anchorage commanded by an enormous town of ancient buildings and still inhabited". Al-Bakrī, however, mentions the existence of several nbītās where a large crowd of people assembled every year. Al-Idnfsī describes Shursal as a town of small extent but well populated (loc. cit.: 108). The surrounding country was occupied by Bedouin families who devoted themselves to cattle-rearing, to growing vines and figs, and they harvested more wheat and barley than they could consume. These circumstances explain the raid made on the town by the Normans of Sicily in 1144. According to Leo Africanus, Description de l'Afrique, Bk. iv, ed. Schefer, iii, 52, the town was continuously inhabited during the five centuries that followed the Arab conquest. During this period, Shursal was held in turn by the various dynasties which disputed the possession of central Maghrib. After the disruption of the Almohad empire, it fell to the 'Abd al-Wādīs of Tlemcen, taken from them by the Marīnids in 700/1300, became a part of the ephemeral kingdom founded about 750/1350 by the Awlād Mandīf and ultimately recognised the authority of the Zayyānids in the reign of 'Abd Thābit. In the 9th/10th century, fugitive Moors from Sīrīn settled here in large numbers and built 2,000 houses (according to Leo Africanus, loc. cit.). The newcomers devoted themselves to agriculture and industry, especially to silk growing, and commerce, but also to piracy. In the first years of the 10th/11th century a Turkish corsair named Kara Hasan settled at Sharshal but was put to death by Arūdji [q.v.], who made himself master of the town and placed a garrison in it. Temporarily liberated from the authority of the Turks as a result of the defeat of Khayr al-Dīn [q.v.] by the Kabyles, the people of Sharshal had again to recognise the Turkish government and this time, definitively, in 934/1528. An attempt made by the Spanish to seize the town and make it a base of operations against Algiers failed in 1531.

During the Turkish period, Sharshal simply stagnated. The population never exceeded 2,500-3,000 inhabitants, occupying a limited part of the old town. The depredations wrought by the corsairs who sailed out from it led to its bombardment by Duquesnes in 1682. Turkish authority was represented by a kā'īd, aided in the administration of local affairs by a council of six notables and supported by a garrison established some distance south on the Wādī al-Ḥāṣim. The mainstay of Turkish power, however, was the Marabout family of the Ghubrīnī, whose ancestors had come from Morocco at the end of the 10th/16th century and who had acquired considerable influence throughout this region. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Turks quarrelled with them. Al-Ḥādijī b. 'Awda al-Ghubrīnī was put to death by order of the Dey, and his relatives had to take refuge in al-Dahra.

The disappearance of Turkish government in 1830 enabled the Ghubrīnī to return to Sharshal and become masters of the province. But they found their influence assailed by that of another Marabout family, that of the Brākīnī who lived among the Banā Manāṣīr. Finally, 'Abd al-Kādīr who had established a khātba at Mīyāna, forced the people of Sharshal to submit to him. He tried to use the harbour for an attempt to revive piracy. An attack by a Sharshal corsair on a French warship decided the Governor-General Valée to occupy the town in 1840 and to establish there a colony of a hundred European families. The new settlement prospered rapidly, and by 1850 had over a thousand inhabitants. They began the development of the countryside around and this has been steadily continued.

Sharshal has lived through difficult times, but not without handing on to posterity authentic traditions and typically urban values. The eclipses of its prosperity have always been aggravated by the distance and the eccentric positions of the successive capitals of the central Maghrib, from Tāharīt to Tlemcen, putting up with the ephemeral 'Ashir [q.v.] or the inaccessible Kal'a Bani Hammād [q.v.], and even Bidjāya or Bougie. The present capital, Algiers, has not favoured upheavals.

The long-lastingness of the town's traditions, and also the stability of its population, are well-underlined by the role of the Ghubrīnī and Brākīnī, out of whom have arisen the present-day élite, such as the two Bērbarlī physician brothers, one of whom was in the service of the Bey of Tunis at the end of the 19th century (Sari, 1988, 225). From 1943 to 1945, Sharshal was the seat of the École Spécialle Militaire Française of St. Cyr.

The present wave of urbanisation has given rise to an unprecedented population increase, reaching 22,000 in 1993 as against 2,287 in 1954.

Bibliography.


(W. G. YER-DS. SARI)

SHART (pl. shārīt, shārī', literally, "condition").

1. In Islamic law. Here, it has the sense of "condition, term, stipulation". The term has two major connotations. Generally, it denotes that which does not partake in the quiddity of a thing but upon which the existence of that thing hinges. Ritual cleansing (tahara), for instance, is not a constitutive part of prayer (salāt) but it is a condition for its validity. In legal theory (usul al-fikr), qātī signifies a condition in verifying the ratio legis, the 'illa. Shart requires the ruling (ḥukm) to be non-existent when this condition does not obtain, and it does not necessitate the presence of the ruling when this condition is present; for if there is a relationship of entailment between the condition and the ruling, then the condition is deemed to be its ratio legis, which it is not. Since ritual cleansing is a prerequisite (= condition) for the validity of prayer, prayer would be invalid when cleans-
ing does not obtain. Conversely, ritual cleansing may be valid when prayer may not.

The same distinction between the constitutive elements of a thing and that upon which the thing and its validity depend is likewise maintained in the area of substantive law (shart). Here, shart denotes the general prerequisites for the validity of a legal act, as opposed to its essential elements (arkân, sing. ruhû). Witnessing, for instance, is a condition for concluding matrimonial contracts, but it is not a constitutive part of it, as is offer and acceptance (kifâa and kabûl).

In contracts, the term has another specialised meaning, namely, term, condition or reservation. The insertion of these in agreements may be necessary for the agreement to be valid, as we have seen. If they contradict the established law, they render the agreement void. A contractual term that nullifies an agreement is any term that runs counter to the otherwise established conditions of the agreement and that intends to benefit one of the parties to the agreement to the exception of the other(s). A well-known option in contracts is khâydr al-shart, which is the agreement of the contracting parties to bestow on one or both of them the right to rescind the contract within a certain period of time. The majority opinion allows for three days, whereas the minority one allows four.

In its plural form, the term is normatively used to denote legal formularies. Shurût thus refers to a wide variety of prescribed model documents used in legal transactions including sales, securities, agency, partnership, loans, bankruptcy, preemption, rent, agricultural leases, waqf, bequests, inheritance, custody, oaths, aquittances, interdiction, dowry, marriage, divorce, religious conveyance to the haram and penal injuries. A specialised genre eventually developed for the purpose of providing jurists with legally-watertight formularies. The authors and compilers of these formularies became known as the shurûtíyyûn (mainly in the Hanafi and Shâfi‘î schools), al-muwâdžû’ilûn (in the Mâlikî school), and kutûb. The Hanafi scholars seem to have played a special role in the creation of shurût literature in the early period. Later on, the Shâfi‘î and Mâlikî courts seem to have been content with the former being less significant. The Hanbali legists, on the other hand, do not appear to have devoted much energy to this literature.

Although the Kur’an and the Sunna enjoin the writing down of transactions, the Muslim jurists generally did not consider written documents to be necessary for the validity of a transaction. In fact, the written instrument needs only to be duly attested by witnesses in order for it to be valid. Conversely, without a written document, an oral contract attested by witnesses is deemed both sufficient and valid. Nonetheless, in practical terms, the writing down of transactions was highly recommended, for it constituted a safeguard against distortion, misrepresentation and forgetfulness, all of which were causes for litigation.

In the light of the controversy about the correspondence, or lack of it, between doctrine and practice in Islamic law, modern scholarship draws a distinction between model formularies and those which were used in practice. The former appear in the shurût manuals, compiled in a more or less formal fashion by the jurists, often with commentaries and annotation. The latter are found in archives and documentary collections. While these contain details of social and economic significance, including specific information about the objects being sold, rented, bequeathed or otherwise, as well as about the individuals who were parties to them, model documents appear as abstracted formulas, dissociated from any specific context and having little more than strictly legal significance. Their seemingly idealistic nature may lead one to think that a gap separated them from the realities of judicial practice. However, ample evidence suggests that the relationship between model documents and documents used in judicial practice was dialectical, the former were ultimately drawn from the latter, no doubt with some alterations and improvements, including the omission of real names and objects involved in the transaction. The purpose behind the changes made in the actual documents was not only to make them legally watertight but also to provide the notary and the public with ready-made formularies to serve in legal transactions. Thus documents in judicial practice were appropriated from model documents, and these in turn were drawn from the world of practice.

and šhart propositions, and also identified two basic kinds of conditional proposition as "conjunctive" (mutaṣṭaṣl) and "disjunctive" (muṣṭaṣil). It is clear that the conditional syllogism was of considerable interest to medieval Muslim logicians in the Islamic West as well; as R. Arnaldez reminds us (El art. Manṭik; Soheil M. Afra, A philosophical lexicon in Persian and Arabic, Beirut 1969 (esp. s.v. g̣aḍż; Farabī, Rashāl al-Kāf; J. Lameer, Al-Farābī and Aristotelian syllogistics: Greek theory and Islamic practice, Leiden 1994; N. Rescher, The development of Arabic logic, Pittsburgh 1964; idem, Al-Farābī's short commentary on Aristotle's "Prior Analytics," Pittsburgh 1963; idem, Studies in the history of Arabic logic, Pittsburgh 1963; F.W. Zimmermann, Al-Farābī's commentary and short treatise on Aristotle's De Interpretatione, London 1981).

In Arabic grammar. Here, šhart denotes the protasis of a conditional sentence. The apodosis is variously referred to as g̣aḍżab "response", g̣aḍẓ or muddāżāt "requital". Both g̣aḍāẓ and muddāżāt may denote the conditional structure as such, for which the merismus šhart wa-g̣aḍāẓab is also commonly used, while g̣aḍāẓab is applied to several other kinds of clause, though never to the whole conditional sentence.

The rules state that the protasis of real (possible) conditions is introduced by the particle in, with law reserved for unreal (impossible) be-conditions and idāf̣ only being conditional to the extent that it indicates the time of occurrence of the apodosis (cf. Sibawayhi, Kitāb, Būlāk, ii, 311/Derenbourg, ii, 338: idāf̣ denotes "future time with a conditional sense"). Hence sa-azīrūka idāf̣ ḥamarr al-basrū "I shall visit you when the grapes redden" is correct but not in ḥamarr l-basrū "if the grapes redden". On the other hand in fa-lāsū al-dīmāsa "if the sun rises" is permitted because the dīmāsa is not a conditional sense. The dīmāsa is usually made known by cloud. In practice, the three particles are often confused, and likewise the accompanying verb forms, which ought to be the same in each clause, either both perfect, mādī + mādī or both imperfect, muddār + muddār (apocopated muddāẓān with in and independent marfūt with law). The canonical patterns and their many variations are reviewed by Peled, Conditional structures, where the contrast with the simplified prescriptions of pedagogical grammars becomes dramatically visible.

Other elements unanimously accepted as having conditional force are the nouns mā, maddānūm "whatever", maan, ayyūn-mā "whoever", and the particles aynāmā "wherever", matā mā "whenever" (always spelt as two words), idāf̣mā "whenever", immā (in in mā) and kāỵlumā "however". The conditional functions of kāysal-mā "however" and kullamā "every time" are disputed. On the other hand amnā, whose second clause is always introduced by fe-, is often interpreted as a true conditional particle, hence paraphrased by Sibawayhi (Kāỵl, i, 418-469) as maddānūm min mā "if Z. comes to you [then] treat him generously", with an obligatory fe- before the apodosis.

The structural relationship between conditionals and interrogatives was recognised (cf. g̣aḍāẓab for apodosis), which led to a disagreement about the conditional status of kāysa.

Whether law intrinsically denotes impossibility (mi'īn) is much debated in later grammar, though Sibawayhi defines law simply as "indicating something which would have happened when [or because] something else happened" (harf li-ma kāna sa-yakū l-liwā'īn g̣hāṛfīn, Kitāb, iii, 306/i, 334). The theological implication of being impossible even to God was not overlooked, cf. I. Goldziher, in ÆDMG, iīv (1903), 401, apud Reckendorf, Arabische Syntax, 494 n. 1.

Inversion of protasis and apodosis is generally dis-allowed. Such constructions as anā zālimān in fašalū "I would be wrong if I did this" are explained as ellip-tical, viz. in fašalū anā zālimān in fašalū "[if I did this] I would be wrong if I did this". Serial conditions have legal implications, e.g. in ašālī in šhartī anī tābītī "if you eat, if you drink are divorced" only effects a divorce if the woman first drinks and then eats, though a converse interpretation is also maintained.

In conclusion it should be noted that the situation in contemporary written Arabic is rather fluid; both law and idāf̣ appear to be encroaching on the functions of in, which is becoming correspondingly less frequent in occurrence.


SHĀRT [see TASHKENT].

SHASHMAKOM ("six modes", the Tadzhik form of a compound of the standard Persian numeral šāh and the Arabic term mašām [q.v.], a term designat-ing the modal and formal concept of art music played in the urban centres of Uzbekistan. It developed in Bukhārā from elements of the local mašām tradition and the nauba [q.v.] "suite" of Timūrid and Shāybanid court music. The earliest known text collections are said to date back to the middle of the 18th century. Up to the beginning of the 20th century, the shashmakom flourished in the Emirate of Bukhārā and the Khanate of Khiva. It consequently had to suffer from Socialist cultural policy. Modern
tendencies develop since the middle of the 20th cen-
tury. Local differences exist between the ("Uzbek-
Tadzhik") Bukhārā and the ("Uzbek") Kh'ārazm
versions. The terminology of modes, metres and gen-
res as well as the bulk of the song texts are Perso-
Tadzhik; Uzbek song texts are a rather recent novelty.

The six makom cycles are called bāzruk, rṣot, nako,
duqā, sēqāh, irīk. They bear the names of four of
the former twelve main modes (rāst, tīrāt, bāzruk,
nako), and of two former "derived" (gh'a ba) modes
(dogāh, sēqāh). In contrast to the earlier "na'ava of the
masters" that consisted of four or five vocal pieces
composed by individual musicians, the actual makom
is characterized by separate cycles of basically five
in instrumental parts and a varying number of vocal
pieces that are transmitted anonymously as a part of
a canonical repertoire. The performance of a com-
plete makom lasts about two hours.

A large part of the Kh'ārazmian version was writ-
ten down at the end of the 19th century in tabula-
tures developed for the tä'āfūr [g.v.] and the dākhūl. For
editions of both versions in staff notation, see A. Jung,
Quellen, vol. 41, 42.

Bibliography: B. Rahmānīghlī and M.Y. Div-
āznāde, Khārezm māsūkī tārīkhī, Moscow 1925;
A. Fīrat, Əzbək kilsəsik māsūkā va unang tārîqī, Tash-
kent 1927; A. Jung, Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik
für Usbekistan und Tadschikistan Mittelasien. Untersuchungen zur
Entstehung und Entwicklung des Əzmāqom, Hamburg 1989;
O. Maryakubov, 19th century khorezmian tan-
bar notation, in Yearbook for traditional music, xxii
(1990), 29-33; articles by A. Abdurashidov, J. Elsner,
A. Jung, F. Karomato, O. Maryakubov, S. Marya-
kubova, and A. Nazarov, in J. Elsner (ed.), Regionale
maqām-Tradition in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Berlin

(Ε. Νευραυέρ)

SHÂTÂ, a place in Egypt celebrated in the Middle
Ages, situated a few miles from Damietta, on the
Western shore of the Lake of Tinnâs, now
called Lake Manzala.

This town existed before the Arab period, since it
is mentioned as the see of a bishop (Zuta). There is
no reason for giving credence to the romantic story
of the pseudo-wālī, who gives as the founder of
this town a certain Shata b. al-Hamîn (var. al-
Hâmîrak), a relative of the famous Mukawkîs
[g.v.]. This Shâtâ is presented to us as a deserter from
the garrison of Damietta who helped to secure the pos-
session of Burullus, Damîra and Asghûn Tânâb
for the Muslim army and who was killed at the capture
of Tinnâs, on 15 Şahrâbân 21/19 July 642. Every year at
this date, it is the custom to celebrate the anniver-
sary of his death, and to this origin the writers attribute
the pilgrimage which still took place at Shatâ in the
time of Ibn Baṭṭaṣa.

To guard against the maritime attacks of the Greeks,
the Arabs stationed regiments of troops on certain
parts on the coast, and Shatâ was amongst the num-
ber. This port became in the Middle Ages a very
important, as well as the site of the port of Shata,
the place where flour is sifted by shaking. In
the first available discussion of the term, Abû Naṣr
al-Sarrâj (d. 378/988) defines šath as "a strange-
seeming expression describing an ecstasy that
flows because of its power" (Kādh al-Lumâ', ed. R.A.
Nicholson, London 1914, 375). There is no evidence to support the suggestion of
Massignon that early ecstatic sayings circulated in the
guise of divine sayings reported by the Prophet Mu-
hammad, or hadîth kudî [g.v.], the latter have as good
qualities as the former. Therefore, in the same sense as the
expression of the profoundest experience of
the (divine) truth" (anâh-ə-hâkim); for a general survey,
see C. Ernst, Words of ecstasy in Sufism, Albany 1985.

Among Sîfu authors, the chief responses to šathyyât
(sometimes held simultaneously by the same individ-
ual) were (1) to explain them away, either as mis-
quotations, or as the results of immaturity, madness,
or intoxication (subh); (2) to regard them as authentic
expressions of spiritual states, which should nonethe-
less be concealed from the unworthy; and (3) to view
them as expressions of the profoundest experience of
divine realities. Many Sîfî authors briefly address the
question of şâth, showing a strong ambivalence about
apparently blasphemous claims to divinity, mixed with
admiration for the spiritual status of their authors,
whose words are often quoted anonymously; al-Qâṣîfî
notably belongs to this category. Among those who
took these sayings seriously was Dînâyâd [g.v.], who

It was the caliph Hârûn al-Râshîd who ordered it to
be made in the year 191/807 at the tirdz of Shatâ.

We do not know the part which Shatâ played in the
two occupations of Damietta by the Franks. Certain
writers have tried to place at the spot the site of the
capture of Damietta, and as military reasons
had probably induced this destruction, Shatâ perhaps
suffered the same fate.

While the ruins of the former have survived un-
der the name of Tell Tinnâs, a small town now
bear the name of Shâykh Shâtâ. In its centre there
is the mosque in which the relics of the hero of
the Arab conquest, who became the Shâykh Shâtâ, are
venerated.

Bibliography: Bakrî, Muṣâjam, ii, 811; Liānâ al-
Arâb, xix, 162; the bibl. given in J. Maspéro and
G. Wiet, Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l’Égypte,
in MIFAO, xxxvi, 112-13; Mâkritz, Kâdi, ed., MIFAO, iv, 80-2; M. Ramzî, al-Kudâsî al-ṣaghâfî
li-ṭûlûd al-murîya, ii/1, 243.

(G. Wiet-[H. Halm])

SHÂTÔH or šathiyya (A., pl. šatâhât or šathiyât, a technical term in Sufism meaning "ecsta-
tic expression", commonly used for mystical say-
ings that are frequently outrageous in character.

The root sh-t-h has the literal meaning of
movement, shaking, or agitation, and carries the sense of
overflowing or outpouring caused by agitation; thus
šāthât is a place where flour is sifted by shaking. In
the first available discussion of the term, Abû Naṣr
al-Sarrâj (d. 378/988) defines šath as "a strange-
seeming expression describing an ecstasy that
flows because of its power" (Kādh al-Lumâ', ed. R.A.
Nicholson, London 1914, 375). There is no evidence to support the suggestion of
Massignon that early ecstatic sayings circulated in the
guise of divine sayings reported by the Prophet Mu-
hammad, or hadîth kudî [g.v.], the latter have as good
qualities as the former. Therefore, in the same sense as the
expression of the profoundest experience of
the (divine) truth" (anâh-ə-hâkim); for a general survey,
see C. Ernst, Words of ecstasy in Sufism, Albany 1985.

Among Sîfu authors, the chief responses to šathyyât
(sometimes held simultaneously by the same individ-
ual) were (1) to explain them away, either as mis-
quotations, or as the results of immaturity, madness,
or intoxication (subh); (2) to regard them as authentic
expressions of spiritual states, which should nonethe-
less be concealed from the unworthy; and (3) to view
them as expressions of the profoundest experience of
divine realities. Many Sîfî authors briefly address the
question of şâth, showing a strong ambivalence about
apparently blasphemous claims to divinity, mixed with
admiration for the spiritual status of their authors,
whose words are often quoted anonymously; al-Qâṣîfî
notably belongs to this category. Among those who
took these sayings seriously was Dînâyâd [g.v.], who
composed a commentary (tasfīr) on the sayings of Abū Yazīd, partially transmitted by al-Sarrāj with his own additions (Lamā', 375-400). This may be compared with the collection of Abū Yazīd's sayings transmitted by al-Sahlākī (d. 570/1174) under the title Kitāb al-Nūr min kalāmī Abī Ṭāṣfir (ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawi, Šatibāt al-Sīrī, Cairo 1949, tr. Abdelwahab Meddeh, Les Diès de Bistami: Šatibāt, Paris 1989).

The most extensive exhibition of ṣāfīd was provided by Rūzbihān al-Baḍī (q.v.); see also Ernst, Rūzbihān Baḍī: mysticism experience and the rhetoric of sainthood in Persian Sufism, London 1995). His Arabī Majālī al-sanāʿī (ed. P. Ballanfat and Ernst, forthcoming), translated into Persian by the author in 570/1174 as Šarh-i shāthīyāt (ed. H. Corbin, Tehran 1966) nearly 200 commented examples from 45 different authors (with emphasis on Abū Yazīd, al-Wāṣīf, al-Ḥurṣī, al-Shiblī, and al-Hallādī, including all of the latter's Kitāb al-Tawākī), Rūzbihān's distinctly apologetic commentary typifies the most positive Sūfī attitude toward ṣāfīd. Many of the sayings take the form of "I am" sayings, identifying with God or the divine in addition. The principal Šīfī interpretation of this variety of sayings rested on the concept of mystical annihilation of the individual ego (fannā'ī), followed by the submission of God in its place (bakā'ī); this made it possible for God to speak through the individual. Other sayings question the ultimate significance of Islamic rituals and the afterlife. Rhetorically, the audacious style of ṣāfīd partook of the form of the pre-Islamic Arab boasting contest (muḫkamāt; q.v.), among early Sūfīs, many recorded conversations and sayings show the tendency to exceed the claims of others and discredit them by hyperbole.

Because of the lack of any clear legal definition of blasphemy in Islamic law, ṣāfīdīyāt were treated inconsistently by legal authorities; some regarded them as beyond the jurisdiction of the šāfīrī, especially when subjected to interpretation, while others (e.g. Ibn al-Djawzī [q.v.]) viewed them as tantamount to the heresies of incarnation, libertinism, and unification (hulul, ṣibā'ī, ittihād) and fully deserving of punishment in terms of apostasy, the rejection of ṣāfīd to the category of zandaka [q.v.], the Zoroastrian concept of heresy as political crime, meant that ṣāfīdīyāt were only prosecuted when political authorities found it desirable to do so. The prosecution of Sūfīs such as Nūrī, the executions of al-Hallādī and 'Ayn al-Kudāt Hamadānī [q.v.], or the posthumous trial of the poet Ibn al-Fārīd [q.v.], are explicable in terms of their political context (Words of ecstasy, 97-116; Th.E. Homerin, From Arab poet to Muslim saint: Ibn al-Fārīd, his verse, and his shrine, Columbia, S.C. 1994, 63).

Non-Sūfī intellectuals regarded ṣāfīdīyāt with sceptical interest; Ibn Khallūn regarded them as unoriginal products of uncritical ecstasy, which are pardonable except (as in the case of al-Hallādī) when they are spoken deliberately (Muḥaddith, ed. 'Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfī, Cairo 1379/1960, 1079-80). The philosopher Ibn Ṭūṣī [q.v.] found the sayings of Abū Yazīd and al-Hallādī to lack intellectual vigour (Ḥayy ibn Ṭakūn, ed. L. Gauzit, Beirut 1936, 4), while his Jewish commentator Moses of Narbonne reinterpreted them to harmonise with Hebrew scripture (G. Vajda, Comment le philosophe Ḥuwawī de Narbonne, commen- teur d'Ibn Ṭūṣī, compréhensa]e les paroles ecstatices (šāthīyāt) des Šāfīrī, in Actes du premier congreso de estudios arabes e islamicos, Córdoba, 1962, Madrid 1964, 129-35).


SHATIBA, the modern Xàtiva or Jàtiva, a town of the Šarḳ al-Andalus [q.v.], to the south of Valencia. The ancient Roman town (Saetabis) was situated on the slope of the mountain, which was crowned by a powerful fortress. The surrounding region, irrigated by several rivers, was devoted to agriculture. Shatiba is situated on the Via Augusta; the Arab town saw a shift to the south of Valencia, which was crowned by a powerful fortress. The surrounding region, irrigated by several rivers, was devoted to agriculture. Shatiba is described by the Arab geographers as a commercial centre which had trading links with North Africa and with Ghīna; its location in the network of communications of the Šarḳ al-Andalus no doubt favoured this mercantile activity, and also the development of a specialised industry, that of paper. The superior quality of its defences and its strategic position strongly influenced the history of Shatiba, a place of refuge and also the bridgehead for attacks on Valencia and other towns of the Šarḳ. It appears that in the early stages the town was included in the district of Tudmir, but, at least from the 4th/10th century onward, it belonged to the kūra of Valencia. In the first half of this century, Shatiba sometimes had a governor appointed exclusively for the town, which was also under the general jurisdiction of the authorities in Valencia. Information regarding Shatiba in the period of the Arab conquest and under the Umayyads is very sparse in the historical chronicles. To the local population there should be added, as elsewhere, Arab or Berber elements such as the Bantū Mufawwīz (Ma'ṣāfrīd) or the Bantū 'Ammira (Na'frīd). However, the date of these arrivals is unknown, as is the significance of this influx in relation to the indigenous population. Later, in the
5th/11th century, the Banū Milḥān, Nafzids originally from Huelva, moved to Shāṭībā. The Banū Mufawwiz, according to Ibn Ḥaẓm, settled close to the town in the hamlet of Ṭamrā (Enova). At least a part of this clan became urbanized, provoking an impasse in the sequence of functionaries and scholars which is documented until the very end of the Islamic history of the town.

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Shāṭībā and Dżazrat Śhūkār (Alcira) were under the control of ʿĀmir b. ʿAbī Dżawāsh, who was one of the Ḥanawwār Berber rulers of Šḥántamāriyya or Santaver. From 312/924 onward, he resisted attacks by the armies of Cordova, sent by ʿĀbd al-Raḥmān III. Finally, in 317/929, ʿĀmir surrendered the town under favourable conditions which allowed him to settle his affairs at Santaver before making his way with his family to Cordova.

After the fall of the caliphate, Šḥāṭība acquired a new importance in the struggles for power in the eastern region of the Peninsula. ʿĀmirīd Śaḵālība [g.v.], expelled from Cordova, appropriated a piece of territory for themselves in which they sought to establish ʿĀbd al-Raḥmān, who took the title of al-Murtādā. This attempt at Umayyad restoration was of short duration and the Śaḵālība proclaimed, again in Šḥāṭība, a grandson of their former patron (al-ʾAṣmir), ʿĀbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿĀbd al-Raḥmān al-Muʿtāman, who thus became ruler of Valencia. Furthermore, these Śaḵālība were beset by internal rivalries, fighting among themselves to extend their territories. Muqāṭāʾūd al-Dānīya (Denia), in particular, sought to dominate the region and supported the rebellion of Šḥāṭība and other towns against ʿĀbd al-ʿAzīz in 433/1041. The town was recaptured by ʿĀbd al-ʿAzīz, but as a result of this war, he lost a major portion of his territory. Both ʿĀbd al-ʿAzīz and his son and successor ʿĀbd al-Maʿālīk found themselves confronted by mounting problems and were obliged to appeal to Christians, Aragonese or Castilian, for aid. The latter, led by King Ferdinand I, began an assault on the Šahr; the ruler of Toledo al-Maʿāmūn intervened, deposed ʿĀbd al-Maʿālīk and took possession of Šḥāṭība and Valencia. After the death of al-Maʿāmūn, these territories were taken under the control of the ruler of Saragossa, al-Muʾtākardīr, and Šḥāṭība ultimately became subject to his son Mūnḫīr, King of Lārida (Lérida), Ṭūṛṭūrīa (Tortosa) and Dānīya. The last years of the 5th/11th century saw the Almoravids and the Christians in confrontation around Valencia and Šḥāṭība. Power at Šḥāṭība was in the hands of a certain Ibn Munkidh when the Almoravid governor, ʿĀbd Allāh b. ʿĀbird al-Ḥādīḍī, was appointed to coordinate, from this town, the efforts of the Almoravids against Valencia, efforts which were not to bear fruit for some years. After the conquest of Valencia by the Almoravids, Šḥāṭība entered a new phase in its history, perhaps the most splendid. The jāhir ʿAbī ʾĪsā b. ʿĪbārīm b. ʿUṣūf b. Ṭāḥušn estab-

ished himself there as governor of the Šahr and had the town's defences renovated in 510/1117.

A period of stability began but it was to be disrupted, some thirty years later, by rebellions which threatened the holding of the Almoravid power. The documenti Syrian of Valencia offered authority to the kādi Abū ʿĀbd al-Malik Marwān b. ʿĀbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbī al-ʿAzīz, while the Almoravid governor, ʿĀbd Allāh b. Mūṣammad b. Ḥanīya, took refuge with his family in Šḥāṭība. Almoravids fleeing Valencia rallied to Ibn Ḥanīya. Protected by its imposing fortress, they made forays into the surrounding countryside, destroying houses and abducting women and children. Ibn ʿAbī al-ʿAzīz was then obliged to besiege them, aided by the armies of Lārida and of Murcia, and succeeded in expelling them from Šḥāṭība in 540/1145. The same year, however, the ʿādār rebelled against Ibn ʿAbī al-ʿAzīz and recognised the authority of Ibn Mardānī [g.v.], the new ruler of the Šahr who resisted the progress of the Almohads in the Peninsula for many years. The latter did not take Šḥāṭība and towns such as Denia and Valencia until after the death of Ibn Mardānī [g.v.].

Again, a period of stability began for the town, the defences of which were repaired; the architectural and artistic remains which have survived date mostly from this period. The Almohads installed tribal contingents (Šḥālmādā and Ḥāskārā) in Šḥāṭība, as was the case with other cities of the Šahr and of the remainder of Andalus. But after the defeat of al-ʾIḫāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) in 609/1212, their power disinte-

grated. In the dynastic struggles of the Almohads, Šḥāṭība took the side of the caliph Al-Marākūsh against al-ʾĀdīl, who had himself proclaimed in Murcia. The town was then governed by the ʿṣāfīd Abū Zayd (grandson of the caliph ʿAbī al-Muʿāmūn) who also controlled Valencia, Denia and Alcira. Abū Zayd later recognised the authority of the caliph al-Maʿāmūn, but he was unable to resist the rebellions of Ibn Hūd and of Zayyān b. Mardānī. Ibn Hūd, recognised by the people of Šḥāṭība as ʿānūr, first appointed as governor of the town Yahyā b. Tāḥir, then Abu ʿI-Husayn Yahyā b. ʿĀbd al-Kházārāṯīdīr from a distin-

guished family of Denia. Yahyā held his position for six years until his death in 634/1237. His son Abū Bakr Muhammad, who was the kāʾid of the fortress, succeeded him as governor. During this time, the threat posed by the Aragonese intensified, and in 636/1238 King James I took possession of Valencia. The following year, he besieged Šḥāṭība and took Alcira. In the face of the Christian advance, sections of the population began to flee the town, making their way with migrants from Valencia and Alcira to the Mağrib, where the caliph al-Rašīd received them. In 642/1244, James I again attacked Šḥāṭība. The siege was concluded with an agreement accord-

ing to which the Aragonese king took possession of part of the fortifications (the castell menor), with a promise on the part of the Muslims to hand over the rest of the fortress after a delay of two years. The conditions also stipulated respect on the part of the Christians for the lives, property, customs and laws of the inhabitants of the town. The Christians, how-

ever, seized the castle shortly before the end of the specified interval and the population was finally expelled from the town in 645/1248. The emigration was mainly directed towards the southern regions of the Peninsula and towards North Africa.

The intellectual life of Šḥāṭība developed especially from the 5th/11th century onward, a period which saw a significant increase in the number of scholars.
Al-Shatibi wrote on grammar (Sharh Alfyyat Ibn Mālik, of which there are ms., and K. Uṣāil al-nāzir). He also wrote K. Uṣūl al-ṣiṭṭah fi 'ilm al-ṭayḥāb, K. al-Muḍallā (commentary of the chapter on ṣiyāṭ in al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ), al-ṣiṭṭah wa l-ṭayḥāb (adapt work in which are autobiographical data, ed. M. Abu ʿl-ʿAdīfān, Beirut 1983). He also wrote poetry. He corresponded with contemporary scholars, especially mufassils, on different issues (on his mursālid, see al-Rašīf, 106-22). One of them was whether a teacher (mursāl) is necessary for the Sufi novice (mudāfiʿ). He received answers on this issue from various scholars, including Ibn Khaḍītn in his Šīṭ al-ṣaʿīl li-taḥdīth al-muṣallā. Al-Shatibi’s ābārāt are preserved in compilations like al-Ḥadīth al-mustakīla (ms. Escorial, no. 1096) and al-Wangiṣīn’s Mīrājb (see López Ortiz, Fatwāt granadinas, 83-6; Masud, Islamic legal philosophy, 119-43) and have been edited by Abu ʿl-ʿAdīfān, Tunis 1984 (2nd rev. ed., Tunis 1986/1985). In al-Shatibi’s ābārāt there is adaptation to social change and application of the concept of al-muṣallā in modern society, i.e. he accepts not only the maṣlāḥa (see maṣlāḥa) but also which have not (mursal). Al-Shatibi’s doctrine on waṣṬ al-fiḥ is developed in his al-Maṣādikāt fi waṣṬ al-ṣaṭrāt (Tunis 1902/1884, Cairo 1931/1923). Al-Shatibi also wrote a work against innovations (bādida), his K. al-ʿĪdām (ed. M. Rażīd Rida, in al-Mānān, xvii [1333/1913]; several times reprinted). Al-Shatibi himself was accused of innovation and heresy, because he opposed certain practices (see Masud, 104-5) deeply rooted in the life of the Andalusī Muslim community. One of them was the mention of the sūltān’s name in the khutba. His opposition to this attracted refutations and counter-refutations (Masud, 108-9). On al-Shatibi’s transmissives, see al-Mudjāfārī’s Bārnāma (ed. Abu ʿl-ʿAdīfān, Beirut 1994). Al-Shatibi is one of the most important scholars of the Mālikī madhhab and one of its renewers, especially through the notion of al-maṣādikāt al-mursalā, central to his doctrine on waṣṬ al-fiḥ and also in his ābārāt. For example, he allowed certain taxes not mentioned in al-sharīʿa but made necessary by the economic difficulties of the Nasrid kingdom in Granada. Al-Shatibi’s work has had an important influence in the writings of some modern Muslim thinkers, such as Rażīd Rida. Since the pioneering monograph of 1977 by M.Kh. Masud (see Bīhī), Al-Shatibi’s life and legal doctrine have in recent years been the object of several studies which show the originality and importance of his contribution to waṣṬ al-fiḥ. Bibliography: Mudjāfārī, Bārnāma, ed. M. Abu ʿl-ʿAdīfān, Beirut 1982, 116-22; Ibn al-Kaḍī, Darrat al-ḥifāḍ, ed. M. al-Aḥmadī, Abu ʿl-Nur, 3 vols., Cairo-Tunis 1970, i, 182, no. 239; Aḥmad Bābā, Naqd al-ṣiṭṭah, Beirut n.d.; Maḵkār, Aẓḥār al-niyād, 5 vols., Rabat 1978-80, i, 297; idem, Naqd al-ṭayḥāb, ed. I. ʿAbbās, vii, 279; Mākhfuṣ, Ṣaḥafat al-ṣiṭṭ, i, 231, no. 828; Bāḥdāḥi, Ḫadīyat al-ṣīrāfīn, 2 vols., Istanbul 1951, i, 18; M. Ben Cheneb, Etude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l’Idāzīya du Cheikh Aḥbāl al-Ṣaṭīl al-Fāzī, Paris 1907, 253-4, no. 227; Brockelmann, S, II, 374-5; Zirīkī, i, 75; Kaḥṣaḥa, i, 118-19; R. Ahrbare, L’Espagnol musulman au temps des Nasrides (1229-1492), Paris 1973, 355, 418 and n. 6, 420;


**MARIBEL FIERRO**

AL-SHATIBI, Abu ‘l-KASIM B. FIRRUH B. KHALAF

b. Ahmad al-Ru‘ayyni, eminent Kur’anic scholar who introduced didactic mnemotechniques in the discipline of Kur’ân reading (kird’a).

He was born in 538/1144 at Jativa (al-Shatiba) in Muslim Spain. Although blind, he took up studies in kird’a and hadith in his home town, where he also acted for one year as a preacher. He studied first with ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad al-Nafzi, then with ‘Ali b. Muhammad b. Hughayyil at Valencia (Balansaya), concentrating on al-Dani’s Tafsir, but taking up as well grammar and adab. On his way to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca, he attended lectures by Abu Tahir Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Salafi at Alexandria. Upon his return in 572/1175, he established himself at Cairo, where he soon became a renowned Kur’ân reader and was appointed by al-Ka’tib al-Fadil head instructor in the disciplines of kird’a, grammar and language in his new-founded al-Fadilyya madrasa. Upon Salah al-Din’s reconquest of Palestine, al-Shatibi paid him a visit at Jerusalem in 589/1193. He died from a painful illness at the age of 52 on 28 Dhul-Hijja 590/19 June 1194, and was buried at the smaller Karafa cemetery.

Through al-Shatibi, leadership in Kur’anic disciplines returned to the East from Andalusia, where it had reigned for over a century with authorities like al-Dani (d. 444/1053 [g.o.]) and Makki b. Abi Talib (d. 437/1046 [g.o.]), who had substantially developed its theoretical framework of combinatory phonetics. Al-Shatibi’s most important achievement, which has secured him widespread fame until modern times, is, however, chiefly of a mnemonic kind. Although he wrote several prose compilations on taafsir and Kur’ân readings (Brockelmann, F, 521-2, SI, 725-6), the subject of later continuous study has been his didactic poems, the *A’lait alatrab al-kird’a fi asal al-mukaddam* (printed in *Maqalsiya* fi l-kird’a, Cairo 1929), simply called al-Riya, a rhymed version of al-Dani’s handbook on Kur’anic orthography al-Mukaddam, and a poem in taafsir, *Nafiyat as-Sahih*, on the counting of Kur’ân verses. By far most prominent, however, is his Hirz al-amani fi waql il-tahdini (ed. ’Ali Muhammad al-Dabbasi, Cairo 1937), a versification of al-Dani’s compendium of the Seven Readings, al-Tafsir, known simply as al-Shatibiyya, which was to constitute the basis of kird’at teaching from al-Shatibi’s times until our day, and was also one of the sources used for the establishment of the Cairo edition of the Kur”ân in 1924. Al-Shatibi’s poem is appreciated more especially because it answers the particular need of the discipline, sc. to ease the essential task of memorisation. Not only is the Kur’ân itself transmitted almost solely through memorising, but likewise is the discourse about kird’at and even Kur’ânic orthography. The reason is evident. Since the Kur’ân constitutes itself as text, a message meant to be performed as a “speech act” addressed to listeners, the modalities of its performance, i.e. orthoepy and intonation, cannot be conveyed except through oral practice. It is, moreover, the personal presence of the instructor in this art that is considered indispensable, since he—occupying the final position within a chain of transmitters which goes back to the Prophet himself—guarantees the integrity of the tradition’s flow from the initial and immediate situation of speech unto the contemporary listeners. The particular affinity of the Kur’ân-reading discipline to orality is further enhanced by the interdependence of the elements that constitute the performance of Kur’ân reading: the particular version of the text (kird’a), the orthoepic rules (tajwid [g.o.]) and the melodical shape of the reading, the cantilena. These three parameters are constantly interacting. Any particular text version (kird’a) requires not only a rhythm of its own, but also differs in terms of tajwid, i.e. particular issues of combinatory phonetics and the location of pauses, from any of the other versions. Again, the melodicisation is conditioned by the particular kird’a’s rhythm, and may serve to enhance the formal structuring of the text or special aspects of its contents. Finally, tajwid, the rules concerning pausa location and division of verses, determine the grammatical structuring of the phrases and thus the flow of the melody. Thus the substantially oral nature of the kird’at discipline makes it understandable that, already several generations before al-Shatibi, teaching material had been put in the form of didactic poetry. Nevertheless, all of these works were superseded by al-Shatibi’s long taafsir poem, the Hirz, which adds to the kird’at discourse as such a propaedeutic chapter on general phonetics. The early recognition of the work, enhanced undoubtedly by numerous commentaries, some of which were written by the author’s own students (Bergrässer, *GDQ*, iii, 222-4), may be partly due to al-Shatibi’s personal fame as a saintly man, observant in his ritual duties, upright towards his colleagues and students, God-fearing and even credited with some miraculous powers. Undisputably, however, the poem itself possesses factual efficiency, due to a decisive new mnemonic device: the introduction of sigla into the presentation of the particular variants. These sigla, pointing at particular readers, transmitters or transmitter groups, appear in the written verse simply as initial letters of single words used within the discussion of the particular Kur’anic lemmata. In order to be recognisable in their meta-lingual function, they have to be marked by a particular colour or repeated over the word they appear in. From Noldke (*GDQ* i, 338) to Bergrässer (*GDQ*, iii, 219-24), both of whom judged the Hirz from a merely literary point of view, this practice has been denounced as unconvincing. Since, however, the poem is not meant to be read silently but recited aloud, the mnemonic function of the sigla works on the phonetic level rather than on the visual; read as denoting sounds, not letters, they constitute an important contribution to the pre-modern mnemotechnics. It is only through the recent intrusion of the new phonographic medium into the transmission of Kur’ân reading, that the system so deeply imprinted by al-Shatibi has become outdated.

**Bibliography:** Sources. See also Yakut,
The numerous problems (manštábāt, lit. "set-ups") of middle and end games were diagrammed and discussed. Unless a game (P. dast) ended in a draw or stalemate, it ended with ghāf māt "checkmate". No satisfactory Persian etymology for māt has as yet been traced. It was apparently understood as Ar. "he died" already in al-Vakībī, History, i, 103, l. 11, and this remains the preferable explanation; the strange syntax of ghāf māt is possibly explained as a calque on a corresponding Persian expression. For the extended linguistic usage specific to chess, see the lists in Pareja, II, pp. 33-44, and Krier, Der Schachbrief, Teil II, p. 215 ff., pi. V-VIII.

The numerous problems (manštábāt, lit. "set-ups") of middle and end games were diagrammed and discussed. Unless a game (P. dast) ended in a draw or stalemate, it ended with ghāf māt "checkmate". No satisfactory Persian etymology for māt has as yet been traced. It was apparently understood as Ar. "he died" already in al-Vakībī, History, i, 103, l. 11, and this remains the preferable explanation; the strange syntax of ghāf māt is possibly explained as a calque on a corresponding Persian expression. For the extended linguistic usage specific to chess, see the lists in Pareja, II, pp. 33-44, and Krier, Der Schachbrief, Teil II, p. 215 ff., pi. V-VIII.

The numerous problems (manštábāt, lit. "set-ups") of middle and end games were diagrammed and discussed. Unless a game (P. dast) ended in a draw or stalemate, it ended with ghāf māt "checkmate". No satisfactory Persian etymology for māt has as yet been traced. It was apparently understood as Ar. "he died" already in al-Vakībī, History, i, 103, l. 11, and this remains the preferable explanation; the strange syntax of ghāf māt is possibly explained as a calque on a corresponding Persian expression. For the extended linguistic usage specific to chess, see the lists in Pareja, II, pp. 33-44, and Krier, Der Schachbrief, Teil II, p. 215 ff., pi. V-VIII.
and al-Rāzī, who are practically unknown, and in the following century by a certain al-Ladjladj and the famous litterateur Muḥammad b. Yāḥyā al-Sūfī (Sezgin, G4, i, 300-1); this is known from later quotations and Fārisī, 153-6, where an unidentified Ibn al-Układīdī (not a son of the mathematician, see Brockelmann, S 1, 387) is added. For the dubious attributions of special essays on chess to al-Dāhīzhī, see Fārisī, tr. B. Dodge, New York 1970, 408; Yākūt, Uḍālā, vi, 78, and to Ahmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī [q.v.], see Murray, 169-70.

The popularity and high standing of chess in general education stimulated the literary imagination. The stories on its origins, whose historical core, where there was one, remains obscure, were widely reported. Poets and litterateurs used references to chess in aban-
don. For instance, the ability of the pawn to trans-
form itself into a queen by traversing the board served to indicate achievement of success from lowly begin-
nings by travel and other means. Or seriousness could give way to humour: ablingdījat was coined to denote a meat pie containing bones with no meat on them like chessmen, which has the diners move their hands around the bowl (Abi Hilāl al-Askārī, Dīwān al-mafātīḥ, Cairo 1352, 298 ff.). A theological twist was injected into the story of chess by a Muṣṭafī compares-
son of the metaphysical meaning of backgammon and chess, to the supposed disadvantage of the latter (see Nārī; and Rosenthal, 165 ff., quoting Abū Zayd al-
Bālīghī’s essay).

Chess players were ranked in five (exceptionally, six) classes. The highest, that of grand master (luhpa, pl. lahāp), at times became part of a professional de-
scription. Handicaps could be given to lesser players. Prowess in the game could bring riches and, above all, admittance to high society. Chess was, after all, the royal game “invented for kings and the rich, not for the poor and mean”, as al-Sakkāwī [q.v.], in his monograph on chess, expressed the common thought. Skills like playing blindfold with the back to the board, playing a number of opponents simultaneously, spe-
cial mixed cases such as playing two opponents blind-
fold (ghālīm) and a third one open (ḥādir), and the like were much admired and no doubt rewarded; but even an ordinary player down on his luck could make a living from chess travelling around in the provinces, presumably by exhibition games and instruction (al-
Dāhīzhī, Ḥayawān, iv, 49. ed. Hārūn, iv, 147). A grand master and poet of the 8th/14th century, who was also able to teach Turkish, probably used all three qualifications to provide for his subsistence (Ibn Ḥadījī, Ibādī, v, 260; idem, Ḥayawān al-Durar, Cairo 1412/1992, 162; al-Sakkāwī, Dāwī, vi, 151-2). Playing chess forged strong social bonds; it could cement friendships (Ibn Abū ʿUṣaybī’a, ii, 68) or provide constant compan-
ionship (al-Safaṭī, Wāṭf, xv, 380; Wieber, 82). It is quite remark-
able how often obituaries from the 9th/15th century mention competence in and devo-
tion to playing chess.

Having its fanatical devotees, chess also engendered bitter enemies. An example of choice vituperation by a chess hater is found in al-Thālibī, Yāṭīma, iv, 18-19 (Wieber, 134-5). Moral objections were raised by religious scholars at an early date and continue to be repeated and refined. They stressed the danger of neglect of prayer and religious imperatives due to absorption in playing and the potentially illegal ex-
change of money often connected with it, which was probably much more extensive than the sources let on. In sum, they stressed the game’s character as “empty and wrong amusement (lahāb bāṭil)” and thus as something socially undesirable, even if it was recog-
nised as distinguished from other gambling and play activities by its intellectual foundation. Its outright prohibition was attempted by lumping it together with backgammon and other games and amusements such as music, indicated, for instance, by the title of al-
Adjurī’s work. In the absence of any express reference in the Kur’ān and the authoritative hadīth collections, al-Adjurī cited three traditions ascribed to “All (see above) and a very few others, among them Ibn Umar’s dictum that chess was worse than backgammon (cf. also J. Robson, Tracts on listening to music, London 1938, 34-5, 56-8, from the related Kīḥāb al-Malādīh of the earlier Ibn Abī Ṭ-Dūnīyah). A rather detailed survey of legal opinions by the noto-
rious editor of al-Adjurī seems to suggest to him that they were inconclusive. A grudging classification of māhrūk was attempted early and continued to be often used. In later times, the defiance of chess had to be more forceful. Ibn Abī Ṭ-Hadījī, for instance, would claim decisive support by al-
Shāhī (see Kīḥāb al-Umm, vi, 213; Wieber, 184) and basic tabrīm by the other schools, with Mālikīsm often singled out for the negative stance.

Under the right social and economic conditions, this was undoubtedly effective to put chess under a cloud, even if an official prohibition such as that stipulated in al-
Ḥakīm (q.v., see above, at vol. III, 79a) was not the rule.

The popularity of the game spilled at times over into other cultural activities. People dreamed about it; thus dream interpreters paid attention to it in their work, for instance, ‘Abd al-Ghānī al-Nābulusī, Ta’fīr, s.v. The production of chess sets often required highly skilled labour. Miniature painters created vivid chess scenes to illustrate the game’s description in the Ṣāḥīh and other works of Persian literature. A per-
manent mark on arithmetic was made by the famous story that the legendary inventor of chess asked that he be rewarded by the amount of wheat that would result from placing one grain of wheat (or some other unit) on the first field and then double it by geo-
metrical progression until the sixty-fourth field was reached. This apparently insignificant reward turned out to be more than could be found in all the world. The computation (227-8) on the last field to a total of 264-1), provided a mathematician an incentive for a variety of solutions. The story was so impres-
sive that according to Ibn Abī Ṭ-Hadījī, Shahr Nābī al-bālīgha, Beirut 1964-3, iii, 506, who refers to al-
Birūnī, the Indians used the procedure to determine the age of the world.

Bibliography: The most detailed discussion of chess in Islam to date is R. Bieber, Das Schachspiel in der arabischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, Wallkorf-Hessen 1972 (Bei-
träge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, 22). For the early 20th century, the authoritative high point in the large literature on the history of chess is H.J.R. Murray, A history of chess, Oxford 1913, repr. 1962, 1969. See further the general remarks by F.M. Pareja Casahías, Libro del Ajedrez, Madrid-Granada 1953, his ed. and tr. of the anonym-
ous ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 7515, and the Book on chess, Frankfurt am Main 1906, a facsim. of the Istanbul ms. Lala İsmail Ef. 560, prepared under the super-
vision of F. Sezgin. Recent editions are Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-Adjurī, Tahārīn al-nād wād l-qāhtandj wa l-malāhī, ed. Muhammad Sa’īd ‘Umar Idrīs, Riyād 1404/1984, and Ibn Abī Ṭ-Hadījī al-Talīm-
ṣīnī, Ummdādaj al-kīṭāb fī nāk l-awālī, ed. Zuhayr Ahmad al-Kayṣī, Bagdād 1980. For chess in the

(F. ROSENTHAL)

SHATT (A.), lit. "bank, margin of a piece of water", Fr. Form Chott, also in English conventionally Shott, a geographical term used in the high plains of the Maghrib and the northern Sahara for the saline pasturages surrounding a *sabkha* [q.v.]. It has often been confused with this latter term, especially in toponomy of the colonial period, hence one must be very careful when one meets the term. Thus there are found on the high plains the Shatt Tigrin in Morocco; in Algeria, from west to east, the Shatt al-Gharbi, the vast Chott ech-Chergui (Shatt al-Sharkfi) to the south of the town of Sa'da, the Zahres al-Gharbi and al-Sharkfi to the north of Djelfa, and finally, the Shatt al-Hudna, occupying the depression of the same name. These Chotts of the high plateaux may be found at altitudes of more than 1,000 m/3,280 feet.

In the "Lower Sahara" of the eastern part of the Saharan Atlas (in particular, the massifs of the Aurès and the Auresmentcha), the Chotts are, on the other hand, found at low levels, sometimes at below sea level in the most westerly depressions: 33 m/108 feet below at the Chott Mérouane (Shatt Marwân) and 26 m/85 feet below at the Chott Melhira (Shatt Malghira) in Algeria. Further to the east, some less important Chotts link this last to the Shatt al-Gharsa and then to the very extensive Shatt al-Djarid in Tunisia, which stretches out into the Shatt al-Fadjar as far as a few tens of kilometres from the Mediterranean in the Gulf of Gabes.

The existence of this string of Chotts (in fact, of *sabkhas*), associated with the presence of shells along their banks (especially of cockle shells, *Cerastoderma glaucum*) has fed the myth of the "Saharan Sea". It has been held that this part of the Sahara was recently invaded by the sea and that it would be possible, by excavating a canal from the Gulf of Gabes, to divert the Mediterranean's waters into the Chotts. Although it has been demonstrated that this plan is impossible to realise, it was still a major item in the programme of one Algerian politician who was a candidate in the presidential elections at the end of the 1980s.


SHATT AL-ARAB, the name given to the united stream of the lower Euphrates and Tigris rivers in Mesopotamia.

1. Definitions.

Shatt (A., pl. *šattūt, šuṭṭān, šuṭṭān*) meant, originally, one side of a camel's hump, and *šatt al-kalā* meant a canyon's or a valley's or a stream's bank or side, or the rising ground next to the bottom (*lj*), Beirut 1956, vii, 334-5; Lane, *Lexicon*, 1548-9. Eventually, *šatt* became most commonly used in the sense of a stream's bank. Occasionally, this meaning was expanded to depict a plot of land, apparently close to the bank of a stream (*Yakūt, Bulādīn, Beirut 1955-7, iii, 344*). The name Shatt al-Arab ("Bank of the Arab") is currently referring to the tidal estuary formed by the united stream of the two rivers [see AL-FURAT; DARDÁN]. It is very unusual, as it uses *šatt* in relation to the stream itself, rather than to its banks. In modern Mesopotamia-Îrāq, *šatt* has indeed often been used to describe a stream. This usage is a relatively recent one. *Yakūt*, who traded in the Persian Gulf, mentions Shatt `Uthmān in the Baṣra area as being a plot of land, but he does not mention any Shatt al-Arab in that area (loc. cit.).

The early mediaeval name used by both Arabs and Persians was "Tigris" (*Dījalā*) (*Hudud al-ʿilam*, ur., 76; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Geogr.*, ii, 57; al-Mukaddasī, tr. B.A. Collins, London 1994, 12-13). Other Arab names were "Euphrates and Tigris" (*Ibn Bāṭṭūtā*), and "One-Eyed Tigris" (*Dījalā al-`Aurā*). The reason for the addition seems to be either an island close to the mouth of the river, by the name of *Uwāy* (*Ibn Khurādādbeh*, 60), or the sand bar at the mouth. A mediaeval Persian (Pahlavi) name for the Tigris (and the Shatt al-Arab') was Erwand Rūd ("The Sublime River").

The modern Arab name, Shatt al-Arab, which was also used by the Ottomans, seems to be the result of extending the name of the Arab (i.e., the western) bank to include the whole river. One of the earliest modern mentions of the united stream as Shatt al-Arab appears in the accounts of the English traveller J.S. Buckingham, who stayed for a few months in Baṣra in 1816-17 (Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia, London 1829, 359-60). The modern Persian name is still Erwand Rūd.

2. Geographical description.

The confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates is just south of al-Kūrma, and this is regarded as the beginning of the Shatt, but there is another confluence, some 50 km further south, where another part of the Euphrates flows through the Hawr Ḥammār marshes into the Shatt just north of Baṣra. The united river flows into the Persian Gulf near the town of Faw. The Shatt receives also the waters of the Karūn river [q.v.] and its tributaries. The river's width ranges between 400 and 1,200 m, and its length is about 180 km. Its navigable depth is some 36 feet (six fathoms), though there are places where it is twice that depth. It is only 24 feet (four fathoms) deep at the sand bar near the confluence of the Karūn (Iraqi Port Administration, *Shatt al-Arab survey map*, Baṣra 1964). In the 1920s the sand bar at the mouth of the river was dredged.

The country on both sides is Baṣra, where the tide rises and falls some 3 m, is less than 2 m above sea level. The land along the banks is higher than further out, owing to the silt brought down by the stream. Until the mid-1970s, the land was encroaching on the sea at the rate of some 35 km every 1,000 years, but since then this rate has diminished due to much upstream damming. Rich plantations of date palms line the banks for the whole length of the river, sometimes with orange trees underneath the dates. During the Iraq-Iran War (1980-8, see 3. below), these plantations were seriously damaged.

3. Political history.

With the rise of the Šāfawī dynasty in Persia in the early 10th/16th century [see ŠĀFĀWĪS], wars between the Šafawīs and the Ottomans produced frequent boundary shifts. In 1048/1638 Sultan Murād IV finally recaptured Baghdad. The Treaty of Zuhāb of 1049/1639, which drew a frontier zone, included much of the Shatt al-Arab well within the Ottoman domain. As a result, it was not mentioned explicitly in the agreement. Subsequent Ottoman-Persian confrontations necessitated further treaties, notably those of Kurdān of 1159/1746 and Erzurūm of 1823, which repeatedly returned to the *status quo* of 1639. Those treaties, too, remained silent in regard to the Shatt (J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in world politics, a documentary record*, New Haven and London 1975, i, 25-8, 79-80, 219-21). The Shatt al-
Arab appears explicitly in the May 1847 Second Treaty of Erzurum, reached largely due to British and Russian mediation and intervention. Except for Ottoman recognition of Persian sovereignty over Khurramshahr and its port, sovereignty over the waterway was not defined specifically, but the text implies that it included the river thalweg along the eastern bank. Continued rivalry and arguments led to renewed British-Russian intervention and to the 1913 Protocol of Constantinople, followed by a demarcation commission that published its proceedings in October 1914. In the Protocol, Ottoman sovereignty was recognised over the whole Shatt al-'Arab and its islands, save only a few, mentioned by their names (including 'Abbadan [q.v.]). Opposite the port of Muhammama (Khurramshahr) [q.e.], the border ran in the thalweg, some four miles above, and one mile below the confluence of the river Kārūn. As defined in the 1914 demarcation proceedings, except for these places, the border was to follow "the low-water level of the left (sc. eastern) bank". Due to the eruption of the First World War and Ottoman reservations, the agreement was never ratified.

Following the War, the British authorities established the Basra Port Directorate which controlled all matters of maintenance, navigation and policing in the Shatt. In early 1930, the old conflict erupted again and was even brought, in 1934, before the League of Nations. Persia felt that admission of Irāk sovereignty over the waterway leading to the large port of Khurramshahr and to the fast-growing port of 'Abbdān (where the border still ran on the eastern bank) was humiliating and intolerable. As for Irāk, because it had no other meaningful outlet to the open sea (whereas Iran had a number of alternative ports), it insisted on retaining the status quo. However, in 1937, the two countries signed a new treaty in Tehran, reaffirming the 1913 Constantinople Treaty and the 1914 Proceedings with two important changes in regard to the Shatt. Firstly, five miles opposite 'Abbdān, the border was moved to the thalweg, as had been the case in regard to Khurramshahr. Secondly, a convention was to be concluded, to cover all matters of [joint?] conservancy and navigation, but because of disagreements, this was never concluded.

The outbreak of the Second World War and the British military occupation of Irāk (May-June 1941) and southern Iran (August 1941) meant that navigation on the Shatt was managed exclusively by the British-controlled Basra Port Directorate. It collected dues and appointed pilots and navigation aids, almost exclusively Irākī nationals. This state of affairs remained unchanged after the War. From the mid-1950s, Iran's main objection to the status quo shifted to the economic aspects. It protested against the inequity of choosing the pilots and accused the Irākī Basra port authorities of misuse of the funds accruing from the passage fees. In 1960-1, with the revolutionary régime of 'Abd al-Karīm Kāsīm having withdrawn from the Baghdad Pact and being completely estranged from Iran and the West, Iran demanded the moving of the whole border to the thalweg. It also tried to appoint its own pilots, but retreated when Irākī counter-measures paralysed the port of 'Abbadān.

In 1969, Iran, conscious of the international isolation of Irāk's new (1968) Ba’th régime, demanded a new agreement which would define the border as the thalweg throughout the Shatt and establish a joint commission to supervise maintenance and navigation, complaining of obstruction of Iranian shipping there. When this was refused, Iran abrogated the 1937 treaty. Between 1969 and 1975 relations of the two powers sank to a new low, with Iranian support for Kurds in Irāk and attempts to stir up Irākī Shi’īs and Irākī attempts to encourage dissidence amongst the 'Arabīstān/Khorāsān Arabs, but in 1975 the Shah and Sadām Husayn did sign a new agreement. In 1976, Irāk conceded moving the border to the thalweg line throughout the Shatt and agreed to joint maintenance and navigation control, whilst Iran agreed inter alia to cease aiding the Kurds in Irāk and inciting the Shi’īs. This agreement did not survive the Shah’s fall. With the triumph of 'Ayāt Allāh Rūh Allāh Khumaynī [q.e. in Suppl.], relations worsened, with the latter aiming to export the Iranian Revolution and to support the Kurds again. In September 1980, Sadām Husayn, now (since 1979) President of Irāk, declared the Aighers agreement null and void, and all-out war between the two powers began. Irāk aimed at securing both banks of the Shatt and at pushing the Iranian front line far enough eastwards to keep the waterway beyond artillery fire. The fighting which centred round the Shatt resulted in enormous casualties for both sides; Irāk failed to hold Khurramshahr after 1982, whilst Iran failed to capture Başra. The superior Iranian navy and its air power and artillery blocked the Shatt and put Irākī shore facilities out of action, and 62 ships were trapped in the Shatt ports for the duration of the war.

After the cease-fire, peace negotiations failed, but as part of his preparations for the invasion of Kuwait, Sadām Husayn indicated willingness to begin talks on the future of the Shatt; these, however, came to an end with the invasion. In 1993 Irāk started unilateral dredging operations, so that by 1994 ships were again able to navigate the river, but the conflict over sovereignty is unresolved, and traffic on the waterway remains (1995) far below its pre-1980 level.


(AMATZIA BARAM, shortened by the Editors)

SHATTARIYYA, a Sūfī order introduced into India by Shah 'Abd Allah (d. 890/1485), a descendant of Shāhī Shāhāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [q.e.]. On reaching India, Shah 'Abd Allah undertook a lightning tour of the country. Himself clad in royal dress, the disciples accompanying him wore military garb, carried banners and announced his arrival by the beat of drums. In his Lāṭī,ī-ī shabhīyya he explained the basic principles of Shāṭārī discipline, which he considered to be the quickest way to attain gnosis. Shah 'Abd Allah settled at Māndū [q.e.] where he set up the first Shāṭārī Mādānī. His work was continued by his two disciples, Shāhī Muḥammad A’llā, popularity known as Shāhī Kādī of Bengal, and Shāhī Baha’ al-Dīn of Dwampur. The latter had a very dynamic khālia in Shāhī Buddhism, who popularised the sīlāla in northern India. Shāhī Rizk Allah, uncle of Shāhī 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith of Dīhil, became his disciple. Shāhī Bahā’ al-Dīn, a spiritual descendant of Shāhī Buddhism, wrote a Risāla-yī Shattārīyya on the principles of the order. Later on, Shāhī...
Muhammad Ghawth of Gwaliyar (d. 970/1562-3 [q.v.]) reinforced the silsila by giving it a compact organism and an ideological direction. A prolific writer, he wrote Iswath-i khamar, Kilid-i madhkan, Darayn, Basiruh and Kanz al-ta'awid, and translated the Amrit land into Persian as Bab-e-baght. His hobby was keeping bulls and cows. His successors (like Shāh Pir of Mirath [q.v.] or Meerut) also kept cows. Among his distinguished shahādas was Shāykh Wadhīz al-Dīn ʿAlaw, whose seminary at Ahmadabad attracted students from different parts of the country.

The Shāṭarī mystic ideology was based on daʿwat-i samāʾ (control of heavenly bodies which influenced human destiny) and an interiorisation of religious rites. Their social relationship was conditioned by their faith in pantheism. Shāh Muhammad Ghawth stood up to inhuman acts, such as the Shattans established aPantheism. Shah Muhammad Ghawth attracted students from different parts of the country.

In the pantheist. Shah Muhammad Ghawth, the silsila lost its importance after Shaykh Muhammad Ghawth. Its mystical influence was overshadowed by the establishment of the Shattari silsila.

At the age of 25 he established and edited his weekly Al-Hādī ("The lamp") (1924-7). He worked as a lawyer and was advisor to the treasury of the 'Iraki Royal Family.

At the age of 25 he established and edited his weekly Al-Hādī ("The lamp") (1924-7). He worked as a lawyer and was advisor to the treasury of the 'Iraki Royal Family.

At the age of 25 he established and edited his weekly Al-Hādī ("The lamp") (1924-7). He worked as a lawyer and was advisor to the treasury of the 'Iraki Royal Family.

At the age of 25 he established and edited his weekly Al-Hādī ("The lamp") (1924-7). He worked as a lawyer and was advisor to the treasury of the 'Iraki Royal Family.

At the age of 25 he established and edited his weekly Al-Hādī ("The lamp") (1924-7). He worked as a lawyer and was advisor to the treasury of the 'Iraki Royal Family.
I. Criteria for the acceptance of probative quotations

As regards the three first above-mentioned disciplines which come under the heading of philology, the criteria of acceptance of poetry as a probative source depend on the attitude towards the language held by the Arab scholar. The general consensus is that it is acceptable to draw conclusions from the poetry of the poets of the first two categories. For the majority of philologists, it is also legitimate to draw conclusions from their verse. However, some are accepted as probative, under certain conditions; such was the case in particular of al-Zamakhshari (d. 538/1144 [q.v.]) and of al-Radi al-Astarabadhi (d. 686/1287 [q.v.]) (Kūţāna, i, 6; Gilliot, § 6).

Another problem is that of verses which have not been transmitted in their entirety or of which the "author" is unknown. The prevailing opinion is that, if the quotation is made by an authority considered trustworthy in regard to the Arabic language, they may be legitimately used as a source of linguistic argument: "This is why the verses of Sibawayh are the most reliable verse testimony" (Kūţāna, i, 16; Gilliot, § 16).

While less used by philologists, quotations in prose have given rise to an interesting debate which also involves theological considerations. Those which are drawn from the Kur'ān are recognised, whether the transmission of the various lectures (kādāt) is "interrupted" (mustawādīr) or "irregular" (shāhīdī), as declared by Ibn Dinnī (Gilliot, § 8).

Apparently more astonishing, although conforming to the Arabo-Muslim linguistic representation, is the attitude towards hadīth. The majority of scholars do not accept it as linguistic testimony, because the specialists in hadīth declare that its transmission according to the meaning (bi 'tnān) is permitted; as a result, it can never be known for certain that the current version represents the actual words of the one regarded as the best exponent of the Arabic language (asfah al-ashārī), i.e. the Prophet. Some, such as Abu Hayyān al-Ġarnāštī (d. 745/1344 [q.v.]) see an additional reason for non-acceptance: the fact that the ancient grammarians, such as Abu 'Amr b. al-'Alā', al-Khalif, Sibawayh, al-Kisāt, etc., abstained from the use of poetic traditions as sources of probative quotations. Here, as often, non-Arabs and those of mixed blood are accused of corrupting the "native purity" of the Arabs; transmitting traditions, "they committed linguistic errors (lahū) without knowing it!" Among grammarians, admittedly the latter ones, exceptions in this respect are, among others, Ibn Fārus (al-Rundi al-Ġiblings, d. 609/1212) and Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274 [q.v.]). The latter especially made extensive use of hadīth, in particular in his Sharh al-Taḥṣil.

These two authors were criticised for this, respectively by Ibn al-Dā'ī (al-Ġiblings, d. 680/1281) and by Abu Hayyān al-Ġarnāštī (Kūţāna, i, 10-12; Gilliot, §§ 9-10). Others adopted an intermediate position, believing it possible to distinguish between the two categories of hadīth, one where transmission is known, the other where the transmitters claim word-for-word representation of the prophetic declarations, especially those which illustrate the "excellence in language (fasābā) of the Prophet". From this latter category "it is appropriate to draw probative quotations (yasābū 'l-istiḥbād bihā) in Arabic". This is the position taken by Abu 'Ishāq al-Shāhī (d. 790/1388; commentator on the Ṣafyyn) and by Ibn al-Suyūtī (Kūţāna, i, 12-13; al-Suyūtī, Ikthārāt, 52; Gilliot, §§ 11-12).

Some later authors, influenced by logic and by commentators on the third part of the Mīḥāl al-ṭalīm of al-Sakākī (d. 626/1229 [q.v.]), in particular the Ṭubsīyī al-Mīḥāl of al-Kazwīnī (d. 739/1338 [q.v.]), have considered a theoretical distinction between example (miḥāl) and probative quotation (shāhīd). In general, they place the former in the abstract category and the latter in the concrete category. Shāhīd is appropriate for establishing the rule (tībāt al-kādāt), miḥāl for illustrating it (tībāt al-kādāt) (al-Tahānawī, Kāhiba, ed. A. Sprenger, s.v. miḥāl, on the basis of al-Ṣafī al-mutaṣawwat al-taṬūṣāntī (d. 791/1389), of the gloss by Ibn 'l-Kāsim b. al-Sakār al-Samarkandī (wrote ca. 888/1483), of the article by İbrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Arābghāl al-Iṣfārāntī (d. 945/1538) and of the gloss by Ḥasan Ṣelevi al-Fanārī (d. 886/1481).

II. The literature of the genre

1. In language and in literature.

Since works specialising in grammar and in philology contain a vast number of poetical quotations, the commentators and glosses composed in this domain are innumerable, the majority of them evidently applying to the Kitāb al-Sibawayh; among the score of relevant titles, six have been edited or are in manuscript-form (Sezgin, ix, 58-63; Gilliot, § 18). Al-Dīmūl by al-Zadjădıği (d. 337/949 [q.v.]) has also enjoyed favourable treatment: a dozen commentaries on his verse, of which six have been edited or are in manuscript-form. The same applies to al-Ṭāhīr by Abū 'Ali al-Fārisī (d. 377/987 [q.v.]): nine, of which four have survived (respectively, Sezgin, ix, 88-94, 104-7; Gilliot, §§ 22, 23), in particular Ibn Barīt (d. 502/1117 [q.v.], Sharh ḡunnah al-Īsafī, ed. İd Muṣṭafā Darüşş, Damascus 1985 (see P. Larcher, in Archéeb, xxxix [1992], 120-1). There have been, however, few commentaries on the verses quoted in the K. al-Luma' by Ibn al-Dinnī (d. 392/1002 [q.v.]), it being understood that they are themselves hardly numerous. Worth mentioning is that of Ibn Ḥishām al-Anṣārī (d. 761/1360 [q.v.]) entitled ḡunnah al-ḡunnah al-ṣaghrī, which has not survived. In fact, the K. al-Rawdā al-adabīyya fi ḡunnah ḩum al-adabīyya (Alīwardi 6752; Brockelmann, II, 31, no. 7) which has been identified with this commentary (see MIDEO, xx, no. 31) is nothing other than a manuscript of al-Īkhrāj by al-Suyūtī, with an introduction fabricated by a copist (Sezgin, ix, 174-7; Gilliot, § 24).

The verses quoted in the commentaries on the Ṣafyyn by Ibn Mālik have in their turn attracted the attention of numerous commentators. Examples are Ibn Ḥishām and his Taḫṣīṣ al-ḡunnah wa-taḥṣīṣ al-ṣaghrī, incomplete, also called ḡunnah ḍbn Nāzīm (i.e. the son of Ibn Mālik, Abū 'Alā Badr al-Dīn, d. 686/1287), ed. S.T. 'Abū al-Sayyid, Cairo 1987 (MIDEO, xx, no. 31), or furthermore al-Makṣūdī al-nawḥānīya by al-'Āynī (d. 855/1451 [q.v.]), printed in the margins of the Kūṭūna al-adab by al-Bağḫādī, Būlāk 1299, which comprises commentaries on the verses contained in four commentaries on the Ṣafyyn (1) al-Durr ał-madāʾa by Badr al-Dīn, son of Ibn Mālik, (2) the Ṣafyyn by Ibn Umm Kūsim al-Muṭarrī (d. 497/1398), (3) Aṣdūd aṣ-ṣaḥāfī by Ibn Ḥishām al-Ṯābī, and (4) the Ṣafyyn by Ibn 'Ākīl (d. 769/1367) (Brockelmann, F, 359-62, no. 11 and S I). The verses contained in 1 and 4 have also been the object of numerous independent commentaries (Gilliot, § 27).

The verses quoted by Ibn al-Ḥādjī (d. 646/1249 [q.v.]) and by the commentators on al-Ḳafyyn and al-Shāhīyya have also been the frequent object of
commentaries: the Khizdnat al-adab by 'Abd al-Kadir al-Baghdadi (d. 1093/1682 [q.v.]), which is the most esteemed. This work of unique quality is not only a model of the genre, but also a veritable encyclopedia of gram- mar, poetics, literature, bio-bibliography and even history. Furthermore, the new Cairo edition, now complete, with its two volumes of indices, makes it an indispensable working tool (Gilliot, §§ 1, 26).

The same al-Baghdadi is also the author of Shawk shawaidh (Sha'wahid al-Shafayya, ed. M. Nur al-Hasan, et alii, with Shawk al-Shafayya by al-Ashtarakhi (the Shawk al-Baghdadi is to be found in vol. iv), Cairo 1358/1939, repr. Beirut 1975, and of Shawk shawaidh sha'kh al-Tibh al-aswadyya, ed. N.M. Khawadja, Faculty of Letters of Istanbul.)

The verses of numerous grammatical manuals of Ibn Hisham al-Ansari have also been subjected to commentary (Gilliot, § 29): 1. Mughni 'I-l-tibby, by al-Suyuti, in Fath al-karb. Shawk shawaidh (Sha'wahid al-Shafayya, ed. M. Nur al-Hasan, et alii, with Shawk al-Shafayya by al-Ashtarakhi (the Shawk al-Baghdadi is to be found in vol. iv), Cairo 1358/1939, repr. Beirut 1975, and of Shawk shawaidh sha'kh al-Tibh al-aswadyya, ed. N.M. Khawadja, Faculty of Letters of Istanbul.)

The criteria for the acceptance of probative verses in the "literary sciences" not being the same as those in the "poetical sciences" (Gilliot, iv/C), there should also be found illustrated and elucidated, with its two volumes of indices, makes it an indispensable working tool (Gilliot, §§ 1, 26).
clash with the Franks, whose interests and ambitions were already deeply involved in Egypt. Two other campaigns followed (562/1167 and 564/1168-9). For the details of these events, see Shirkūh.

In the end, Shāwar, attempting to exploit now one and now the other of the rival outsiders, the Syrian forces and the Crusaders, was unable to maintain his independence. He had lost the support of the palace, the local élite and even of his own family, by his high-risk policy. The burning of Fustāṭ in Safar 564/November 1168, probably on his orders to deny the attacking Crusaders the city and its resources, cost him much popular goodwill, even if the damage and losses were not so catastrophic as they have been portrayed (see W. Kubisak, *The burning of Mūṣr al-Fustāṭ in 1168. A reconsideration of historical evidence*, in *Afri
cana Bulletin*, Warsaw [1976], xxv). The new dominant force in Egypt was the Syrian army of Nur al-Dīn, elements of which plotted the assassination of Shāwar on Saturday 17 Rabi' II 564/18 January 1168, and its commander Shīrkhū succeeded as Fātimid vizier.

*Bibliography:* Umāra al-Yamānī, *Nabat al-āvrīya fi ḥdhr al-wwāṣaḍ ar-al-misrīyya*, ed. H. Dern-

**AL-SHAWBAK**, a fortress, originally constructed by the Crusaders, in Transjordania, now also the name of the settlement which grew up round it. It lies in lat. 30° 33’ N., long. 35° 36’ E. at an altitude of 1,362 m/4,532 feet in the south of modern Jordan, on a strategic position commanding the al-Karak-Tafta-Ma’in mountain road and the mediaval Islamic route via the Wādī ‘Arabā towards Egypt. The surrounding Djabal al-Shārā enjoys a good rainfall and winter snows, favoung woods and agricultural land; in mediaeval Islamic times, its famed apricots were exported to Egypt, according to Abu ‘l-Fīḍā’. Its strategic position made it a coveted site for both Crusaders and Arabs, and habitation there certainly goes back to the Nabataeans.

In the mid-12th century, probably between 591/1197 and 610/1218, the slopes of al-Shawbak formed part of the tributary domain of the Latin king Baldwin I of Jerusalem, under the local authority of a certain al-Asfāhīn al-Turkūmānī. Shortly thereafter, in 590/1194, Baldwin I led a military force which crossed to the site and ordered the establishment of a military fortress adjacent to two small springs, which supplied a well within the fortress that he provided with a cavalry garrison. Baldwin I gave it particular attention when he visited it the following year, and then proceeded to ‘Aṣ-Šabā, where he constructed a second fortress in order to control the traffic going to the Hijāz and Egypt. Crusader control became firmly established with the construction of the citadel of al-Karak in 537/1142 by Fulk of Anjou, the king of Jerusalem. The land east of the Jordan River constituted a barony, with al-Shawbak (Montréal in the Frankish sources) at its seat, subsequently to be moved to al-Karak. The sources furnish us with the names of the individuals who were in charge of the fortress, such Romanus de Podio/Romain de Puy, etc.

Al-Shawbak was a target of the Fātimids in Egypt, who sent a military expedition that pillaged the locality and captured some prisoners in 552/1157. The following year, the Fātimids placed the fortress under siege, which lasted over a year, to be lifted only after the king of Jerusalem sent gifts and asked for a truce of friendship (mawāḍa‘). The Fātimids under Šalāh al-Dīn maintained their aggressive policy against the Franks east of the Jordan River. In Safar 567/ October 1171, Šalāh al-Dīn laid siege to the fortress, and its garrison surrendered within ten days. However, he departed before accepting submission when he received news that Nur al-Dīn Zānkt was approaching. The fortress finally surrendered in Rabi‘ II 585/ October 1189, two years after the battle of Ḥītīn [g.v.]. Šalāh al-Dīn gave both al-Shawbak and al-Karak as an ikṭā‘ [g.v.] to his brother and successor al-Malīk al-ʿĀdī.

There were development schemes at al-Shawbak during the Ayyūbīd period. Fruit trees were planted and the area, with its rich water resources, was rejuvenated to the extent that contemporary geomographers compared it to the vicinity of Damascus. Inscriptions testify to the care that the Ayyūbīds extended to it. The Franks recognised the strategic significance of al-Shawbak, and while besieging Damietta in 615/1218, they offered to lift the siege in return for Jerusalem, al-Shawbak, and al-Karak. This request was declined. This may explain al-Malīk al-ʾĀdī’s interest in the place, for in 626/1229, he paid his nephew al-Malīk al-Naṣīr Dāwūd 16,000 Egyptian dinārs to add al-Shawbak to his possessions, which he visited three years later while on route to Syria. It was part of the domains of the last Ayyūbīd prince in southern Jordan, al-Malīk al-Muḥājīf ʿUmar, from 648/1250 until 659/1261. It then passed to the new Mamlūk rulers following their victory over the Mongols at ʿAyn Djalut. However, in 692/1292, Sultan al-ʾAshraf Khālid ordered the demolition of the fortress on the advice of the local Bedouin chieftain, for whom it had been a major irritant. Later Mamlūk sultans, and in particular Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādīn, in 697/1297-8, restored the fortress and gave it its continuous attention, as is attested by inscriptions from that period. The great flood (al-sayl al-dī‘am) and earth-
quake that struck the region in 718/1318 may explain the observation by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī that the fortress was closed at that time.

There is no consensus in the sources regarding the status of al-Shawbak, with some referring to it as a village, others as a town, and others as a city. During the Mamlūk era it constituted an ʿamal with a mutawallī, and was part of the ṣanajak of al-Karak. Its mutawallī was appointed by the sultan in Cairo but reported to the governor of al-Karak. Biographical dictionaries provide the names of some individuals who held this position. A few of them may have been assigned the region as an ikṭā‘. The citadel, which was one of the postal stations to Cairo, was occasionally the seat of a ʿādālī under the jurisdiction of the ikṭā‘ in al-Karak.

The most important Bedouin tribes in the region were the Banū Zuhayr and Banū Sunīṣiyān. There were also significant numbers of Melkite Christians, who distinguished themselves in trade. Some were rich enough to give financial support to Sultan al-Malīk al-Zāhir Barkūk. They formed the majority of the pop- ulation, which explains why in 700/1300, they and the Christians of al-Karak were exempted from the sultan’s edict to change the colour of their turbans from white to blue.

Al-Shawbak during the 10th/16th century was a seat of the nāḥiyā as part of the ṣanajak of ʿAṭājūn. Two tabū defters provide important statistics on the villages:

The revenues according to the first survey was 11,750 akēs, falling to 14,000 akēs near the end of the century. Christians paid the ḥiṣṣa at the rate of 80 akēs per head. The decline in population is explained
by the deterioration in security. Most Christians migrated to the coastal area of Gaza. The two 
ap defteri provide detailed information about the tribal groups (as 'iyan), as well as the names of the villages at that time. It is interesting to note that the villagers numbered less households than those of the nomads.

Information about al-Shawbak subsequently decreases, with only occasional references, such as that in 1022/1613, stating that the fortress was inhabited by fallāhin who provided 'Ali b. Fakhr al-Dīn with provisions. In 1812, it was visited by J.L. Burckhardt, who mentions that about one hundred fallāhin families lived there and paid tribute to the Huwaysat tribe. An uprising took place against the Ottoman garrison there in 1895. The madavarif of al-Karak laid siege to it, and about 200 people and 20 soldiers were killed. During the Tanzimat period, it was part of the madavarifs of al-Karak. Al-Shawbak was connected by a branch of the Hidjaz Railway, no longer extant, which once characterised them, they devoted themselves to sheep-breeding, whence the name ultimately given them. As to the Zanata, they were nomadic groups: one in Morocco, in Tamasna, the other on the borders of the kingdom of Tunis and the "land of dates" (bidād al-ajarid).

1. The Maghrib.

Here the term, originally applied in contempt, has become the general designation of several groups, of which the most important are, in Morocco, the Shi'awīya of Tamasna and in Algeria, the Shi'awīya of the Awrās. E. Douot (Marrakech, 4-5) mentions several other groups of less importance. An endeavour has also been made to connect Shoa, the name of a district in Abyssinia, with Shi'awīya.

Wherever it is found, the term is applied to Berbers of the Zanata and Hawwara, more or less arabised, mixed with purely Arab elements; almost always, moreover, these ethnic groups seem to have schismatic tendencies.

The massif of the Awrās, occupied by the Shi'awīya of the department of Constantine, was in the 8th century the centre of resistance of the Ibadī [see IBĀDIYYA] Khāриjīs, as the Mzāb still is at the present day. Now among the Shi'awīya of Morocco, the successors to the heretical Barghāwīya [q.v.] we find a tribe of Mzāb and the memory of "Judaising" ancestors. On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn tells us that at the beginning of the Marinid dynasty in eastern Morocco, a group of Shi'awīya lived in contact with the Zakārīya, whose heterodox practices have been studied by A. Moutiéras.

According to Ibn Khaldūn (Hist. des Berbères, i, 176-82, tr. i, 271-82) the original home of the Hawwara (ra'gā Huwāwā [q.v.]) was the province of Tripoli and the adjacent part of the territory of Barka; conquered and oppressed by the Arabs, they had scattered through the whole of the Magrib where, crushed by taxation and having to choose between independence and which once characterised them, they devoted themselves to sheep-breeding, whence the name ultimately given them. As to the Zanata, they were nomadic Berbers, like the Arabs, living in tents on the produce of their flocks and spending the summer in the Tell and the winter in the desert from Ghadālimis to the Sūs al-Aqā (Ibn Khaldūn, op. cit., ii, 1, tr. iii, 179-80).

The name of Shi'awīya seems to be first found in Ibn Khaldūn (Mukaddima, i, 22, 16, tr. de Siane, i, 256, tr. Rosenthal, i, 251; Hist. des Berbères, i, 179, 10, tr. i, 278; ii, 245, 3, tr. iv, 31; the Shi'awīya mentioned in this last passage do not seem to correspond to those of Tamasna but to some people of Eastern Morocco, neighbours of the tribes of Hawwara and Zakārīya).

Next, Leo Africanus (i, 83-4), who calls them Soa'a, tells us that they are African (i.e. Berber) tribes who have adopted the Arab way of living. The majority live at the foot of the Atlas or in the mountain range itself, living by cattle- and sheep-breeding. Wherever they dwell they are always subject to the local dynast or to Arabs. This author already knows two main groups: one in Morocco, in Tamasna, the other on the borders of the kingdom of Tunis and the "land of dates" (bidād al-ajarid).
It will be readily understood that in the Arab world, the term “sheep breeders” would have a contemptuous significance. As W. Marçais observed, “in ancient Arabia a certain disgrace seems to have been attached to the breeding of the smaller domestic stock. North Africans have nothing but contempt for them. In the middle ages the feeling may have been strengthened by racial antagonism, real or imaginary. But in general at this period, to abandon the camel and adopt the sheep was an avowal of a terrible downfall for a tribe. It meant renouncing the long free travels, the secure refuge of the desert and independence, to submit to local rulers, endure their blows and tolerate their fiscal exactions.”

a. Shāwīya of Tāmasnā. They occupy in the north-east the lower course of the Umm al-Rabīṭ, vast fertile plains which extend to the latitude of the little harbour of Fedala. They are descended, according to Leo Africanus (ii, 9), from, the Zanāta and Haywāra who the Marinid sovereigns settled there and who mixed with the remnants of the Bargawātā, the ancient heretical inhabitants of the region, as well as with the Arabs brought from Ifīrijya by the Almohad Sultan Ya‘kūb al-Manṣūr. These Shāwīya now speak Arabic; the modern tribes which seem to be of Berber origin are the Znāta, Mediyūna, Mzāb, Mellīfra, Ziyyāda and the Uld Bū-Zīrī.

b. Shāwīya of the Awrās. They occupy this mountain massif in modern Algeria, between Batna and Bokra. Ibn Khaldūn (Hist. des Berbères, ii, 1, tr. iii, 179-90) already mentions sections of the Zanāta settled in the Awrās alongside of Hilāfī Arabs who had conquered them. It is no doubt to their living in a mountainous country that these Shāwīya have preserved a Berber dialect to the present day.


2. Shāwīya of Tāmasnā: Leo Africanus, op. cit., i, 9; Memal, L’Afrique, tr. Perrot d’Ablancourt, Paris 1677, ii, bk. 4, chs. i-xii; Ahmad al-Nāṣirī, Kānat al-Iskābi, iii, 135-6; G. Kampffmeyer, Stäua in Ma-roka, in MSOS Ar., vi (1903); E. Doutté, Marrakch, 2 ff.; Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Chéouâa, esp. i, 109-16, 131-6.

3. Shāwīya of the Awrās: Ibn Khaldūn, Hist. des Berbères, ii, 1, tr. iii, 179-90; E. Maquetay, Le Dévol Chachar, in Revue Africaine, xxii (1878), 259-81; De Lartigues, Monographie de l’Avarès, Constantine 1904, esp. 125-9; and the bibl. given on 477-80. On their Berber dialect, cf. G. Mercier, Le Cisaula de l’Avarès, Paris 1896. See also Awrās; Bargawātā; Berrakas; mzāb. (G.S. Colini) 2. Syria and the Arabian Peninsula. Shāwīya is a flexible term, centering on sheep herding for an urban market, especially live animals for meat. This, of itself, does not have derogatory overtones; what does is the buying of protection (in the past) and herding for wages (in the present), which were and are practised by some participants. Shāwīya describes groups who herd sheep as their main livelihood, some of whom have a low political status. Because herders needed to use seasonal grazing grounds or to secure access to markets far from their home base on a regular basis, agreements were made between herders and the “owners” of the grazing grounds and wells, or the markets. Such agreements could be contracts between “equals”, groups who saw themselves as close in descent or similar in esteem, and the relationship was thus symmetrical. Those who were distant or lacked esteem paid for protection while using these areas, and thus had asymmetrical agreements.

There is a second question concerning the ownership of the sheep. Some owned the sheep they herded, while others herded sheep belonging to urban owners, village owners, or to camel herding owners, and yet others had flocks of mixed ownership. Herding one’s own animals or someone else’s was honourable in itself. Esteem or its lack depended on the political arrangements within which the herding took place, and on whether or not the owner and herder saw themselves as equal partners in a mutually beneficial enterprise, or as employer and employee.

These views are the current opinion (1994) of Rwala, Sardiyya, ‘Umurī, Beni Śaghr and Aḥl al-Dhābāl sheep-herding tribesmen, using southeastern Syria, Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia. The confusion between a description of a means of livelihood and a description of low political status is common in casual speech, especially when talking about individuals or groups distant to the interests of the speaker. As the view that “we are all shāwīya now” might be thought to have modified thinking on occupation and political esteem, tribesmen were at pains to clarify that there is and was no determinative association.

Similar confusion is seen in the literature on shāwīya and sheep-herding in the past. Musil (Arabia Deserta, 223), speaking of the Bilād al-Šām in the early 1900s, says that the shāwīya were a low-status political category who bought protection since they herded sheep and goats, but sheep herders like the Wild ‘Alī and ‘Hessene were held in esteem (ibid., 391). Dickson (The Arab of the Desert, 109-10), in the 1930s and 40s in Kuwait and eastern Arabia, describes them as an occupational category of people who herd sheep and goats for others. Other sources for Syria, Palestine and Lebanon mention tribes herding sheep and/or goats for peasant, urban and tribal owners, but do not mention šawīya, nor is the term šawīya found in the literature on animal herding contracts (Firestone, 201-8).

Dickson names three šawīya (town usage) or hāruk (desert usage) tribes specialising in herding flocks owned by townsmen or tribal leaders: all sections of the Muntūfik confederation, except the al-Sa’dūn shaikhly family; two Mutayr sections; and the Aḥl al-Qāharn of the ‘Awāzīm. These latter herded sheep belonging to the ‘Awāzīm camel herding sections and flocks of Kuwaiti townsmen. The two lower-status Mutayr groups herded sheep of the other Mutayr sections. The Muntūfik of Bani Māzik, Al-Bū Śalāh, and Adhāwād, with their neighbours the Bani Ḥādhīm and some Shammar, were mostly “of good Arab descent and some married with the best tribes in Iraq” (546). They had agricultural land along the Euphrates, where some members remained all year. From mid-October, herding families moved slowly south for some two hundred miles, until by February they were south and west of Kuwait. Although Shī’a, they were welcomed since they brought cheap mutton, butter, wool and sheepskins. They returned north at the end.
of April with supplies or rice, sugar, coffee and clothes. While south, they paid zakat, accepted adoption into Sufism. There are various meanings and stages discernible in the development of the term in mysticism:

of April with supplies or rice, sugar, coffee and clothes. While south, they paid zakat, accepted adoption into Sufism. There are various meanings and stages discernible in the development of the term in mysticism:

of April with supplies or rice, sugar, coffee and clothes. While south, they paid zakat, accepted adoption into Sufism. There are various meanings and stages discernible in the development of the term in mysticism:

of April with supplies or rice, sugar, coffee and clothes. While south, they paid zakat, accepted adoption into Sufism. There are various meanings and stages discernible in the development of the term in mysticism:

of April with supplies or rice, sugar, coffee and clothes. While south, they paid zakat, accepted adoption into Sufism. There are various meanings and stages discernible in the development of the term in mysticism:

of April with supplies or rice, sugar, coffee and clothes. While south, they paid zakat, accepted adoption into Sufism. There are various meanings and stages discernible in the development of the term in mysticism:
(a) In pre-Islamic profane poetry. Fragments survive attesting a semi-technical usage of *shawk* as an element of profane love in the *Udhari* tradition (dating from the early 5th century), especially visible in the few extant poems of Shawk al-Balkhi (q.v.), also of *al-Udhar* and ad-Dja'far al-Sadik (ed. P. Nwyia, in *Rawdat al-muhibbin*, see. J. Bell, *Bibliography*). Shawk retails local stories, posing as the *ishk* (see *Ihyad* al-Islam, Berlin-New York 1980, 165-70). Such tradi-
tions with their explicit association of technical terms as *shawk* and *ishk*, a central motif in anecdotes from the Jewish and Christian traditions related by early Muslim scholars. Thus lengthy citations from *akhdar* on the Prophet David and in such manifestations of early Muslim piety as collection of prayers or *du d* as a genre of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

As an object of yearning.

The imagery of love in early pietistic Islam, based on such terms as *shawk* and other mystic terms, a psycho-spiritual sentiment of yearning as a part of a mystic's yearning for the Divine Unknown is endless, an infinite beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. The beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the


(b) In his *Kur* and in Hadith. The term is not found in the *Kur* and the idea of yearning figures prominently in the *akhdar* ascribed to the Prophet David and in such manifestations of early Muslim piety as collection of prayers or *du d* as in "whosoever yearns for Paradise moves swiftly towards good merit". Its early evolution as a religious term is considered *shawk* in the sophisticated *Shawk* al-Balkhi *du d* as collection of prayers or (sing, *du d*) as a genre of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

In his time, there arose *shawk* al-Balkhi (d. 194/810), acclaimed by al-Sulamfi as a pioneer in Khurasan to expatiate on the "mystical terms, the heart's vision and a second category of public faith. The beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

The imagery of love in early pietistic Islam, based on such terms as *shawk* and other mystic terms, a psycho-spiritual sentiment of yearning as a part of a mystic's yearning for the Divine Unknown is endless, an infinite beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. The beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

(c) In pre-Islamic *akhdar* literature. Here, *shawk* is a central motif in anecdotes from the Jewish and Christian traditions related by early Muslim scholars. Thus lengthy citations from *akhdar* on the Prophet David and in such manifestations of early Muslim piety as collection of prayers or *du d* as a genre of public faith. The beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

The imagery of love in early pietistic Islam, based on such terms as *shawk* and other mystic terms, a psycho-spiritual sentiment of yearning as a part of a mystic's yearning for the Divine Unknown is endless, an infinite beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. The beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

The imagery of love in early pietistic Islam, based on such terms as *shawk* and other mystic terms, a psycho-spiritual sentiment of yearning as a part of a mystic's yearning for the Divine Unknown is endless, an infinite beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. The beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

(d) In mystical *tafsir*. Al-Sulami's recension of the *Kur* in the literature; it expressed both love and light of God in the spirit of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

The imagery of love in early pietistic Islam, based on such terms as *shawk* and other mystic terms, a psycho-spiritual sentiment of yearning as a part of a mystic's yearning for the Divine Unknown is endless, an infinite beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. The beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

The imagery of love in early pietistic Islam, based on such terms as *shawk* and other mystic terms, a psycho-spiritual sentiment of yearning as a part of a mystic's yearning for the Divine Unknown is endless, an infinite beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. The beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the spirit of public faith. Thus the complementary nature and object of yearning.

(continued on next page)
in his Mukaddima suggests that it became somewhat unacceptable (554). The story tells how a rich merchant had a beautiful daughter whom the hero, who lived in the same district, saw by chance when she appeared on the roof or balcony of her house. A love affair develops somewhat in the vein of *Romeo and Juliet*. Both the heroine and the hero successively drink poison, but in the end the effect is nullified. The story is important from several points of view. First, the element of magic, which had become normal in the *matn*, is absent, save in the description of the failure of the poison to prove fatal. Secondly, the characters are not princely or noble, but ordinary, as indeed are the events. Thirdly, the poems are brief. Fourthly, at a time when Lucknow poetry seemed to concentrate on language, Shawk stressed meaning. A third *matn*, *Ladbdah-i-* *udgh* (*"The Pleasure of Love"*), is his longest, and more evocative of Mrِ Hasan [q.v.]. This and his fourth *matn*, *Bahri-i-* *udgh* (*"The Spring of Love"*) are said to illustrate his felicitous use of the language of the ladies of Lucknow. Shawk's fame seems to have been short-lived. For example, Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, does not even mention his name; nor do his collections of two other genres of Urdu love poetry—*ghazal* and the more passionate *ghazal*—seem to have made much impact.

**Bibliography:** Probably the best account of Shawk's *matn*, *udgh* is to be found in Abu '1-Layth *Siddiqi, Lakhnaw kā dabistan-i-ghâtīri*, Lahore 1955, 553-75, which contains substantial extracts from the poems. The sparse information to be found in Ram Babu Saksera, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, has been mentioned. There are various editions of the poetry; interesting comments on it are to be found in Alît Hvsan Hâlí's *Mukaddima*. (J.A. Haywood)

**AL-SHWAKÂNÎ, MUHAMMAD B. 'ALI B. MUHÂMMAD, writer, teacher and *mufti* in *Šan'a* (ca. 1173-1255/1760-1839).** His opinions and his writings are seen as foreshadowing the Islamic modernism of the first half of the 20th century. Raġîd Râjî [q.v.], who regards him as the mufti of "regeneration", of the 12th century A.H. (*Tafsîr al-Mâmâr, vii, 144*), says he is absent, save in the description of the fail-ure of the poison to prove fatal. Secondly, the char-acters are not princely or noble, but ordinary, as indeed are the events. Thirdly, the poems are brief. Fourthly, at a time when Lucknow poetry seemed to concentrate on language, Shawk stressed meaning. A third *matn*, *Ladbdah-i-* *udgh* (*"The Pleasure of Love"*), is his longest, and more evocative of Mrِ Hasan [q.v.]. This and his fourth *matn*, *Bahri-i-* *udgh* (*"The Spring of Love"*) are said to illustrate his felicitous use of the language of the ladies of Lucknow. Shawk's fame seems to have been short-lived. For example, Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, does not even mention his name; nor do his collections of two other genres of Urdu love poetry—*ghazal* and the more passionate *ghazal*—seem to have made much impact.

**Al-Shawkat, Muhammad 'Ali** (1873-1938), Indian Muslim leader. Elder of the famous "Ali Brothers", Shawkat was born at Râmpûr on 10 March 1873. He received a "modern", i.e. English, education at the insistence of his widowed mother, Abâdî Begum (who later played a significant role in the Indian freedom and Khilafat movements) despite the opposition of her male rela-tives. She pawned her personal jewellery to send Shawkat to a modern school, in the win of Rome and went to the M.A.O. College, "Aligarh. He did not show bri-lliance in his studies, but gained fame as a sportsman. After his graduation in 1895, Shawkat was employed in the Opium Department for the next 17 years. He took premature retirement to tour the country as the Agha Khán's secretary in order to mobilise public opinion and to collect funds to convert the M.A.O. College into a full-fledged university.

Unlike his younger brother, Muhammad 'Ali [q.v.], an erudite writer and speaker, Shawkat was a practical man who fully supported his younger brother in his activities. Shawkat founded Angjumân-i Khuddâm-i Ka'bâ ("Association of the Servants of the Ka'ba") in 1913 to preserve the sacred monument in Mecca and to facilitate pilgrimage from India. At about the same time, he assumed the managerial responsibilities of the newspapers published by Muhammad 'Ali, (the Urdu daily) *Hamdard* and (the English weekly) *Comrade*, due to the latter's ill-health.

The 'Ali Brothers were arrested in May 1915 on charges of arousing the Muslims against the British. They remained in prison until December 1919. Shawkat's pension from the Department of Opium was confiscated at the time of his arrest.

During the next decade the 'Ali Brothers dominated the Indian Muslim scene and took an active part in the freedom movement. They associated them-selves with the Indian National Congress and played a crucial role in bringing it, especially its leader M.K. Gandhi, closer to the Muslims in the country. They played a key role in the Non-Cooperation (Tark-i Mu-sulînî) Movement of the early 1920s, and led the Khilafat Movement [q.v.] aimed at protecting the Ottoman Caliphate.

The 'Ali Brothers were again arrested in 1921 for passing a resolution in the All-India Khilafat Con-fERENCE at Karachi on 9 July 1921 calling upon Muslim soldiers in the British Indian army to desert from it. They were tried, along with five others, in the famous Karachi Trial of the same year (details in Rafique Ahtiar, *Hisse neal trial*, Karachi 1971).

Shawkat presided over the All-India Khilafat Com-mittee's annual conference in 1923 at Cacanada. This conference formed a socio-political group, Hindustani Sewa Dal ("Indian service corps"), to improve the social conditions of the Indian people. Shawkat pre-sided over the first session of this organisation at Bel-gaum in 1924.

At this time, a belligerent Hindu nationalism, includ-ing the movement of Sâdî ("purification", i.e. recon-version of Muslims to Hinduism), was raising its head. Muslims demanded assurances of a fair deal in an independent India where Hindus were going to be the majority. (The Lucknow Pact of 1916 had given some weighting to Muslim demands.) The Indian National Congress refused to give any special assur-ances to Muslims in the Nehru Report and the All Party Conference at Calcutta in 1928, and this caused most Muslim leaders to drift away from the Congress and demand a separate state for Muslims.

Shawkat resigned from the Congress and settled in Bombay, where he dedicated himself to the advocacy of Muslim causes through the Urdu daily *Khilafat* and the Urdu weekly *Khilafat-i Ullamânîya*. Towards the end of his life, Shawkat was elected to the Central Legislative Council. He died in Dihl on 26 November 1938.

**Bibliography:** Unlike his younger brother, Shawkat does not seem to have been the subject of any independent work. See for a detailed account and some primary sources about his life: Mushirul Haq, *Shakost Alî*, in S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of national biography*, Calcutta 1974, 176-8. (ZAFARUL'-ISLAM KHAN)

**SHAWKAT BUKHÂRÎ, MUHAMMAD ISHÂK**, 17th-century Persian poet, died 1107/1695-6.

He spent the early part of his life in Bukhârî, where his father worked as a moneychangers. Shawkat also took up the same profession, but then set out
for Khurāsān. In 1088/1677-8 he arrived in Harat and entered the service of the governor Sa’d al-Din, vizier of Khurāsān, who treated him with great affection and kindness, but ultimately he decided to sever all connection from worldly affairs and lead a life of seclusion. Ultimately, he took up residence in Isfahan, where he died under conditions of self-imposed poverty. He was laid to rest in Isfahan at the cemetery dedicated to the spiritual leader Shaykh ‘Alī b. Suhayl b. Azhar Isfahānī.

According to some writers, the poet initially employed Nūzuk as his pen-name. His diwān contains kiṣā'id, ghazāl, fiqī' and ma'āfī. Most of his kiṣā'id are in the praise of the Imām Riḍā and the poet's chief patron Sa’d al-Din. Shawkat is especially noted for his ghazāl, which are distinguished by an inventiveness in meaning and expression. He is regarded among those poets whose influence was chiefly instrumental in the popularisation of the “Indian style” (sabh-i Hindi [q.v.]). Though his work failed to gain recognition from early Persian writers, he was held in high esteem in Turkey where, according to E.J.W. Gibb, “he continued for more than half a century to be the guiding star for the majority of Ottoman poets”.


SHAWKI, AHMAD, Egyptian poet and dramatist. Born in Cairo in 1868 into an affluent family whose genealogy shows a multifarious ancestry, mingling Turkish, Kurdish, Greek and Arab strains, he died in Cairo on 14 October 1932.

It is both convenient and realistic to distinguish between three periods in the biography of the poet. Until 1914, Shawkī was the poet of the court (ghāfīr al-umān); from 1914 to 1917 he was the poet in exile; and from 1919 to 1932 he enjoyed popular and critical acclaim, bearing the prestigious title of Amīr al-ghawārīn.

On leaving the School of Law of Sūk al-Zalāţ in 1887, Shawkī was awarded a grant to pursue his legal studies at Montpellier. He was resident in France until 1891. Although he considered al-Mutanabbi his principal mentor, influences on him henceforward included Viktor Hugo and de Musset, his favourite French poets. Until the outbreak of the First World War, as an official of the Palace, Shawkī was the poet of the Prince, to whom he addressed eulogies whenever the occasion arose, attempting to some extent to imitate the conduct of al-Mutanabbi with regard to Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.].

When war broke out in 1914, the Khedive ‘Abbas was visiting Turkey. The British announced their Protectorate over Egypt, opposed the return of ‘Abbas and appointed in his place the Sultan Husayn Kāmīl. Shawkī sought to please both the British and Husayn; however, his marked hostility towards Britain’s Egyptian policy (especially at the time of the resignation of Lord Cromer) resulted in a limited form of exile; accompanied by his two sons ‘Alī and Huṣayn, he boarded a ship bound for Barcelona and was not to leave Spain until 1919. Of course, all connection with his world was severed.

Essentially a period of transition, these few years are marked by a relatively small volume of work, lacking any great originality (principally two plays in which he attempts to imitate two celebrated ancient models: al-Buṭṭūrīb and Ibn Zaydūn [q.v.]).

On his return to Egypt in 1919, it was the contemporary Egyptian scene which claimed the poet’s attention: eulogies and funeral tributes addressed to renowned Egyptians, the Milner Report, reforms of al-Azhār, creation of the Bank of Egypt, Congress of Egyptian political parties, the fifteenth anniversary of the Dār al-Ultīm—all kinds of events were exorted by the poet, in a style far removed from the panegyrics of the court or from the nostalgic effusions of exile in Spain. The talented singer ‘Abd al-Walīḥāb, who was his constant companion, was to popularise sung versions of these historical kīsidān.

Despite sometimes acerbic criticism, the laurels awarded to Shawkī have not withered; the fiftieth anniversary of his death was marked by spectacular commemorative ceremonies which took place in Cairo between 16 and 22 October 1982 and brought together, at the highest level, Egyptian authorities and literary figures from the Arab countries and from Europe, coming to pay their respects to the “Prince of poets”.

The sources of inspiration of Shawkī are essentially the following:

(a) The Fa’s awsīyāt, chronicles of the centuries in the epic style of Victor Hugo.

(b) The Iṣlāmīyāt, the most celebrated of which was to be popularised by the renowned Egyptian singer Umm Kulthūm (al-Hamziyya al-nabāwīyya).

(c) The Turkiyyāt, celebrating the role of the Turks as defenders of Islam, especially in the Greco-Turkish war of 1921-2.

(d) Egyptian compositions illustrating numerous and very diversified themes, reflecting the current scene and constituting in total a veritable poetical history of contemporary Egypt.

(e) Occasional pieces: panegyrics, funeral odes, nāṣībs.

(f) Theatre: although Shawkī owes his renown to his lyrical compositions, it should not be forgotten that it was by means of drama that he made his entrance into the literary world, writing, while still resident in France, his first tragedy ‘Alī Bāy al-Kabhī. Much later, he returned to the genre with Māqīnī Layā (1916), then with Māqīr Khyūbānī (1917), Kambiz (performed at the Ramesse Theatre in 1951), Amirat al-Andalus and Anṭura, his last work.

SHAWKI — SHAY'


SHAWKI EFENDI RABBANI, conventional form Shoghi Effendi, b. 1 March 1897, d. 4 November 1957, head or Guardian of the Bahā’i religion 1951-7.

The great-grandson of Mirzā Husayn 'Abī Nūrī Bahā' Allāh (q.v.), the sect’s founder, Shoghi was born in Haifa, Palestine, for some time the home of his grandfather, 'Abbas Efendi 'Abī Bahā' (q.v.) and later the international centre for the movement. Shoghi was educated in Haifa and at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, after which he spent about a year at Balliol College, Oxford. In November 1921, he was recalled to Palestine on the death of 'Abbas Efendi. In his will, 'Abbas had appointed his grandson first in a projected line of “Guardians of the Cause of God” (wālī-yi amr Allāh), modelled on the Shi'i Imāms, whose role was to interpret Bahā’i scripture and provide reliable guidance on religious questions. Shoghi used his Western-type education and his organisational skills to create a complex international organisation for the Bahā’i movement. He also had a marked ability to systematise, and, through the medium of several books and innumerable encyclical letters, he fashioned a coherent, schematised picture of Bahā’i history and doctrine which has subsequently come to be the authoritative version as understood by all modern adherents. His writings, most of which are in English, include an important history of the first Bahā’i century, God passes by (1944), a translation of an early Bahā’i chronicle of the Bābī movement, Nabil’s narrative (1932), and interpretative translations of several important works of Bahā’ Allāh (including the Kitāb-i Inān). He also supervised several volumes of the yearbook, The Bahā’i world, in which a normative presentation of the faith’s history, doctrines, and administrative system was developed. He remained in Haifa, creating there the nucleus of the Bahā’i World Centre, involving extensive buildings and landscaping work.

According to official accounts, on his death in London in 1957, he left no will or verbal instructions as to the future direction of the movement. Being childless, he was expected, according to the terms of ‘Abd al-Bah’s will, to have appointed another male member of the Bahā’i sacred lineage to succeed him; but he had by then communicated all his living relatives. The line of guardians thus ended with him, and in current Bahā’i estimation he is now “the Guardian of the Cause” par excellence. Overall religious authority within the movement now rests with a nine-man council, the Bābī al-A‘lāj (Universal House of Justice), elected every five years. An attempt to continue the guardianship was made by the former president of Shoghi’s International Bahā’i Council, Charles Mason Remey (1874-1974), whose followers form the Orthodox Bahā’ī Faith and its sub-groups, each with its own line of guardians. Given the overwhelming influence of the Universal House of Justice, however, it seems most unlikely that a similar system will reappear in mainstream Bahā’ism.


SHAWWAL, the name of the tenth month of the Muslim lunar year. In the Qur’an (sūra X, 2), four months are mentioned during which, in the year 9/630-1, the Arabs could move in their country without exposing themselves to attacks (cf. “the sacred months” in v. 5). These four months were, according to the commentators, Shawwāl, Dhī ‘l-Ka‘dā, Dhī ‘l-Hijdā and Muhammad. In Hadith, Shawwāl is therefore among “the months of pilgrimage mentioned in Allah’s Book” (al-Bukhārī, Hadīth, bāb 33, 37).

In pre-Islamic times, Shawwāl was considered ill‐omened for performing the pilgrimage (Ibn-‘Aṣwān, s.v.). In order to prove this opinion baseless, ‘Aṭā‘a emphasized the fact that Muhammad had married her in this month (al-Tirmidhī, Nīkāh, bāb 10). In the modern Muslim world, there is difference of opinion concerning this point. Among the Muslim Tigrē tribes of Ethiopia and Eritrea, Shawwāl is one of the months suitable for celebrating marriages; in ‘Umān, on the other hand, it is considered ill‐omened in this respect.

The law recommends fasting during six days following the ‘id al-fitr (q.v.), cf. al-Tirmidhī, saum, bāb 52, “Whenever lasts the month of Ramadān as well as six days of Shawwāl, has reached the saum al‐dahr”; cf. also Muslim, Ṣūrūm, trad. 203). Nevertheless, these days usually partake of the solemn character of the “lesser festival”. For the same reason Shawwāl bears not only the epithet of al-mukarram ("the venerated"), but also such names as ṣafar kaddm (Tigrē), bayram (Turkey), ṣafar al-wat (‘Umān), urūt rayy (Acheh; X. Bibliography. E. Littmann, Die Ehrennamen und Neubenennungen der islamischen Monate, ii. 228 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka, ii, 97 ff; idem, The Achehese, i, 237. (A. Wensink)

SHAY [see CAY].

SHAY (A) “thing, entity”.

The philosophical term Shay first of all has a generally accepted meaning: it designates that which is perceived concretely by the senses (mudāhah) and at which a finger may be pointed (al-mushdr ilayhi), although it
cannot yet be positively defined. However, in this perception, a thing is only a thing to the extent that, in the perception, it is distinct from another. In the plural, *ādhūr* are objects given purely and simply as existing externally. They are to be distinguished from *a’dān* which signify the same objects, but in the sense that they are thought of in their individualised essence. Zayd and ‘Amr are *a’dān*. It could be said that all people, philosophers and theologians included, employ the word *shay* in this vague and general sense; it is a very frequent usage. Thus the Mu’tazilis speculate as to whether the shadow of a thing (zill al-shay) is the thing itself or is other than it. Some consider that it is other. Al-Qūbī’s claim that the shadow is not a notion which has meaning in itself (ma’ṣūla); the meaning of the shadow is that the thing casts a covering veil, not that it has a meaning in itself (Makālāt, ii, 96).

An interesting text of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Makālāt, i, 43–4) sets out the relationship between *a’dān* and *shay*, where it is shown that existence is not that by which the thing is constituted in being (*ḥabīb*) but that it is the very fact of being constituted in being (*maṣīḥ ʿaṣma al-shay ḥabīb*). “We mean by existence only the fact that the thing supervenes (ḥusul al-shay), is realised and established in being. . . If it is said that existence is an attribute (*ṣūra*) which demands that the thing is actualised in individual essences (ḥusul al-shay fi ‘a’nān), we shall say in this regard that it is not possible that the production of the thing in the *a’dān* should be caused by an attribute which is present in it.” The demonstration which follows depends essentially on the consequence of such a conception, this being the infinite sequence of causes. The conclusion is that the existence of things is “only the fact of being constituted in the *a’dān* (al-adhān).”

But the philosophical reflection of the Arab thinkers has led them to state that every person who speaks of a thing will understand what is meant by the word which he uses. He has a *māfhum*. The Arab thinkers underlined the importance of the *māfhum*, and they showed that it is indefinable, for the good reason that it is by means of it that a definition is possible; it is because it is understood through the word that expression is given to it. Ibn Sīnā (*Mabd-Allāh*) has in this sense assimilated the being in the capacity of the being (*ens qua ens*) to the thing, that is to the *māfhum* of the word “thing”. The thing is for him the equivalent of *mā* or of *al-ḥabīb*: “that which” (in Latin *quod*). It will be said in effect: the being is that which ..., or: the being is something which ... in other words, the being is defined through the being or its *māfhum*: a thing is some thing which ... Now when “that which” or “something which” is thus said, it is understood what is said, without need of definition. And if nothing were understood, there would be no definition. The thing is therefore the being in terms of being, in other words the fundamental *māfhum* without which there would be no thought; it is, consequently, the foundation of all thought. Thus everything which is, everything which exists, whether an object (a house, a horse, etc.) or an abstraction (a feeling, a colour, etc.) can be called a “thing”, and here there is constant use of the word which may be disconcerting to the Western reader but which is one of the most typical features of Arabic philosophical and theological language.

A question which then arises is: can the non-being be called a thing? Is there a “thingness” (šayyʿyya) of the non-being, of nothingness (ʿadam)? Theologians and philosophers have upheld opposing theses on this topic. At first sight, it is certain that if the thing is the *ens qua ens*, it would be contradictory to say that the non-being is a thing. This problem, which has tormented Arab thinkers, has a parallel in the theme of Plato’s *Sophist*.

The Mu’tazilis reckon that the non-being is cognisable and that it is consequently a thing. Al-Djawānī made a survey of their opinions with the responses of the Aḥrār (al-Ṣāfīnī, 131–8): “If you maintain, they say, that the non-being is cognisable and is not a thing, it would be legitimate to say that there is an object perceived [by the senses] (mudrak) which is not a thing, which would be false”. And the response is that it would be necessary to prove that there is equivalence between cognisance and sensible perception (*idhāt*). If so, any thing not perceived by the senses would be unknown, which is evidently false. Another Mu’tazil argument is that we are aware of the negation of the impossible and the nothingness of the non-being. Here there are two negations: nothingness and non-being; impossibility and impossible. But how are we to distinguish between these two negations, since negation does not contain within itself any discernment? It is necessary, however, to distinguish between, on the one hand, cognisance of the nothingness of the non-being, and on the other, the non-being itself. Cognisance of the nothingness of the non-being is thus not a non-being, as cognisance of impossibility is not impossible. It follows that the nothingness of the non-being, insofar as it is known, is something, since it is essential clearly to distinguish from the non-being the nothingness of the non-being which, itself, is known. And the response is that if that is the case, to distinguish the impossible from the possible, the impossibility of the impossible which cannot exist would need to be an entity (*ghāt*), in other words, a thing which exists.

This being so, al-Djawānī (134) criticises the notion of the “thingness of the non-being” (šayyʿyyat al-maʿālim) and he castigates the Mu’tazil of Baṣra al-Naṣībī, for whom the non-being, although it is neither an essence (*ghāt*) nor other than an essence, can be called “thing” in a general manner (šayyʿyy) and according to the language (lughatī). But this recourse to language is based either on reason or on current usage. However, languages are not created by reason but by convention (iṣlāḥīt) or by divine institution (tawkīfī). Conventional institution cannot be used for purposes of argument here; as for divine institution, it demands that appeal is made to it only on the basis of Kurʾānic usage. Specifically, al-Djawānī’s adversaries reckon that they can rely on Sūra XXII, 1: “Yes, the earthquake of the Hour [shall be] a tremendous thing (šayyʿ azīm)”.

God thus calls it a “thing” before it has taken place, which would prove that He is using the word “thing” to denote that which does not yet exist. If it is said that there is no earthquake until the time that it exists, it can equally be said that there is no thing until the time that it exists. Furthermore, the words of the language are taken either in a literal sense or in a figurative sense. Languages, and hence the literal meaning of words, being variable, it is difficult to define in terms of a rational argument the literal meaning of the word “thing”. Consequently, it must be acknowledged that this word is, in the majority of cases, used figuratively. It is thus not possible, according to al-Naṣībī’s perspective, to justify the thingness of the non-being by a linguistic reference to the literal meaning of the word “thing”. Reflecting on the “thing” also involves, on the one hand, the cognisance which God has of creatures, and
on the other, the divine attributes. The first question was of particular interest to the Mu'tazilis. [Ashrāf] did not say that God is aware of things from all eternity; God knows that He is unique, and if it were to be said that He is aware of things from all eternity, this would be to assert that they exist eternally with Him. When he asked if God has known from all eternity the things that would exist, he answered that this implies that the finger can be pointed at things (ighetara 'ayyiḥa); only that which exists can be indicated. He did not call "things" that which God has not created and which is not, but he gave this name to that to which He has created and to that which He has eliminated and which has become a non-being (mudām). Al-Nazṣārīn (q.v.) stated that God knows things eternally "in their time" (fi asrārthā), i.e. in relation to the moment when He wills their creation. This leads to the notion that God knows things, not in themselves, but by means of His power and His will to create them. An analogous theory is found in the writings of 'Abbād b. Sulaymān: God does not cease to know things, substances and accidents. But He does not eternally know corporeal things, nor beings that are made (al-muqādālāt) and created (al-muṣlīhāt). "This idea seems close to that of falsaṣīfa of the school of Avicenna, according to whom God does not know particulars as such but only their principles and causes. As for Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Dżubbātī (q.v.), he considered that God does not cease to know things, since things are things before being. Finally, others who claimed that God does not cease to know things which have not existed and shall not exist. In fact, He knows all things which He can produce through one of His attributes: He knows them in this attribute (Makākālāt al-Iṣlāmīyyīn, i, 219-23).

A further question is: can it be said that God is "before things", or should it simply be said that He is "before", with nothing added? The disciples of 'Abbād b. Sulaymān say that He is "before", but not that He is "before things", no more than He is after things or the first among things (anuwwa al-āyga). The disciples of al-Nazṣārīn say that the Creator has not ceased to be the anterior of things (khaša' [in the nominative case, or "he is anterior"]), but only of things (khaša' [in the accusative case] al-āyga). It seems that here it is the case of the absolute anteriority of God, which the falsaṣīfa call takaddam when commenting on Kur'ān, LVII, 3, "He is the First"; this is the sense in which the neo-Platonists hold that the One is not a number, i.e. the first of numbers, but transcends the numerical succession; on the contrary, the expression "before things" implies a relationship to the thing which is inappropriate for God. However, the majority of Mu'tazilīs teach that God is "before things" (khaša' l-āyga) (Makākāt, i, 249).

As for the attributes of God, are they things or are they not? Some accept it, others deny it, since a thing has attributes, and when the attribute is defined as a thing with its attributes, no progress has been made. Similarly, when it is asserted that the attributes are not things because they are eternal, there is conflict with those who refuse to say whether the attributes form all or not, this would be to assert that faced by the Mu'tazilīs when distinguishing between attributes of the essence and attributes of action. If they are taken to be eternal, it is permissible to say that they are not things; but this is the crux of the question. In a general sense, before knowing whether the attributes are things or are not things, it would be necessary to know what they are in relation to God. But if the Ashrāfīs are correct in saying that they are not God and that they are not other than God, then how is it to be determined that they are or are not things? It could, of course, be said that when a particular attribute, such as knowledge or power, is considered, it is a thing by virtue of being an object of thought. But it does not follow that the attributes of God as such are things. The problem of the "thingsness" of the divine attributes thus remains unresolved.


(TH. ARNALDEZ)

**SHAY' AL-KAWM,** the name of a Safāsī deity, unknown however in the pantheon of Central and South Arabia. In Safāsī inscriptions he appears as ṣīhāk (i.e. Shay' ha-Kawm, and it is only in the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions (see G. Ryckmans, Les religions arabes prislamiques, Louvain 1953 = Quillet, Hist. gen. des religions, Paris 1960, ii, 190-228) that we have the form with the regular Arabic definite article, Shay' al-Kawm.

The name may refer to a tribal deity in the form of a lion or lion cub, so that Shay' Allah (this theophoric name, probably a degeneration of the god's name, is found in the lexica, e.g. TA, v, 398 l. 29) could be parallel to the Biblical Hebrew name Arik'el (cf. Gesenius-Bahl, 65-6); according to Damascius, the ancestral god of Malebok was worshipped in the form of a lion (W. Robertson Smith, The religion of the Semites, Cambridge 1894, London 1927, 444-5).

Recent Semitic scholarship has, however, suggested that Shay' means here "comrade, companion", so that good sense may be made of the god's name as "escort, protector of the tribe" or "the fighting men of the tribe". An interesting feature, mentioned in a Palmyrene inscription by a Nabataean soldier, is the description of him as "the god that never drinks wine", a prohibition that may have extended to his devotees. (TH. FARD)

**SHAY'Ä (also Ašghay'ā),** Isaiah, son of Amos, a prophet sent to Israel, unmentioned by name in the Kur'ān (although tafṣīr works mention him in connection with Kur'ān, XVII, 4), but well known in kisāy al-awbadīyya' literature, notably for his predictions of the coming of Jesus (Isā, q.v.) and Maḥammad. The story of Isaiah falls into three periods of prophecy. The account provided by al-Ṭabarī is typical. First, Isaiah is named as a prophet during the reign of Zedekiah (or Hezekiah, as in the Bible) and prophesies the king's death. The second period of prophecy occurs in the time of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (Sana), and it is known that the king's death has been postponed for 15 years (because God has heard the king's prayer), God destroys all of the enemy forces except Sennacherib and five scribes. After parading them around Jerusalem for 66 days, Zedekiah follows the command of God and allows Sennacherib to return to Babylon. So the events become a "warning and admonition" of the strength of God. In the third period of prophecy,
the people are leaving the ways of God in the wake of the death of the king, and Isaiah warns them of doom. This leads to his martyrdom at the hands of his fellow Israelites. Isaiah flees when threatened and takes refuge inside a tree. Satan, however, shows his intentions to the people by killing the man in the process (see M. Gaster and B. Heller, *Der Prophet Josaph und der Baum*, in MGWJ, lxxx [1936], 35-52, 127-8).


**AL-SHAYB WA ‘L-SHABAB** *(a), old age, senescence (lit. “white hair”) and youth. This poetic theme of the Arabs has known a long and prolific history and has played, in urban post-Djahil poetry, a role analogous to that of the *nābūd* in the moulding of the *kāsid* (*q.s.*).

According to its etymology, *shayb* apparently denotes the beginnings of anything. The term, together with *shabiha* and *shabiyya*, signifies not only youth and the beginnings of adulthood, but also the vigour of this age. The synonyms *fātā* and *hadatīya* are less often used: *nab* is recorded as having the same meaning (*Lieder der Hudhailiten*, Berlin 1884 [*= Hulldaysyn*], 96, 1.8; al-Buhtuni, *al-Hamdsat*, Cairo 1367/1935, 18, 1.19; 19); this period extends from puberty to the end of the thirties, or from 15 to 32 years of age; it is followed by the *kabila* (Lane, sv. *shabdb*).

The root *sh-y-b* features in Safaitic inscriptions in the forms *sh-y-b* and *sh-y-b* *(Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, i, iv; G. Lankestor Harding, *An index of Pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971, 363).*

*Sh*-mf., given as an equivalent of *sh-y-b*, seems to have been of more limited use (al-Nabigha, ed. Ahlwardt, *al-Fatind*, Bad 1987, 288, 1.20; al-Suleik b. al-Sulaka, *akhbdruhu wa-sjii’ruhu*, Haydarabad 1383/1968, 186).

Within Islam, this practice receives the endorsement of the law. In *hadith*, the Muslim is instructed to dye his white hair. As early as the 2nd/8th century the following tradition was in circulation: “The Jews and the Christians do not dye [their hair]; you must do otherwise” (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Mushnad*, Beirut 1313 ii, 240, 309, 401). Another tradition praises henna and *katm* (a black dye which masks the red of the henna) (Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 147, 154, 165). The sources contain copious information regarding the *fīnak* and *shb* and the masters of later generations, who used the same products for the dyeing of their hair (Ibn Abi ‘l-Dunya, no. 3, 11.9-13; Ibn al-‘Arabi, *Muḥaddarat al-ābrd wa-musd-marat al-akhdwir*, Beirut 1388/1968, 349-50). Currently, in Salafi circles, this method of rejuvenation is recommended for men (Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *al-Fatwīd*, Cairo 1966, *ṣalīh al-ṣarīf*, 399-1; see also al-Mawardi, *Amīrīd wa l-ḥakīm*, Alexandria 1400, 132). In concurrence with the *Musharak* (*Fikra retaliation ha-gadda*, Jerusalem 1973, § 51, § 52, 209), Muslim scholars declare that the Patriarch Abraham was the first man to see his hair turn white (*wasuwa wasuwa man nā‘ al-ṣaḥabī f ‘l-dunyā*). Astonished, Abraham asked God what this signified. He was heard to say that it was a warning which urges the attentive man to prepare himself for future life and keep himself from sin. Another tradition, still in conformity with the *Musharak*, relates that Abraham and Isaac were so alike that
people were unable to distinguish one from the other. God smote the father with shayb as a... in the camp, in spite of his heroic record, are confirmed by the poetry of the mu'tammarin. All insist on the tribal degradation of the aged hero: his leadership is relegated by his kinsmen to the remotest corners of their domain. Internal complaints of Sa'id b. Dju'ayya on being considered a branch of the Kur'an, in their interpretation of

1. Youth
Youth is a precious possession and is dearly loved (semantic field expressing the beautiful and the good; hasan = beautiful, al-Buhtur, 181, 1.14; hamad = praiseworthy, worthy of praise). The Na'id'id of Qar'a, and al-Buhtur, 1905-12, 963, 11.0; al-dhadh'; xii, 296, 11; Le distain de Salama b. Qandail, Beirut 1910, 7, 11; fikirr = precious, Lx, vii, 61, 6; Ta, ix, 78, 34; fi-lahm durr fi-ghabbi = "how excellent is youth", al-Buhtur, 180, 1.8, 186, 1.7; Abu 'l-Shi, 20). It is the age of vigour (semantic field expressing force, kauft = "robust", Hamasa, 144, 1.10; al-Mubarrad, al-Kamid, Leipzig 1864-92, 766, 1.16; al-Huyauuni, vii, 201, 1.2), of great ambitions (see below), of the good life (semantic field expressing recreation and debauchery), lahadu = "we enjoyed ourselves", Abid b. al-Abras, Diwani, 1913, 17, 5.5; Awa b. Hadjar, Diwani, Vienna 1892, 4.17; makhfiid al-aysh = "living (semantic field expressing recreation and debauchery); na'm = "vital"), and of love affairs (Hudhaylighin, ed. Weilhausen, 76, 1.8, Abu Sa'id al-Hudhali, Stydiobii, 773, v. 9; Salama b. Qandail, vii, 18; Ibn Kutaybi, al-Shir wa 'l-gharina, Beirut 1914, 147, 1.13: Ubayd Allah b. Kayys al-Rukayyati, Diwani, Vienna 1892, 1.3.20, 1.3.1). 2. The loss of youth One is forcibly robbed of this fortunate state (Amr b. Kuma, Diwani, Cairo 1835/1965, 48-51; al-Buhtur, 180, liii.18-21); furthermore, if al-Marzubani is to be believed, Amr was the first poet to mourn over lost youth (Muqam al-qar'a, Cairo 1739/1960, 4). However, Abu Hild al-'Askari (K. al-Sina'awam, Cairo 1352, ii, 15) proposes that this primacy in this category belongs to Abid b. al-Abras. The formulae which evoke the semantic field of weeping and lamentation (sattru mai al-ghabbi = "I have been robbed [of the attire] of youth") of Abu 'l-'Atiyahia (Amur al-zahiah fi diwan Abu 'l-'Atiyahia, Beirut 1889, 32; al-Sari al-Raffi', al-Muhabb wa 'l-mahabb, Damascus 1407/1987, iii, 1.4; al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-arab, Cairo 1342, ii, 26); those based on bakd = "he wept", Adi b. Zayd al-Id bait, 177; al-Buhtur, 181, 1.7-8; Dhibl, clvii. 239), on qozra = "to show grief" (al-Buhtur, 280, 1.16); or fa-nuhab = "lament!" (imer), al-Buhtur, 181, 1.8). In other contexts, these are exclamations of overwhelming grief which try to convey the sorrow caused by the irreparable loss of a precious possession (ya laha naft fi "what a misfortune", al-Buhtur, 180, 1.18). Furthermore, all the formulae which evoke the departure of youth stress that what is involved here is a loan which must be repaid: al-ghababi al-mustati ("the youth which has been lent to us"); Umur b. Rabbi', Diwani, Leipzig 1901-9, 15, 1.3; numerous words and combinations are borrowed from the language of death: aqadi = "he has perished, death has claimed him", al-Namir b. Tawilah, in Li, i, 351, 1.17, and ii, 180, 1.16; other cases, al-Musawir b. Hind, Hamasa, 225, 1.23; al-Ahwas, in al-Buhtur, 190, 1.6; al-Azhari, Tahdhib al-lugha, Cairo 1384, ii, 382; etc.) fa'adi = "he has passed into annihilation", Al-ghutri, xii, 292, 1.6, wa-kulu ghabiil "ill ... bilan (all of youth is a journey towards decay); Layla al-Aghaliyia, in Ibn Kutaybi, Shi'ir, 273, 11; al-Buhtur, 279, 1.12; Aghari, vii, 241, 1.10) at other times, the language used serves to evoke the absolute impossibility of a hypothetical return of ghabiil: hayhati minka ghabiil kunta washadhu ("how far from you is [a state of] youth that you used to know so well") Thumama b. 'Amir al-Bajgal, in al-Buhtur, 185, 1.14) and the well-known qaya layia li-[q]ghabbi ya'du ya'am (of Abu 'l-'Atiyahia ("is it possible that youth may return one day") Diwani, 23).
Some ancient poets were acutely aware of the ephemeral nature of this joyous period, issuing an urgent appeal to enjoy the entertainments, pleasures and delights afforded by this age. For 'Alkama, only 

shayb excuses licentiousness

(Diwdn, al-
f

ephemeral nature of this joyous period, issuing an
c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

c

'Alkama, al-Mufaddalyydt, 773, 19; al-Aswad b. Ya'fur, ibd., 348, 18; al-'A'sh, Diwdn, London 1920, xxxiv, v. 3; Ibn Shahhâth? al-Tabâkã, in Abi Zayd, al-Nawtar, 255, 1,9; al-Buhturi, § 120; devoted to the notion; Djârî, al-Nakâd, 844, 1,2; "Ubayd Allâh b. Kayyûrayt, Diwdn, 201, 1,3; al-Mubarrad, al-Kâmî, 310, 1,11; Dîrîbl, vi, v. 4, xii; xii, 52-3; cvii, v. 3; clvii, the entire chapter, cxx, v. 1-5; Abu l-Shîb, 79, 99, 105-6; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Tabâkã, 75-6). This notion is attested in the majority of poems which have dealt with this theme, and it inspired one of the most esteemed verses on old age of the 'Abbasid period:

"La qâxshî bi-yâ Salâma min naqîfî"

dahîka l-maghbû bi-ra'îb fe-baka

("Do not be astonished, O Salâmâ, at a man whose head the white hair laughs, although he weeps")

(Dîrîbl, 204)

The poets who are affected by this condition speak of nubile women, insisting that they show restraint. In sprightly and elevated dialogues, and in defiance of his astonishment and indignation, they refer to the loss of potency which accompanies old age and to the dignity of deportment which is required in response to the first appearance of this sign; if he continues to cavort like a callow youth, he will offend social taboos. There is no excuse for excess at this age; dissatisfaction is only to be excused among the young (Ibn Nubâta, Dîrîn, ii, 407; al-Zamakhshari, Râbi' al-abrûr, ii, 424-5; Lâ, ii, 324, 1,9, and TA, i, 223, 1,28, the maxim lâ shayb al-adwús min znâ 'l-adwûs, "nothing is more demeaning than fornication by one who is smitten with the white hair"). This collection of motifs is illustrated by the following:

"tâzshâ bi-l-ashyab. In secular poetry, this tâzsh constitutes the basis of the share of the dialogue allotted to the female interlocutor; it is attested, furthermore, throughout the whole gamut of Arabic poetry until the nahdah (Abda b. al-Tabîb, al-Muqaddasyydt, 270, 1,7; Hassân, Diwdn, London 1970, 116, v. 11-12; Abu Hayya, 43, 63, 167, 168; see also Abu l-Tamâjahân al-Kaynî, Dîrîn, Baghdûd 1968, 23; Durayd b. al-Šimma, al-Aghânî, x, 1, 16; Abs b. Haydât, Dîrîn, 7, 11; Djârî, in Ibn Kutâyba, Shîb, 307, 1,10; al-Farazdak, al-Nakâd, 869, v. 19; al-Kurnayt, al-Hâdâmîyydt, Leiden 1904, 27, 1,1; al-Namafir, 84; Abu l-Shîb, 76). As regards this last motif, the majority of poets seem to imply that the lady has the right on her side. However, others are determined to refute these accusations. Their vigour, their youth of spirit and their force of personality have not been impaired; they implant the loved one to see shayb for what it really is, just a colour. The poet Kuthâyir appeals to 'Azza to continue loving an old man who remains, and always will remain, young (ya 'Azza hal laki fi shaybâ fasîl abhd?); he is careful to add, for men of his stamp, biological age has no physiological or psychological influence (for other instances of this type, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 209; Dîrîbl, cliii, 197-8; al-Ubkâri, al-Tibãbîn, Cairo 1308, i, 170). Sometimes, in his reply, the poet insistently declares to his partner that his white hair
is not due to age but to fearful ordeals that have been valiantly surmounted (al-Nabigha al-Dja'if, in al-Tabarî, ii, 842, 153, us-dhikhu ras'ulAllâh mu'tafidhun 'an nasabishâyân "I have faced terrible [battles] and the hair fringing my forehead has turned white although he has not lost his youth," LA, ix, 99, 152; TA, v, 85, 133; al-Dhâbîh, al-Hayawan, iii, 30, 15; al-Bakrî, Simt al-ahdîr ii, 729, 1, 1). On the other hand, in a motif related to that of the tâalât, friends act in the same fashion as the lovely lady and no longer invite the unfortunate man to convivial meetings (Abû Hayya, 183; al-Nâmari, 69; Abu 'l-Shâb, 36, 60, 75; Ibn al-Mutâzâz, Tabâkât, 77). This forced abstinence culminates in their assertion that happiness has disappeared with the ending of youth, wâlâl n'mâthu 'l-tâ'alî ("the joy of life is ended", al-Buhturf, 180, 156; 'Afdî b. Zayd al-Tâhîb, 176-7; Abu l-Shâb, 20). Also, âgayâ indicates the death of close friends. In the context of the onset of white hair, Ibn Abî Dâ'dî evokes his weariness at having to make constant visits to cemeteries to pay his respects to deceased friends. In fact, this fearful guest portends the inimicence of one's own death (Wâlî, Akhâr al-kamitâ, Cairo, iii, 299; Abû Nuwâs, Dîwân, 58; al-Shâbî, Dîwân, 13; Yâkût, Udabat, Cairo 1936-8, v, 324; al-Bâkhârî, Dîwân, i, 159. One hadîth ascribes in this context that white hair is idhâh l-mâlitâyn ("one of the two deaths", Rabî' al-âdrîr, ii, 421); it is thus a sign that the end is near.

While this theme is essentially concerned with physical and social degradation and with sexual abstinence, it is a fact nonetheless that this poetry evokes certain changes in behaviour which are on the whole quite avoidable. Dîbil b. 'Abî al-Khuza'â't comments that with the onset of old age, he has been transformed from a cheerful hedonist and bon viver into a. copsing critic (Dîbil, 44, v. 1: kana yunhâ fa-nahd hina n'âshâh "he was criticized; he became a critic when nothing else was left for him..."); al-Mubarrîd also comments that the poetry of the mu'ammarîn stressed this transformation of the personality. Abu 'l-Samâlî al-Asadît declares that grief has become an inseparable companion (Mu'ammarîn, 65); al-Nâmari b. Tawlab comments that he is content with the minimum (ibid., 80); Al-Rabî' b. Dâbû al-Fâzârî admits that, with the whiteness of his hair, he has become timorous (ibid., 9); La'ibîd laughts his own tendency to recount his memories (ibid., 114; 'Abî al-Shâbî, Dîwân, 1384/1965, 94-5; Ibn Mâkîl, Dîwân, 72-4, 135, 180; Ubâydayn Allah b. K. al-Tabâkût, in al-Buhturf, 309). Clearly, these are conventional notions which have long been a part of the genre; sexual prowess and the qualities of maritâ are combined to enhance the image of a man and to make of him a perfect model.

4. Edifying poetry

The appearance of âgayâ is variously interpreted. On the one hand it is supposed to favor the enhancement of moral qualities and behaviour; pious application to religious practices and a total adherence to precepts of prudery (al-Kâlî, Amârî, Cairo 1953, ii, 95; al-Zamakhsharî, op. cit., 417-20). From another perspective, the poetry of zuhd is intended to frighten; this is why Muhammîd al-Warrak and Abu 'l-Atâ'âya consider this sign as a portent (na'dâr) of death which sets in motion the process of hubd (harvesting) which gathers up people who are already of advanced age. God sends this advance warning to allow men to prepare themselves on the eve of imminent decease (Allah b. K. al-Tabâkût, in al-Buhturf, 309, vii, 13-14; Abu 'l-Atâ'âya, 39, v, 3-4, 44-5, v. 3-5 and 13-14, 51-2, starting from v. 4, 67-8, 71-2, 109-10, v. 3-6 and 21-4).

2. Poetical treatment

1. Evolution of the theme

At the time of the Dja'âlîyya, this theme took on the form of a concise evocation in the framework of nasâb. More substantial and of greater thematic impor-
tance are the verses which appear in poems attributed to the mu'ammarun, where the contrast shayb/shayb constitutes the central axis on which the multiple motifs are brought into play, and the conceptual principle on the basis of which all the evocations can take place.

With the development of urban civilisation and the appearance of a subsequent culture, poets subject this theme to original forms of literary treatment. In addition to long works, where shayb appears in an incidental fashion, fragments dealing exclusively with the theme begin to appear in ever increasing numbers; the latter, much closer to hastily conceived and executed improvisation than to mature and elaborate poetry, adopted this subject with a uniformisation of compounds, of poetic language and of the whole range of comparative tropes. These facile and ephemeral little pieces constitute a large proportion of this corpus. To this category belong the literary games between scholars (the ǰawâbin-yâd). Protestations of friendship are found integrated there with the theme of youth and of old age, the poet delights in evoking his old age, the disappearance of beautiful women and of the nusama' and the melancholy of a man in the twilight of his life (al-Namarî, 116); quite often poems of hanân ila 'l-dajâli ("nostalgia for the homeland") opt for the same treatment, linking the hanân ila 'l-dajâli to the hanân ila 'l-gâbîh (al-Namarî, 116); al-Mas'ûdî, in a subsidiary text of al-Tanbih, introduces the theme of lost youth and laments the consequences of their shayb, using the same poetic language, the same combinations and the same muđâni.

2. Shayb and the transformation of the prelude of the kasîda

Under the Umayyads, the nashî genre had more and more recourse to the theme of lamented youth; the refinement of tastes renders it indispensable to the husn al-takhallus. It is considered an essential intermediate link between love/memory and the quest for a patron. From another perspective, the circumstances of libertine poetry impel the poets, especially in pieces where a certain tension is expressed, to resort to a prelude redolent with an atmosphere of contrast, introducing the pairings of old age/youth and the desired woman/who rejects. This procedure breathes new life into the romantic prelude, since what is observed is a very vivid exchange of opinions, a duel between the beloved woman and the lover poet, all on account of the latter's advanced age and the loss of his hair. This technique of composition also permits the setting-down of accumulations of semantic opposites and thereby arrival at a more complex poetic text (see below).

At the end of the Umayyad age, and especially under the 'Abbâsids, despite the persistence of the former frameworks (Abû Ḥâyâya al-Numâyri, 34; Abû 'l-Shâšî, 36-7), the prelude underwent a veritable revolution on account of the theme of old age. Numerous patterns are attested: (i) the poet retains from the amorous prelude the evocation of theâyûd ("encampments") and the recollection of his past loves (when he was loved and his hair was black), and two new motifs are introduced, the mention of youth and the appearance of senescence (Abû 'l-Shâšî, 36-7); (ii) the appearance of overtures devoted exclusively to shayb, without regard to the subject of the poem. In the work of Abû Ḥâyâya al-Numâyri, a mukâladam ed-dawlatayn poet (d. ca. 158/762), the opposition of these two antithetical, integrated elements constitutes the sole texture of the openings of poems. Eleven verses on shayb are attested there, a clear sign that the theme has attained full maturity and that it is only by means of it that the introduction of a long, set-piece poem is to be properly furnished (kaṣâda iii, 42-5, dedicated to al-Ḥâkâm b. Sâkkh al-Ṭabâkh; see also number iv of the Dīvān, 'Abd Allâh al-Khaṭîb, Şâb b. 'Abd al-Kudîdî, Baghdâd 1968; 123; Bâshshâr, Dīwân, 1369/950, i, 362, ii, 326; al-Ḥusayn b. Muttâr, Dīwân, in RIMA, i [1969], 226; İlîbîmî b. Hârûm, Shîrî, Cairo 1389/1669, 226; Marwân b. Abî Ḥâfîz, Shîrî, Cairo
The first column has the overall advantage. Only the fifth item accords superiority to the old, although poets repeatedly insist that they would willingly forgo this asset. On the other hand, comparisons enabled the poets to add a new series of oppositions to the poem and to offer the reader a pronounced air of preciosity. Thus, for example, in the analogy of the jet-black raven applied to the hair of the young man (güberb aswad ghurdb, see above), the poet opposes to it the shining whiteness of the sabāb ("luminous morning"); this uniting of opposites entails a chain-reaction of a paradoxical, hence quite unexpected nature. This black crow, contrary to what is normally accepted (güberb al-bayn "the crow of separation") is appreciated and symbolizes joy, good fortune and freedom from care, not the sinister desolation of wastelands. Thus all the symbolism associated with black is rejected by this poetry. On the contrary, the sabāb ("luminous morning") of the hair is detested; its light, once it appears, plunges a man into despair, misfortune and sorrow. The poets accumulated such paradoxes in verses and fragments on this theme, contravening traditional patterns of expression and thought. The end-result, with urban culture, was the emergence of a poetry of sabāb recitement of "verbal fantasy", in the words of Von Grunebaum.


1973, 73, 77, 94; Di‘bil, cxx, 254-5, the well-known poem in -ind, where he replies to al-Kumayt b. Zayd, pronounces a eulogy on the men of Yemen and recalls the base deeds of Ma‘addî; see also sikh, 59-60, the opening of an urās dedicated to al-Ma‘mûn. The variety of motifs attests to the pattern (ii), despite their conventional nature, breathes new life into the prelude, an essential and indispensable component of every poem of this type. Notable here are nostalgia for past youth; the first signs of old age; the appearance of white hair; the mockeries of the beautiful woman; the retort of the elderly poet, his pride wounded, recalling his former vigour and his profligacies; finally, some poets place at the outset of an urban kasîda an introduction in which death, ghurdb ghurdb anithness and Bacchic poetry are combined (Abû l-Shâs, 60, 75-6, 105-6).

This transformation of the prelude should come as no surprise; the patrons, the sole recipients of poems of eulogy and occasional verses, had no wish to hear more about, or see themselves associated with, the destruction, disappearance and desolation which rule the theme of bâdî al-šalb. A different elegiac opening was required, and al-şâbdb wa ‘l-shayb ust ‘l-shayb was eminently suitable. With the sophisticated play of oppositions and the high literary tone of comparisons and metaphors, it was possible to dabble in sentimentality without dwelling on the theme of the death which was feared, with justification, by members of the aristocracy only too aware of the precariously of their situation. An old age of high quality offered an excellent alternative. The poet took great care to avoid mention of anything which could be disconcerting to his readers, such as physical decay or death; old age here is ahead of its time, putting forward the image of a man in the prime of life, conversing with a beautiful girl. Perfectly suited to the new mentality, the new introduction silenced the existential anguish of its pre-Islamic predecessor.

Poetic techniques

For youth, the tendency is to use combinations and metaphors which are black in connotation; for old age, working on the assumption of symmetrical opposition, the preferred option is a semantic field based on white. Examples of the former are as follows: al-ra’s al-ahwd ("the black head"), bâhîb al-lam ("of a very dark black colour"), güberb kâna aswad bâhîb ("a raven which was black as jet"), Abû Hayya, 121), güberb ghurdb ("crow with black [feathers] supplied", ibid., 42). Such are the emblems of şâbâb. Examples from the opposing side are: al-qâlîkh” ka-lamiîb bâhîb ("white hair has appeared, the colour of which is equal to that of the crescent moon"), Abû Hayya, 63), ra’s is tremendously ("a head which is illumined"), Abû Hayya, 43), akârîb bid ... tabunna dâhîb ("white scorpions ... which crawl", Abu l-Shâs, 20), ra’s ra’îlal ("Abi b. al-Râkî, 108, v, 1; cf. Kur’ân, XIX, 4).

In fact, this language was destined to establish a whole range of oppositions which have given the theme its characteristic appearance: Youth shining black bodily vigour upright carriage contentment with life inexperience and haste decisiveness time of pleasures the admired hero Age dirty white enfeebled decrepitude of body peevish resentment wisdom and equilibrium resolution time of enforced abstinence the despised dead-weight
AL-SHAYB WA L-SHABAB — SHAYBA

...the history of which is given below. When the gangway (daraaj), which gives access to the door which is above ground (sadana, haajaba) in smiles; this must be a day for opening the Ka"bah...
level, has been put into position by the Shaybiyyun, their chief advances and, while he is inserting the key, one of his acolytes hides it from the gaze of the faithful. In the 6th/12th century ( Ibn Dhubayr, 93; Usd al-ghdb, iii, 59), he held a black cloth (the 'Abbasid colour) in his extended hands. A century earlier (Nasir-i Khusrav, 209), there was a curtain on the door which a Shaybi lifted to allow the zatim to pass and which he let fall again behind him. The Prophet had veiled (satarahu) the door on opening it (al-Ya`kbibi, Ta`rikh, ii, 61). In imitation of the Prophet, the zatim enters alone or with 2 or 3 acolytes, prays the two ritual rak`as, then opens the door to the public, whose admission he regulates. The Persian pilgrim as well as the Spanish one made a visit to the Ka`ba and they both noted the miracle, which allowed this very small building to hold at one time such a large number of the faithful. Nasir-i Khusrav counted 720 in it at the same time as himself. Ibn Dhubayr was particularly interested in the Ka`ba and its hadjaba. He was present at the reception of Sayf al-Islam Tughchin, the brother of the Ayyubid Salah al-Din (146-7), on whose left hand the zatim of the Shaybiyyun solemnly entered the mosque; the zatim Muhammad b. Isma`il b. `Abd al-Rahman was his chief informant (81). He tells us that during his sojourn, the Amir of Mecca, Mukthir, arrested the zatim Muhammad and, accusing him of such baseness of conduct as was "unworthy of the guardian of the Holy House", confiscated his goods and set up in his place one of his cousins, whom popular report accused of the same vices. Some time after, he saw the zatim Muhammad, after paying 500 dinars to the Amir, re-established in his position. Ibn Sa`d, al-Ya`kbibi and the compilers of collections of hadiths confirm this; but they pile up proofs of its legitimacy in a way that makes one think it was recent and disputed.

According to tradition, Ku`sayy [q.e.], the ancestor of Kuraysh, had reserved the guardianship of the Ka`ba (hijabu) for `Abd al-Dar and his descendants. At the time of the conquest of Mecca, it was in the hands of `Uthman b. Talha; all his family hastened to the keeper of the Ka`ba. The master of works sent by the Shaybiyyun solemnly entered the gate of the Ka`ba (163, 164, 165, 179). This act of dispossession does not prove that there was any exact custom which regulated the relations of the Amir with the Banu `Shayba. Under al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), they sent delegates to the caliph at Baghdad to assert, in opposition to the proposals of the governor of Mecca, their right to decide what works were necessary to undertake at the Ka`ba; the master of works sent by the caliph was to apply only to them. When he came to make his first enquiry, the master `Ishak was, however, accompanied by the hadjaba sha`bybini, and also by the governor, by pious individuals and by the sakh al-barid "the postmaster", in reality the redoubtable intelligence officer of the sovereign (Chron. d. Stadte Mekka, i, 210, 11).

The privilege of the Banu `Shayba is very old; the historians of the 3rd/9th century Ibn Hisham, Ibn Sa`d, al-Ya`kbibi and the compilers of collections of hadiths confirm this; but they pile up proofs of its legitimacy in a way that makes one think it was recent and disputed.

"Ibn Sa`d, v, 331, etc.). On the day of the taking of Mecca, he accompanied the Prophet to the Ka`ba and the latter demanded the key from him; in general, the authorities say that he gave it up, but according to one tradition (Bahd al-Din al-Ayni, Umdat al-kabir, ii, 609; Chroniken, i, 187), `Uthman had to get it from his mother, an infidel, who had charge of it and who refused to give it up. `Uthman had to threaten to kill himself before her eyes. According to another authority (Chroniken, i, 185), she heard in the courtyard of the house the threatening voices of `Abd Bakr and of `Umar before she decided to give it up (cf. Ibn Khaldun, Tbar, i, 44). But another tradition which does not assume the conversion of `Uthman in 8/629-30, shows him on the terrace of the Ka`ba holding the key in his hand and shouting to the Prophet: "If I were sure that he is the Messenger of God, I would not refuse it to him." `Ali climbed up, held his hand out, took the key and himself opened the door; here `Ali bias is evident (al-Razi, Majtifi al-shaybah, ii, 460; al-Kalkashandi, Subh al-a`sha, iv, 264). The general tradition is that the Prophet, in possession of the key, opened the door and entered with `Uthman, BIlal and Usama, prayed two rak`as in a spot which is to-day held sacred and went out holding the key in his hand. At this point, the traditions differ once more in detail, but end in the restoration of the key to `Uthman; according to one account, the Prophet either on his own motion or because of the appeals of `Al-Abbas or of `Ali, leant on the posts of the door of the Ka`ba and made a speech which ended: "Everything is under my feet except the sidinu and the sidinu of the pilgrims, which are going to be restored to those to whom they belong". He gave the sidinu to `Abd Abbas and returned the key to `Uthman; according to another tradition, the Prophet came out of the Ka`ba uttering verse 61 of sura IV, which according to an opinion which al-Tabarî (Tafsir, v, 86) accepts as only of secondary value, was revealed at this moment and applies to the sidinu and the sidinu (Yakût, Minhaj, iv, 625; al-Razi, Majtifi, ii, 460; Chroniken, i, 180).

But `Uthman, master of the key, did not exercise his rights; he followed the Prophet to Medina and died there in 42/662-3 or he was killed at Adjnadayn (q.e. in 13/634). No-one mentions him further, and authors take the precaution of making the Prophet say that he returned the sidinu to `Uthman and to `Shayba, and to the Banu `Abd al-Dar (Ibn Taghrîbirdî, Nagîm, i, 138; al-Nawawi, Mud`akh al-tabarî, 407; Usd, iii, 372; Chroniken, i, 184).

This attempt to make the first cousin of `Uthman, `Shayba b. `Uthman b. A`b Talha, be present at the taking of Mecca is unfortunate. `Shayba was not yet a Muslim, although some late authors tentatively tried to convert him at the taking of Mecca. They were not able to escape the legend, which grew up round the conversion of `Shayba a month later. Shayba sought out the Prophet in the middle of the combat in order to take vengeance for the death of his father, who had been killed at `Ujjud by `Amma, but from the Prophet a light emanated causing him to lose heart. In Muhammad, chron. i, 187, "Uthman", as an ardent convert, the demon to depart from him. `Shayba was converted (al-Ya`kbibi, ii, 64; Ibn Hisham, 845; Ibn Sa`d, v, 331; al-Tabarî, i, 1661, 3; Usd, iii, 7; Chroniken, ii, 46, etc.) and without the writers knowing why, `Shayba became the keeper of the Ka`ba; all his family hastened to come to his assistance; his brother Wahb b. `Uthman, the sons of `Uthman b. Talha, those of Musafi b. `Abd Talha who was killed at `Ujjud: "It is
then”, concludes al-Azraki (Chroniken, i, 67), “all the descendants of Abu Talha who in general exercise the hajjba (Chroniken, i, 67)”. But according to all the traditionists, it was Shayba who was their chief. It was he who had the power to demolish houses dominating the Ka’ba (Chroniken, iii, 15). It was he who came into conflict with Mu’awiyah about the sale of a house and who at the time of the second pilgrimage of the Caliph, not wishing to be disturbed, sent his grandson Shayba b. Dżbir to open the door of the sanctuary (Chroniken, i, 89). It was he who arbitrated between the two hajjba chiefs, the partisans of ‘Ali and those of Mu’awiyah (al-Tabari, Annals, i, 3448, iii, 2352; al-Maṣ’ūdi, Murjād, ii, 56 – § 3652); one of his sons ‘Abd Allāh or Talha was a victim of the “abominable” al-Kaṣrī (Chroniken, ii, 37, 38, 175). It was he who appears in one of the versions of the hadith where ‘Ā’isha wished to have the Ka’ba opened (Chroniken, i, 220, 222, 223). There were discussions with ‘Ā’isha which settled it was lawful for the Shaybiyyun to sell parts of the covering (kisra) but only for the maintenance of the poor (Chroniken, i, 180, 182, iii, 70-2; al-Kalqashandī, iv, 283); in spite of the efforts of the makers of hadith, the question was discussed by jurists and in 621/1224, the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Kāmil, the nephew of Šalāh al-Dīn, purchased from the Shaybiyyun, for an annual fixed sum, the revenues that they drew from the opening of the Ka’ba and forced them to open it free of charge (Chroniken, i, 266). Shayba died in 57/676-7 or under Yazīd b. Mu’awiyah (al-Tabari, iii, 2378; Ibn Sa’d, v, 331; Uṣūd, ii, 8).

The tradition which gave to the Shaybiyyun the hajjba of the Holy House is an ancient one. It is still perpetuated in the contest of the Archangels, which, beside Zamzam, marks the ancient boundary of the wall of the masjid al-hārdm. When the former had been enlarged, the new gate, called at the present time Bāb al-Salām, which was in a line with the Ka’ba and the ancient arcade, was called in its turn Bāb Banī Shayba (Le Pélerinage, 132-3). But for this institution, as for many others, the period when it was established and merged in a pre-Islamic institution is uncertain.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also G. de Gaury, Rulers of Mecca, London 1951, 75. (M. GAUDFROY-DORNEMBIES)

SHAYBA b. UTHMÂN [see SHABBA, BANU]

SHAYBĀN, an Arab tribe, one of the most important butan of Bakr b. Wail. Ibn Khalilīkān, ed. ‘Abbās, v, 244, attributes to it, following Ibn al-Kabīr’s Dhambarat al-nasab, the following nasab: Shaybān b. Thalāba b. ‘Ukība b. Sa’b b. ‘Āli b. Bakr b. Wail b. Kaṣīt b. Hīn b. Aṣā b. Du’mī b. Dji’dla (or Djī’dhaya) b. Asad b. Rabi’ā b. Nizar b. Ma’add b. ‘Ādīn, as well as an identical nasab for the other ancestor, nephew of the first, Shaybān b. Dhuḥl b. Thalāba b. ‘Ukība or ‘Ukība. But there are several other nasabs corresponding to other branches (detailed in Ibn Hazn, Dhambarat al-nasab, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1982, and al-Dhahabī, al-Maghtalat fi ‘tarrfurāt, ed. al-Badawī, Cairo n.d.), as well as Shīb b. ‘Aṣā b. ‘Uṣāq b. ‘Uṣāq b. (al-Malākī, Bek, ed. al-Badawī and Ibrāhīm, Ayām al-‘Arab fi ‘l-Islām, Cairo 1942, 23), which should be connected with tribal groups arising from Shaybān, such as Murra b. Dhuḥl, ‘Āshī b. Ruhāf b. al-Hārīth and ‘Amr b. Kays. They form part of the imprecise network of Bakr b. Wail with Kays b. Thālabā, Dhuḥl b. Taym Allāh and ‘Iglī. al-Makrīzī, Khatāf, ii, 163, mentions the presence in Egypt of several nasabs for the B. Šabrah, including the Shaybānī one of Šabra b. ‘Awf b. Muḥammad b. Dhuḥl b. Shaybān b. Thalāba b. ‘Ukība, with a continuation identical with the one at the head of this article.

During the Dāhbiyya, this tribe wintered in Nadjd at Djīdiyya, in an area which it shared with the B. Dzhumān, and moved in summer either to the upper Euphrates, the Džāzira, or eastwards to the middle and lower Euphrates, between al-Hīrā and al-Usbula, or even to the southwest of ‘Irāk, sharing pastures with Kinda, and around the Gulf. This tribe was celebrated at that time, as in the early Islamic centuries, for the remarkable quality of its poets, its use of a very pure form of Arabic language and its fighting ardour. It was frequently opposed in battle to the Yarbū and Salīḥ b. Yarbū, Taghlib and Tamīn (for these, see the ch. Ayām Rabi’ī in al-Mawla Bek, et al., op. cit., and Yākūt, Buludān, i, 554, ii, 369, 690, iii, 686, iv, 102, 443, 487, with other mentions in the index of places inhabited or frequented by the Shaybān).

The capacity of the Shaybān for risking their lives to satisfy an amorous passion is splendidly illustrated in a story given by Ibn al-Adīm, Bagūya, ed. Zakkar, iii, 1420, also vi, 3116, a vainglorious dispute between a Shaybānī and a Dhuḥlī within the clan of Bakr b. Wail, settled by the arbitration of a man from the tribe of Hamadḫan, and vividly recounted. At the time of Muhammad, the Shaybān behaved as faithful allies of the B. Ḥāšim, and then more particularly of the sons of ‘Ali and the ‘Aḥbāsīs. Linked personally to the caliph rather than as a member of the umma as a whole, the Shaybānī al-Muḥannā b. Ḥārīthīa played an important role in the conquest of ‘Irāk in the reigns of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar (F.M. Donner, The early Islamic conquests, Princeton 1981, art. s.v.). After the conquests, the main sphere of action of the tribe remained around the western fringes of Mesopotamia, the Gulf and the Džāzira, and extended northwards to Dīyār Rabi’ā and Mudār, as well as to Armenia and Azdārbaŷdān. Outside these regions, there were groups of Shaybān also in Khūrāsān and northern Syria. After the early Islamic period, Shaybān is less often mentioned than various of the groups preceding and following from the same members, or masdā of the tribe, are mentioned as poets, grammarians and philologists in southern ‘Irāk. Abū ‘Amr Isha’b b. Miṣrī al-Shaybānī (d. ca. 210/825 [g.v. in Suppl.]), one of their masdā, was a leading figure in the school of Kūfān philologists (others cited in Ibn Khallīkān, Wafaydītx, index).

Under the caliph Abū al-Malāk, the strength of the Shaybān was still considerable, since one of the first great Kharīdžīs, Shabīr b. Yaṣīr b. Nuṣaym al-Shaybānī, was able to raise the Arabs of Dīyār Bakr and Rabi’ā, assemble troops of cavalry and march on Kūfā. He was drowned in 77/697 whilst trying to escape from al-Hadjīdjād. Abū Dāwīd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm al-Dhuḥlī al-Shaybānī was one of Abū Muslim’s close retainers. Al-Daḫjāk b. Kays al-Shaybānī led a Kharīdžī movement in 127/745 in the Kūfa area; this was sternly repressed, and al-Daḫjāk killed in 128/746 (see above, vol. VI, 624). On the other hand, it is by committing the Kūfawiyya rebels that Ma’n b. Zā’ida al-Shaybānī [g.v.], former servant of the Umayyads, was able to secure pardon from al-Maṣrūr; he was subsequently killed fighting the Kharīdžītēs. Isa, a masdā of Shaybān, rebelled with fifty followers, against al-Maṣrūr, who sent against him Ziyād b. Mūṣḥikhān, a masdā of the B. Māzin, who killed him and his partisans (al-Baladhurī, Anbā, iii, ed. al-Dūrī, 251). In his civil
warfare with al-Ma'mun, al-Amīn had as one of his
generals the chief of the Rabīʿa of al-Dijāzra, Āḥmad b.
Mazyad al-Shaybānī, who brought with him 20,000
Arabs. His brother Yazīd (d. 185/801), governor of
Al-Dāmašq, died at Harūniyya in Armenia. Under Hārūn al-Rashīd, he fought and
in 179/795 killed his Khāridjīte fellow-tribesman al-
Walīd b. Ṭārīf al-Shāfīʿī, and he combatted Khazar
incursions into Armenia. He took part at al-Hādi’s
side in the warfare against the Iranian ruler in Ṭabar-
rīstān, Wāndād-Humrazn. In 207/821-13, al-Ma’mūn
sent one of his sons, Mūkhādīr or Khālid, at the head of a troop of Rabīʿa against Ubayd Allāh b.
Ṣa‘īd. In 216/831-2, Yazīd’s brother ‘Abd Allāh led an
expedition into the Qhārībya of Egypt (al-Makrīzī, Tabākāt, i, 175, 178-9). The greater part of those Shay-
bānī commanders as these were great lovers of poetry
and patrons of poets.

Ṭāsī b. Shāykh b. al-Salāf al-Dhuhlī al-Shaybānī
[q.e.], appears in al-Mutawakkil’s reign, was governor
of Ṭamīl in Palestine ca. 251/866, then in Damascus,
then governor of Armenia, probably up to his death
in 269/882-3. His son Āḥmad was governor of Diyar
Bakr, Tārīf and Arzene. He probably had to combat
his Khāridjīte fellow-tribesmen in the Dijāzra and
Māwṣīl on behalf of al-Mu’taḍid, dying in 285/898.
Their son Āḥmad was governor of Diyar Bakr, Tārīf
and Arzene. He probably had to combat his Khāridjīte fellow-tribesmen in the Dijāzra and
Māwṣīl on behalf of al-Mu’taḍid, dying in 285/898.
and his son also had his ... (for a list of scholars who transmitted
traditions (ḥadīthī) according to al-Shaybānī, see al-
Dhahabī, op. cit., 50).

At the beginning of the Carmathian propaganda, in
Māwṣīl on behalf of al-Mu’taḍid, dying in 285/898.
and his son also had his ... (for a list of scholars who transmitted
traditions (ḥadīthī) according to al-Shaybānī, see al-
Dhahabī, op. cit., 50).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also the
various arts, in this Encyclopaedia on the various al-
Shaybānī. No diachronic study of the history of the
tribe seems to have been attempted, one going be-
yond the simple listing of a restricted number of pieces
of information concerning the Shaybānī; such a work
would be valuable for our knowledge of the accul-
turation, and then integration, of the nomadic Arabs
within the conquered lands. (Th. Bianquis)
Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Shaybānī died, either in 187/803 or, which is more likely, in 189/805, according to the biographers, in Khurāsān (at Ramibuwayh or at Rayy), where Ĥarūţ Ĥar-Shaghīd had taken him as part of his entourage, having reinstated him in his judicial position. He died on the same day and in the same place as the eminent grammarian and philologist al-Ĥasān, leading Ĥarūţ Ĥar-Shaghīd to remark that he had buried fikh and grammar side by side.

II. His work and thought

(a) The body of work, almost all of it preserved and published, which is attributed to Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Shaybānī, enormous. But, as has recently been shown by N. Calder (Shades in early Muslim jurisprudence, Oxford 1993, 39-66), extreme caution is required, concerning not so much the authenticity of this attribution but rather the precise nature of the latter. At that time, there can be no doubt that the very notion of a "book", having a single and identified author, did not exist in erudite circles: a certain disciple would collect the teachings of one or another scholar which he eventually committed to writing, accompanied by his own embellishments or commentary; this compilation would then be handed down from disciple to disciple, each in turn adding his own commentary, until a final version came into being, and was attributed to an ancient authority.

Since in the Hanafi school, as it developed during the classical period, Muhammad b. al-Hasan was seen to be accorded the role of the one who set down in writing the fikh of the first Hanafs, (principally Abū Ḥanīfah, Abū Yusuf and himself), it is particularly difficult to make sense of his bibliography. There is no doubt, for example, that the treatise on fikh currently published under the title of Kātib al-Ĥal (ed. al-Ĥâfīzī, Hādarābād 1966-72, and Beirut 1990; partial Ger. tr. Wiendensohler, Mānigel kāf kāf nišā Īṣlaamīkem Rečh, Waidorf-Hessen 1960; separate edition of the K. al-Ĥalīfat wa l-salām by Ch. Ĥeheţa, Ĥaïro, 1954), which is also known by the name of al-Mabīšī, and which is attributed to al-Shaybānī, is in fact a compilation of forty-seven short texts on fikh, considerably adapted over the years, which Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995), an early biographer, attributed to him in his renowned Fihrist (Beirut 1978, 287-8). The K. al-Ĥalīfat played a vital role in the Hanafi maqābīh, to such an extent that, according to some of its leading scholars, for a Ḥanāfī jurist it was sufficient to memorise it for being considered a maqābīh (al-Ĥimām Ĥaţīr Umar b. Ĥabīr al-Ĥamīm b. Ĥaţīr Umar al-Qāfīrī; Beirut 1994, 19).

Besides this collection of opuscula, dealing with different aspects of practical law and assembled into a single whole, al-Shaybānī is also the author, again according to Ibn al-Nadīm and later biographers, of various works, including the K. al-Ĥajīm al-kabīr (Hādarābād 1936), K. al-Ĥajīm al-minūsī (publ. in the margins of the K. al-Ĥajīm al-Mašūk of Ĥaţīr Ĥūsūf, Ĥâlāk 1884, Lahore 1909; partial Ger. tr. by I. Dimitroff in MSOS, xi/2 [1906], 60-206), the K. al-Sīr al-kabīr (publ. with the commentary of al-Ĥarâqī, Hādarābād 1916-17 and Ĥaïro 1957) and the K. al-Sīr al-minūsī, tr. M. Khaţdārī, The Islamic law of nations, Bâlāc, 1992, and Beirut and 1966. The K. al-Ĥalīfat, the four works mentioned above and al-Ŷuqūdī belongs, according to a classification established by the Hanafi biographers, to the zāhir al-rīya sta of the school, in the sense that their transmission, from the origin, was supposed to be faultless, uninterrupted and substantially attested.

According to the same biographers, other texts attributed to al-Shaybānī did not enjoy the same status in terms of the quality of their transmission, with the result that their current content was considered dubious (a remark in fact applicable, from a viewpoint of contemporary criticism, as has been observed above, to the entire corpus of al-Shaybānī). Among the published works attributed to al-Shaybānī and worth mentioning, besides the revision of the Muwawīt of Mālik already noted, are the K. al-Ĥalīfat al-Ĥalīfat (Lahore 1910 and ed. al-Ĥâfīzī, Beirut 1993 with an excellent introd.), the K. al-Ĥalīfat al-Ĥalīfat al-Mašūk (Haydarābād 1965-71), the K. al-Makhtūdā (i) l-Ŷuqūdī (ed. Schacht, Leipzig 1930, repr. Hildesheim 1968) and al-Mudīmī (Haydarābād 1941). For more details regarding the work of al-Shaybānī, editions and the innumerable commentaries which it generated, see Sezgin, GdS, i, 421-53.

Since Abū Ḥanīfah himself wrote nothing on the subject of fikh, and since Abū Yusuf apparently left behind only a very few texts, it is essentially through the intermediary of the work attributed to al-Shaybānī (and, to a lesser extent, that of al-Shaghīd) that the judicial opinions developed by and around Abū Ḥanīfah (and more generally, in the legal circles of Kūfah) can, with a reasonable degree of certainty, be known. This explains why E. Sachau, and other orientalists who shared his assessment, considered that al-Shaybānī had played a decisive role, more important even than those of Abū Ḥanīfah and Abū Yusuf, in formulating the doctrines of the Hanafi school and, more generally, of Islamic law (Sachau in SBWAW, phil-hist. CL, lv, 723). This appraisal is, however, perhaps excessive, for two reasons. On the one hand, as explained above, al-Shaybānī cannot really be considered in anything other than a remote sense the real author of the corpus attributed to him; on the other, the vocation of fikh was originally supposed to be, and to remain, an orally transmitted discipline. It was probably only at the time when fikh definitively lost this quality, and its preferred mode of transmission became the written form, that al-Shaybānī was to have this monumental and systematic corpus, originally fragmentary and definitely far less voluminous, attributed to him by the later Hanafis (the same thing occurred within the confines of the Shafīi school in respect of the K. al-Umm attributed to al-Shafiī) and in this regard, the role of the great Hanafi al-Sarakhsī (d. 490/1097 [q.v.], i.e. three centuries after al-Shaybānī) seems to have been definitive. Furthermore, so far as the Hanafi biographers are concerned, al-Shaybānī invariably occupies only the third rank, after Abū Ḥanīfah and Abū Yusuf, in the hierarchy of authorities of the school.

(b) The thought of al-Shaybānī, as has been shown by J. Schacht (The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence, Oxford 1979, 306-10, and An introduction to Islamic law, Oxford 1964, 45) represents considerable progress in relation to that of his two masters in Kūfah, Abū Ḥanīfah and Abū Yusuf, and in many respects it prefigures the rift between the schools, dominant at that time, known as "local", and the "personal" schools which were to succeed them, as reflected in the work of his pupil al-Shafiī. In this regard, it is relevant to note that, according to some orientalists, al-Shaybānī seems also to be the author of a small number of writings on topics of legal theory (ṣulūl al-fikh [q.v.]; a K. liyābīl al-nīy, a K. li-Ŷuqūdī and a K. li-Ŷuqūdī al-kabīr attributed to him in the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm (Fihrist al-Islām al-Badāwī also attributes to him a K. al-Ŷuqūdī, to which he refers in Ūṣūl al-Badāwī, ed. with al-Bukhārī's commentary Kāfī al-aṣūr, Beirut 1991, i, 59-60). Study of the classical
literature of usul al-fikr, which often draws attention to opinions of al-Shaybani, tends to confirm the impression that he was also a theorist of fikr (see, e.g. al-Lami, Kitab ft Usul al-fikr, Beirut 1995, index).

As recounted by a classic of Hanafi literature of usul al-fikr, 'Abd al-Razzaq (d. 709/1310), the doctrine of al-Shaybani relating to the respective roles of "reasoning" (ra'y) and of tradition (hadith) in the elaboration of fikr, a doctrine which firmly insists on their necessary complementarity (lā yastaktinu al-hadīth illa bī 'l-ra'y wa-l yastaktnu al-ra'y illa bī 'l-hadīth), seems to be in perfect harmony with the fikr which he effectually formulated and which Schacht has successfully analysed, comparing it with that of his predecessors. On the one hand, al-Shaybani takes care to justify his legal doctrine on the basis of traditions traced back either to the Prophet, or to other authorities; on the other hand, the judicial reasoning, the ra'y to which the fikr-like theses (Schacht, Origens, 27-34). On the other hand, the judicial reasoning, the ra'y of al-Shaybani, is considerably more rigorous and systematic than that of Abu Hanifa, Abu Yusuf or Malik. In a word, he tends to associate himself with the strict "analogical reasoning" (kiyds [q.v.]), of which al-Shafi'i was to give, in the Risala, the first formal theorisation available to modern scholarship. It is impossible that, in his K. I'tihād al-riyā, he fills his books with hadith" (Schacht, History of Islamic law, 1964, index; A. Hasan, The early development of Islamic jurisprudence, Delhi 1994, index; B. Johansen, The Islamic law on land tax and rent, London 1988; Y. Merch, The development of legal thought in Hanafi texts, in SI, xxx (1969); Schacht, op. cit.; A.L. Udovitch, Partnership and profit in medieval Islam, Princeton 1997).


(E. Chaumont)

AL-SHAYBANI, 'Abū 'Amr Isḥāb B. Mīrāb, lexicographer belonging to the Kufan school, who is often quoted under his šama 'Abī 'Amr. He was probably born somewhere around 120/738 in Kufa and lived to a very great age. The biographies mention several years as his date of death, but the most probable date of death is 215/828 (Diem, Das Kitāb al-šiimi, 10). According to a report in Ibn al-Anbāri (Nāsba, 58, 1, 11), his mother was a Nabaṭī and he knew some of their language. His foreign descent is confirmed by a remark in Ibn Khallikān (i, 201, 1, 6) that says that he was a maṣūdī. It is not certain whence his nisba ash-Shaybani was derived; according to most sources, he received this nisba because he educated the sons of some members of the Banū Shaybān. Al-Shaybani was trained in grammar and lexicography, as well as hadith; his teacher in poetry was al-Muafḍal al-Dabbīt [q.v.]. In his theological opinions he may have been a Muʿtazili; in a report in Yākūt (Muṣjam, vi, 84) he is said to have maintained that the Kurʿān was created. Among his pupils were the lexicographers Ibn Ṣūkhān and Abu 'Ubayd [q.v.], and the traditionist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who quotes him as a source in his Muṣnad. His fame rests mainly on his qualities as a collector of poetry. He is reported to have collected the divāns of more than eighty tribes, which have not been preserved. Both his son 'Amr and his grandson Muhammad b. 'Amr transmitted lexical explanations to poems from him. In the Kufan line, the transmission through his grandson to Abu Muhammad al-Samawazi (d. 988/1010) was preserved in the Majālis Thulāb (e.g., i, 137; ii, 479, 485) as a later addition to the manuscript.

Abū 'Amr was the author of several lexicographical treatises, most of them dealing with specialised semantic domains, such as the terminology of human anatomy (khalk al-insān) and that of camels and horses. He is also said to have written a book called al-Nasādiri and a collection of rare expressions from the hadith (gharb al-hadith) (cf. Scogg, GdS, viii, 121-3). The only work that has been preserved is his al-Qādīn (in some sources called K. al-Lughāt or K. al-Hurūf, according to others these are independent books). This book was transmitted mainly by two lexicographers, al-Sukkari [q.v.] and Abū Mūsā al-Hanāqi (d. 305/918), a pupil of the Kufan grammarians Thulāb. Both recensions seem to have been used in the unique Escorial manuscript (no. 572; for a description of this manuscript see Diem, 12-14).

In the K. al-Qādīn, each chapter contains words beginning with the initial letter, with a more detailed definition. Further criteria of division. There is a large amount of association within each chapter, so that even words beginning with different radicals are quoted when the context leads him to do so. Unlike his contemporary al-Khalīl [q.v.], he followed the usual alphabetical order of the Arabic alphabet rather than a phonetic order. Earlier investigators, who did not have the possibility of study-
ing the entire treatise, believed that the reason for its name is that the dictionary stops with the letter ُهَمْسَة, but Diem’s analysis has shown that this is not the case, since the Escorial manuscript contains the entire alphabet. The reason for its being called thus cannot be that the last letter of the dictionary is ُهَمْسَة, since the Escorial manuscript starts with the letter ُهَمْسَة. The reason for the name must have been unclear from an early date onwards, since the biographers were puzzled by this question, too. Al-Suyutf, for instance, mentions that he believed for some time that the book was called thus because it started with the letter ُهَمْسَة, but then he saw a manuscript in which the first letter was the ُهَمْسَة. According to the explanation in the كَمْسُة, the word ُهَمْسَة was a substantive with the alleged meaning of َءِنْبَغَ “brocade”.

It is not unlikely that the treatise as we have it is an unfinished version. From the biographical literature we know that Abu ‘Amr did not transmit the book to any of his pupils, possibly because he intended to revise it thoroughly, but never got around to doing so. In its present form the classification and analysis of the words is rather confused. Not only is there no apparent order in each chapter, but within each lemma the information is given haphazardly.

The main corpus for his collection of words was probably his own collection of Qādīlī poetry. Within each lemma he quotes systematically and in a fixed order from 17 different دَخْوَن. The total number of poetic lines quoted is about 4,300 as against only two verses from the كُرْنُ (Den, 60). Krenkow’s evaluation of the book as a prime source for our knowledge of pre-Islamic dialects is not confirmed by the later analysis made by Diem (74-7), since his only contribution to the study of the كُرْنُ is a small number of lexical items. In general, al-Shaybānī does not elaborate on the meaning of the words, and he discusses only rare words that apparently occurred in his collection.

Although quotations from the كَرْنُ al-قُرْن are found in all the major dictionaries, including the كَمْسُة and the تَدْيُغُ al-ترَف, most later lexicographers did not know the work first hand, but quoted it through Ibn al-Sinbīlī (Diem, 74-7). In the كَرْنُ al-قُرْن he is not one of the most frequently quoted authorities, but still the index to the كَمْسُة contains him 92 times. For some of the شَكْرُ, the كَرْنُ remains the only available source.

Al-Shaybānī is almost never quoted on grammatical doctrine, but Abu Hayyān has a quotation from him by the grammarian al-ʾAkhfash. His grandfather held the governorship of Na-ṣīr, which is not mentioned anywhere else, in accordance with the principles of his collection.

Al-Shaybānī is almost never quoted on grammatical doctrine, but Abu Hayyān has a quotation from him by the grammarian al-ʾAkhfash. His grandfather held the governorship of Na-ṣīr, which is not mentioned anywhere else, in accordance with the principles of his collection.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, i, 116; Krenkow, in El. Dv., s.v.; Sezgin, viii, 121-3; Suyūṭī بْعْجَحَ, i, 439-40; Ibn al-Anbārī, نُحَا, ed. Amer, Stockholm 1963, 56-8; Ibn Khallīkān, مَنْحَج, i, 201-2; Ibn al-Nadīm, فُهْرُوس, 98; Yaḥyā ِبْنِ مَثْلُوك, ed. Cairo, vi, 77-94; ِبْنُ, مَجْبَرُ, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1950-73, i, 221-9; Zubayyī, تَبَحًا, 405, l. 32, the same author reports a syntactic opinion from al-Shaybānī which had been transmitted from him by the grammarians al-ʾAkhfash.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, i, 116; Krenkow, in El. Dv., s.v.; Sezgin, viii, 121-3; Suyūṭī بْعْجَحَ, i, 439-40; Ibn al-Anbārī, نُحَا, ed. Amer, Stockholm 1963, 56-8; Ibn Khallīkān, مَنْحَج, i, 201-2; Ibn al-Nadīm, فُهْرُوس, 98; Yaḥyā ِبْنِ مَثْلُوك, ed. Cairo, vi, 77-94; ِبْنُ, مَجْبَرُ, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1950-73, i, 221-9; Zubayyī, تَبَحًا, 405, l. 32, the same author reports a syntactic opinion from al-Shaybānī which had been transmitted from him by the grammarians al-ʾAkhfash.


AL-SHAYBANI — SHAYBANI

Shaybani, Abu Nasr Fath Allah Khan, 19th century Persian poet, born around 1241/1825 in Kāshān, died 20 Rādžab 1308/1 March 1891. He came from a noble family claiming descent from the Shaybānī tribe, from which he took his pen name. His grandfather held the governorship of Na-ṣīr, Kāshān, Dājīwākān and Kūm during Ṭāhā Muhammad Kāshīn’s reign (1293-1271/1879-97), whilst his father, Muhammad Kāshīn, was employed under Muhammad Shāh (r. 1250-64/1779-97) and later served as financial agent of the governor-general of Kāshān and Hamadān. In accordance with the family tradition, Shaybānī also identified with the court and government, early having access to the court of Muhammad Shāh and acting as companion in attendance to the heir-apparent (afterwards Naṣīr al-ʿDīn Shāh, r. 1264-1315/1848-96). In later years he was involved from time to time in important official assignments. However, despite his official preoccupa-tions, he was essentially a private individual seeking a life of seclusion. Consequently, he resigned from public affairs and went to live on his estates. He finally de-cided to settle down in Tehran and died there.

Shaybānī’s attachment to Şīrīf, and the influence it had on his poetic outlook, may be discerned in the introspective trend often depicted in his verse. As a writer, he was competent in both prose and poetry. Included among his representative writings are his prose and verse دَخْوَن, “A casket of pearls’, and collection of odes فَثُّ مَا ُزَار “Victory and triumph”. His major prose work is the Makālāt-i Shaybānī, which is autobiographical in nature, and was composed in 1273/1856-7.

Shaybānī’s poetic career spanned over a period of some fifty years, from the last part of Muhammad Shāh’s reign to about the end of Naṣīr al-ʿDīn Shāh’s time. His output comprises کَتَبَات, غَزَايِل, نَبَتَات, and دَخْوَن. A selection of his verse, probably prepared by the poet, was published in Istanbul in 1309-9/1890-1. His style of writing follows the trend of the old masters, such as Rūdākī and Farrukhī [q.v.], and may be identified with the Kūrānsānī school of Persian poetry. He is among the leading poets of the Kāshān period who revolted successfully against the predominance of the “Indian style” (شَكْرِي هِنِدي [q.v.]) to early indigenous forms. However, the real contribu-tion of Shaybānī’s verse must be sought in the choice of his subject and the mood of his poetry. He was perhaps the first poet to criticise openly in sev-eral of his poems the decadent state of contemporary society and politics—a theme that was to become the stock-in-trade of the Persian poets in the post-Constitutional period. Moreover, his verse often re-flected a subjective element that was new to native literary tradition, and evoked certain parallels with the pessimism and ultra-realism in the European litera-ture produced during the second half of the nineteenth century (see R. Levy, Persian literature, London 1948, 99).


(See 1389/1969, 151.)

MOHAMED MOKHTAR LABIDI

SHAYBAÑI KHAN [see ibid.]

SHAYBANÖS

SHAYDA, MULLA, 17th century Persian poet of India, commonly known as Mullá Shayda, born in Fathpur Sikrî, near Agra, in 1080/1669-70. His father was a native of Mashhad, from where he migrated to India during the reign of Emperor Akbar. It is reported that Shayda was attached initially to a nobleman who spotted his poetic talents, and eventually introduced him to the Emperor Dhâhnâr so that he became enrolled among the nobles or "gentlemen troopers", a class of servants employed mainly for household duties. Later, he decided to seek employment with 'Abd al-Rahîm Kâhan-î Khânân (d. 1036/1627 [?]), writing a kâstbî in praise of the latter and sent it to him at Mandû, and after some time, was released from the royal staff and joined Kâhan-î Khânân's service in Burhânpûr.

Another patron whom Shayda served was Prince Shâh-rûr (d. 1037/1628), the ill-fated youngest son of Emperor Dhâhnâr, who was blinded and subsequently exiled. Though the prince (sic) owed the service of the Emperor Shâh Dhâhnâr among the ashâts. In course of time, he retired from his job, living comfortably on the government pension granted to him, and settled in Kasîmâr where he died. Shayda has been described as an irascible person provoked easily on mere suspicion, and he composed satirical verses attacking several of his contemporaries, so that his behaviour made him many enemies,
SHAYDA, MULLA — SHAYKH

Evidence is lacking about the actual extent of Shayda's poetic output. Estimates in this connection vary from 50,000 to 100,000 couplets. The poet is said to have composed a masnavi, entitled Daudat-i bidad, "The awakening of fortune". In the peripheral region of the Islamic world, Shayda may have various meanings. In India, it denotes a category of the descendents of the Prophet or aghrāf [see hsm. ii, at vol. III, 410a], whilst in Ibn Batūta's time, the inhabitants of Mogadishu applied it to their sultan (Rūhā, ii, 182, tr. Gibb, ii, 374-5).

The term shaykh is often found with a complement. The sh. al-balad can be the equivalent of the mayor of a town, or more simply, an employee looking after the good management of the town (Doxy, Suppl., i, 809). Amongst the Hafsids of Tunis, the grand vizier had the title sh. al-Muṣaḥḥihīn, in reference to the Almohads, whose heirs the Hafsids claimed to be (Ibn Khaldūn, op. cit., 266). On the purely religious level, the honorific title sh. al-Islam [q.v.] is found, also the function of dh. al-ṣalāh [master of instruction of the Kur'ān readings], and the designation sh. al-Ṣunna for traditionists or other persons scrupulously observing the Sunna.

In Sūfi mysticism, the ṣāḥib [q.v.] is the spiritual master (pl. ṣāḥibīn, masāḥibīn). Having himself traversed the mystical path (tarīkh [q.v.]), he knows its traps and dangers, and is therefore essential for the aspiring novice or murid [q.v.], who must place himself totally under his guidance (termed šākhī; see esp. al-Qāsimī, Ṣāhī, Beirūt, iii, 75-6; al-Suhrawardi, Aṣāṣī al-murīdī, Beirūt, 1983, 85). He thus becomes the novice's spiritual father and "educator", al-ṣāḥib al-murakkib (see e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, Ṣāḥī al-ṭulī b-taḥābīl al-masāʾil, Tunis 1991, 21, 226) or sh. al-tarīkhī. His closeness to God makes him a wali or saint, and provides a firm basis for his authority; the Sūfis interpret in this sense the hadith "the šākhī has the same baraka [q.v.] as the šāfī who has been appointed by the Prophet in his community" (see e.g. the K. Ḥaḍramī, Beirūt 1965, 489, and on this tradition, al-Suyūṭī, al-Dhārimī al-saghir, no. 4969). A wider circle than his spiritual disciples seek out the šākhī, who has the same spiritual charisma, but in the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk Near East the ḥākīm [q.v.] became a public institution, and its šākhī, nominated by the ruling power, belonged more to the class of umām or administrators than to the Sūfīs. At Cairo and Damascus there was a supreme sh. al-ṣāḥibī, charged with the office of controlling the practice of tawāwuf and whose role was often more political and diplomatic than spiritual (whence al-Ṣuhrawardi's severe judgement on this pompous title, see his Muṭāl al-nām, Beirūt 1986, 96). At a later period, the Ottomans introduced a š. al-turuk ("head of the mystical paths") in the rather "of the Sūfī brotherhoods") in each major city of the empire, with the same function as the sh. al-ṣāḥibī. At the beginning of the 19th century, Muhammad al-Ṣafī al-Qāsimī [q.v.] set up a sh. masāḥibī al-turuk al-sāḥīfīy, with authority over the whole range of Egyptian brotherhoods.

One should also note that titles like ṣāḥib, sh. al-ṣāḥibī or sh. al-masāḥibī are equally used for the heads of trade and professional guilds (see, e.g. above,
vol. II, 967b, and III, 206a), evoking the affinities which existed between *tasawwuf* and *fatwaw*.[g.v.]. In later *Sufism*, the *sh. al-sadjāda* denoted the successor—corporeal or spiritual—of the eponymous head of the order; the prayer carpet, *sadjāda*,[g.z.], considered as stemming from the master, symbolises the transmission of spiritual authority to his "heir". Finally, a woman in whom is recognised the quality of a spiritual master (above all, *vis-à-vis* other women) is still today called *shaykha*.


(E. GEROFF)

**SHAYKH 'ADI** [see (E. GEROFF)]

**SHAYKH ĀDĀM, ṢAṬĪ AL-DĪN b. TAYYIB SHĀH** b. Mālik b. Ismā'īl, the successor to Dāwūd Būrānī al-Dīn b. Kūṭh Shāh in 1021/1612 as the twenty-eight *dā'ī* of the Mustaʿfī-Ṣa'dīqīya in India known as the Dāwūdī Bohras. According to Ismā'īlī b. 'Abd al-Rāṣūl al-Māḏjūdī (Fahrnsa, ed. ʿAlīnākī Muntawīzī, Tehran 1966, 118; the text is corrupt and not clear), Shaykh Ādām was a descendant of either Siddharāja Jayasimha (of Jayasingha), the Rājput ruler of Gāndhāra (1094-1143), who was converted to the Ismāʿīli faith by Mālwāyī ʿAbd Allāh, or a descendant of the latter missionary who had come from Yemen. He lived in Ahmadābād and died there on 7 Radjab 1030/28 May 1621. The year of his birth is unknown, but Muḥammad ʿAlī, the author of *Mawsīm-i bahdr* (Bombay 1301/1884, iii, 29-64) states that while he was still a young boy he studied with Yūsūf b. Sulaymān. The first Indian to study with Yūsūf b. Sulaymān, and became known as the Sulaymānīs.

The latter lived in his native place Sidhpur (g.v.) for five years after becoming the head of the *de'wān* and then went back to Yemen, where he died in 974/1567. If Shaykh Ādam studied with Yūsūf b. Sulaymān while he was still in Sidhpur, he must have been at least ten years of age or older, which implies that he was born before 940/1533. According to the same author, he then served Dālāl b. Ḥasan, the twenty-fifth *dā'ī*, who succeeded Yūsūf b. Sulaymān and attained promience during the time of the succeeding *dā'ī*, Dāwūd b. ʿAdīb. In 998/1590 he was delegated by the *dā'ī* to preach and propagate the *de'wān* in the Deccan (Kūṭh al-Dīn Burhānpūrī, *Muntazī al-akhsāī*, ms. collection of Zāhīd ʿAlī, 541 ff., 625-8). After the death of this *dā'ī*, the Bohra community was divided over the succession dispute; a great majority upheld the succession of Dāwūd Būrānī al-Dīn and came to be known as the Dāwūdīs, whereas a minority accepted the claims of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, the grandson of Yūsūf b. Sulaymān, and became known as the Sulaymānīs. During this time of crisis Shaykh Ādam firmly stood by the *dā'ī* Dāwūd Būrānī al-Dīn, defending his succession before the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar.

His *Kitāb futuḥ mālik* deals with the beginning of the Mustaʿfī-Ṣa'dīqīya in India, the arrival of Mālwāyī ʿAbd Allāh (sent from Yemen by Lāmāk b. Mālik) in Cambay, and the legend about the conversion of Siddharāja Jayasimha, and the subsequent history of the *de'wān* until the author's time (al-Madhjūdī, Fahrnsa, 118). It is an important source for the history of that early period: manuscript copies of it are, however, very rare.

**Bibliography**: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see I. Poonawala, *Bibliography of Ismāʿīli literature*, Malibū, Cal. 1977, 190.

**SHAYKH AL-BALAD** "the Chief of the City", the title given in Ottoman Egypt during the greater part of the 18th century to the most powerful bey in Cairo.

By the early 18th century real political power in Egypt no longer rested with the pashas, the official representatives of the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul, but with the military grandees—at first Janissary regimental commanders and then exclusively with the Mamluk beys, who accepted the nominal Ottoman sovereignty, and whose supremacy was decided by fierce power struggles among military factions and households. The strongest bey was called by various appellations, such as Amīr Miṣr ("the commander of Cairo"), Küdūr al-Kāsim ("the senior of the people"), i.e. the Mamluks), Küdūr al-Balad ("the senior of the city"), until these titles were superseded by Shaykh al-Balad, a title which expresses not only his supremacy but also the limitation of his power to Cairo; he could not extend his rule to all of Egypt, owing to the weakness and fragmentation of Egyptian government, notably in Upper Egypt where the Arab tribes were virtually autonomous.

Shaykh al-Balad was not an official Ottoman title, and the Ottomans strongly objected to it, as it expressed the *de facto* rule of the bey and the mere symbolic position of the Ottoman pashas in Cairo. In several official decrees issued in the years 1138/1726 and 1143/1730, the Ottoman government calls this title a "devilish innovation", the source of all the troubles in Egypt, and threatens with death whoever uses it. With their accustomed flexibility, however, the Ottomans eventually put up with this show of Egyptian semi-independence, and an edict issued by the sultan in 1510/1766 names Uthmān Bey, a former Amīr al-Hāddiq, as Shaykh al-Balad.

The first bey who is called Shaykh al-Balad in the sources was Muḥammad Bey Čarkan in the third decade of the 18th century. During the second half of that century, the ascendancy belonged to the Kāzīdūghī Mamlūk faction and the Shaykh al-Balad came from them. By far the most famous and powerful one was ʿAlī Bey Balut Kāṣān ("the cloud catcher", known as "the Great") whose incumbency (1173-1870/1763) marked the first attempt since the early 16th century of a rebellion in Egypt against the central Ottoman government. He was succeeded by Muḥammad Abu ʿl-Thahab (g.v.), ʿAlī Bey's Mamlūk, who finally turned against him and demonstrated loyalty to the Ottomans.

The title survived as long as the beys held effective power in Cairo, until the French invasion of Egypt in 1798.

**Bibliography**: P.M. Holt (ed.), *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, London 1968, index.

(M. WINTER)

**SHAYKH HUSAYN**, a saint (*waṭīf*) of Ethiopia, whose *kābu*, in the Bale or Bali region of Oromo province, is the goal of an important popular pilgrimage. There are various orthographies of his name: Scc Hussen, Schech Ussen (Italian), Shaykh Husayn (Arabic), Shek Husen (Oromo, Amharic), Sheekh Xuseen (Somali), etc.
Sh. Nur Husayn is said to have lived ca. A.D. 1200. Coming from Merca, on the Somaliland coast, or possibly from Harar, he was reputedly the first great preacher of Islam in the region. He was a shawkate, who also had the gift of ubiquitiousness. In the 16th century, the Oromo (like Tizz-, Djalal-, and Sayf al-Islam) were borne by persons exercising secular power and incense, and the drinking of coffee and chewing of gariibatta, (gariiba, or khat [q.v.], Epic of Harar amir Abd al-Shakur, at Annajina by of Harar amir Abd al-Kadir al-DjTlanT (the maternal uncle of Sh. Husayn, according to local tradition!), is the sole rallying-point for members of the Kadiriyya brotherhood. In the minds of many of the faithful, pilgrimage to Sh. Husayn replaces the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and allows the poor to fulfill the obligation of hajj.

The cults of Shaykh Husayn, of his kindred and that of his disciples, are very strongly alive in the region. His father's kubba is situated at Annajina near to the Imaro pool, one of his sons is honoured at Harar, another in the neighbourhood of that same town, etc. The most important of these accessory sanctuaries, arising only in the second half of the last century, is that of Sof Omar (Ar. Suff 'Umar). This has been made up of a group of grottos along the course of the Web (Amhar. Wayb) river, some 60 km/37 miles to the south of Annajina, grottos in which the homonymous personage is said to have lived. This mystic—one of the 6,666 disciples of Sh. Husayn, according to popular enthusiasm—may have come from the Tegray/Tigré region in the north of Ethiopia in the 18th century. Sh. Husayn's devotees (gariba, pl. garibatto), frequenters of these sacred places, wander around the region, and well beyond it, living off alms.


SHAYKH AL-ISLAM (A.), an honorific title in use in the Islamic world up to the early 20th century, applied essentially to religious dignitaries.

1. Early history of the term.

The title first appears in Khurusnan towards the end of the 4th/10th century. While honorific titles compounded with Islam (like Izz-, Djalal-, and Sayf al-Islam) were borne by persons exercising secular power (notably the viziers of the Fatimids, cf. M. van Berchem, in ZDPF, xvi [1893], 101), the title of Shaykh al-Islam has always been reserved for 'ulama' and mystics, like other titles of honour whose first part is Shawk (e.g. Shawk al-Din; the surname of Shawk al-Fayzi is given by Ibn Khalidin to the jurist Asad b. al-Furat, cf. Mukaddima, tr. de Slane, i, p. lxxviii). Of all these titles only that of Shaykh al-Islam has been extensively used. Though apparently used in some instances purely as an honorific, the consistency with which the title appears in the major cities of Khurusnan,
and the fact that no two persons bear the title in the same place at the same time, suggests a functional connotation. Some Şayḫ al-İslâm were Şûfîs and others scholars of hadîth. There is no evidence that they were generally known as ‚fuşû‘îs‘ or that they delivered ‚fatwas‘. Rather, they seem to have been among the most admired or influential ‚ulamâ‘ in their milieux, and there are indications that their function was to authorise the initial convening of a class for a new teacher in a city during the period before the madrasa took over this function. The biographer of one Şayḫ al-İslâm, the Šanbali Şûfî ‚Abû Ismâ‘îl ‚Abd Allâh al-‘Anšârî [q.v.] of Hârât, praises him for “the ordering of madrasas, teachers (asfû‘îs), and convenes and the holding (mu‘ašîs) of classes”, see R.N. Frye (ed.), The histories of Nîşâpûrû, The Hague 1965, first ms. of al-‘Arûsî, fol. 33b; second ms. of al-‘Arûsî, fol. 82b). Further indications of an educational function for the Şayḫ al-İslâm are given by R.W. Bulliet, The Şayḫ al-İslâm and the evolution of Islamic society, in SI, xxxv, 53-67.

While the office is attested in a number of Persian cities in the 5th/11th century, it seems not to have spread in its functional form west of Persia. In Syria and Egypt, Şayḫ al-İslâm became a title of honour but not an official title. It was bestowed on jurists whose ‚fatwas‘ attained a degree of fame and acceptance, such as Ibn Taymiyya [q.v.], who was called Şayḫ al-İslâm by his supporters but denied the title by his adversaries. Later uses of the title under the Il Kânûs, the Dîhî Sultanate and Tûrnûrsids indicate an ‚alâm of high rank performing various functions in the religious and educational arena. These figures were not geographically limited. To the west, however, by 7007/1300 the title had gradually become associated with the deliverance of ‚fatwas‘. This was the case in Syria and Egypt, but opinions differ as to whether Şayḫ al-İslâm was purely title or designation of the local muftî in Anatolia during Saldîjûk and early Ottoman times. Insofar as it designated an office of any kind, however, it was a local rather than a state one, contrary to the practice in contemporary régimes to the east of Persia, and certainly, not altogether trustworthy uses of the title Şayḫ al-İslâm occur in documents around the turn of the 14th century (M. Akdağ, Türkiye’nim içsâdî ve içîmîtarî ii, Ankara 1971, 62, n. 1), these perhaps reflecting a continuance of Saldîjûk usage, its earliest use as a title of the Muftî of the Capital, which is to say, for by far the greater proportion of its existence, the Muftî of Istanbul. While several early, not altogether trustworthy uses of the title Şayḫ al-İslâm occur in documents around the turn of the 14th century (M. Akdağ, Türkiye’nim içsâdî ve içîmîtarî ii, Ankara 1971, 62, n. 1), these perhaps reflecting a continuance of Saldîjûk usage, its earliest use as a title of the Muftî of the Capital—which with which office it became exclusively associated amongst the Ottomans—it is found in the so-called kânûn-nâmê [q.v.] of Mehmed II relating to state organisation (TOEM, supplement to parts 13-15, 10), traditionally dated to ca. 1480. Whatever the truth in general in the debate over this authenticity of this important document, it is certainly the case that the extant manuscripts, which date from the early 17th century, are shot through with anachronisms, of which this may well be one. It nevertheless appears that the Ottomans used the term “Muftî” and “Şayḫ al-İslâm” interchangeably and often together (as indeed in the passage referred to), the former being by far the more common designation in earlier centuries, the latter gaining the greater currency with the passage of time, and particularly from the 18th century (cf. I.H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devletinin ılımî teşkilâtı, Ankara 1965, 174).

The origins of the office of Şayḫ al-İslâm, or Muftî, are obscure from the point of view both of the identity of the first few holders of the post and of the reasons for its creation. On the former point, two separate Ottoman traditions exist in the form of lists of the holders of the office, one found at least as early as the Dede-yi meşâhîr-i kibîr of the 18th-century writer Müstaşîm-zâde (Müstaşîm-zâde Sulyâmân Şâd al-Dîn Efendi: d. 1202/1787 [q.v.]), the other, rather earlier, in the Takwîm al-tawassûthî by Katîb Celebi [q.v.]. Müstaşîm-zâde’s list begins with Molla Şîms al-Dîn Muhammad b. Hamza b. Muhammad al-Fenarî (Molla Fenarî, d. 834/1431 [see Fenarî-zâde]), Muftî in Bursa, that of Katîb Celebi with Khîdîr Beg (d. 863/1459 [q.v.]), the first kâdi of Istanbul, to whom, Katîb Celebi says, the office of Muftî of Istanbul was also given at the time of the conquest (1453). Though Katîb Celebi’s account has found favour with certain later authors (e.g. Husayn Hezârîyên [q.v.], d’Ohsson, Hammer-Purgstall), that of Müstaşîm-zâde—which depends ultimately on the statement in Tashkûrû-zâde (al-Shâ’îkî al-nîmâyê, Arabic text in margin of Ibn Khallikan, Wafayat al-a’îdân, Bulûk 1299, i, 87) that Molla Fenarî was “mufti in the Ottoman lands” (muftî fî l-mamlûka l-alîmânâyê, this being the first occurrence of such a title in his work—has generally, and rightly, been preferred. (On the considerable problems posed by both lists with respect to the Muftîs of the 15th century, see R.C. Repp, The Muftî of Istanbul, London 1986, 137 ff.))

If the uncertainties about the facts of the lives of the 15th-century Muftîs make it difficult to fix a reliable line of succession, the ambiguous nature of the evidence about their activities renders it equally difficult to define their functions and rôle. Several certainly, and perhaps all, taught at important madrasas while holding the office of Muftî. Fâkhîr al-Dîn al-‘Adîmî (d. 873/1468 ?), the second (or third ?) Muftî, is remembered for having prevented the young Mehmed II [q.v.] from making a vow under the influence of the Hurüfîyya [q.v.], a fact which suggests that he (like some later Muftîs) may have been regarded as a personal religious adviser to the sultan: it is also noteworthy that he, unlike his one, possibly two predecessors, but like all his successors, did not hold the office of kâdi simultaneously with that of Muftî. Molla Gûrânî (d. 893/1488 [see Gûrânî]), while one of the most influential Muftîs of the time, held no higher office. Their pay was low, certainly compared with that of the kâdîs and kâtîs [q.v.], and there is no evidence that they were at this stage regularly consulted on affairs of state (the Muftî was not in the 15th century, or ever, a member of the imperial council, the dîvân-i humâyûn [q.v.]).

Despite the apparent lack of definable duties, however, several bits of evidence suggest that the office of Muftî was one of considerable importance from its inception. Early testimony to this effect is found in
the account of the Burgundian courtier Bertrandon de la Broquiere, who was granted an audience by Murad II [q.v.] in Edirne in Radjab 836/March 1433. In describing Murad’s entry into Edirne, he notes that he was preceded by “the grand caliph, who is amongst [the Ottomans] as the Pope is amongst us”; the editor of the work appears certain to be correct in identifying “the grand caliph” as the Shaykh al-Islam Fakhr al-Din al-’Adhami (Le voyage d’outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière, ed. Ch. Schefer, Recueil de voyages et de documents, xii, Paris 1892, 131: cf. Repp, op. cit., 115-16, 120). This same Fakhr al-Din is likewise found in the place of honor, on the sultan’s right hand, at a learned discussion during the circumcision feast of two of the sons of Mehmed II in 861/1457. As further evidence of the importance of the office one should note that several outstanding scholars of the time such as Molla Fani, Molla Khosrow, and Molla Gurnani held it as the culmination of distinguished careers. And finally in this connection, for all the doubts about the authenticity of the kăsin-nâmê of Mehmed II aluded to above, the passage therein concerning the Muftis cannot be ignored. “The Shaykh al-Islam is the chief of the ulamâ” and the Molla-i Sultan [’Adham-i Hoca] is similarly the head of the ‘ulamâ’. It is fitting for the Grand Vizier to place them above himself out of respect. But the Mufti and the kâdi-âga are many ranks higher than the other viziers and also take precedence over them. (On the questions of precedence thus raised, see further Repp, op. cit., 192-6.)

The contrast between, on the one hand, the ill-defined and apparently relatively modest duties performed by the early Muftis and, on the other, the considerable prestige which the office of Mufti seems to have enjoyed from its very beginnings, is illuminating in several respects. The lack of evidence concerning any significant administrative duties consistently and exclusively performed by the 15th-century Muftis makes it difficult to accept that an administrative purpose can have lain behind the founding of the office. Thus R.W. Bulliet’s thesis that the explanation of its creation lies in an attempt by the sultans to control the religious establishment is entirely tenable (The Shaykh al-Islam and the evolution of Islamic society, in Sl, xxxv [1972], 53-67). (The view that the Ottoman sultans attempted to control the religious establishment is entirely tenable, but this process was accomplished through the creation of a highly elaborated hierarchy of learned offices which began in the time of Mehmed II (d. 896/1491), long before the Mufti came to head it.) Similarly, Walsh’s assertion that the right to issue fatwâs was confined to the Shaykh al-Islam from the inception of the office (implicitly as a means of developing a more unified system of law) is unsustainable [see FATWA, ii. Ottoman Empire, and further, Repp, op. cit., 299-300].

Walsh’s recognition of the peculiarly non-secular character of the office is noteworthy, however, a point reflected also in the most plausible of the explanations offered by Kramers for the foundation of the office, namely that it represents “a survival of the ancient mystical religious tradition in the Ottoman state, a tradition which demanded alongside of the secular power, a religious authority having no judicial powers but representing, so to speak, the religious conscience of the people” (art. Shaykh al-Islam, in EI1). To regard the creation of the office of Mufti as meeting a need for a distinctly religious figure in the state, one who would stand apart from the secular government, who would embody the authority of the Shir’i ‘a and who would perhaps even provide a religious sanction for the régime, offers the basis for an explanation of the creation of the office which is consistent with such few facts as are known and which at the same time throws a different light on some apparent peculiarities connected with it. It is in this sense that the separation of the office of Mufti from a simultaneously-held post of kâdi—an office held in deep suspicion by the more devout ‘ulamâ’—which occurred with the appointment of Fakhr al-Din al-’Adhami is important. The Muftis’s relatively low salary and his not being a member of the dâ‘ân-i humâyûn, moreover, far from being signs of the relative unimportance of the office in the 15th century, as they have usually been regarded, should rather be seen as a conscious effort to protect the office from the taint of secularism. Why the need for such an office was felt—whether in some way it was a response to the defeat at the hands of Timur (804/1402), which had been widely seen as divine retribution for the godlessness of the reign of Bayezid I (1389-1402: see H. Inalcik, The rise of Ottoman historiography, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), Historians of the Middle East, London 1962, 135) and/or possibly to heterodox movements in the first quarter of the 15th century—cannot be known on the basis of the evidence currently available.

Notable amongst the 16th-century Muftis were Molla ‘Ali al-Din ‘Ali al-Djamali [see DJAMALI], Kemal Pasazade [q.v.], and Abu l-Su’ud [q.v.]. ‘Ali al-Djamali’s long period as Mufti (908-32/1503 to 1525-6) saw the office acquire significant additional duties in the form of the responsibility for the teaching at Bayezid I’s newly-built madrasa in Istanbul (in later times assumed by a deputy, the ders wâkit) and for the supervision (naẓâm) of his a‘lâm; this latter responsibility being one not infrequently assigned by the sultans to the Grand Vizier. He is likewise credited with having restrained Selim I [q.v.] on several occasions from harsh acts on the grounds of a proper concern for that sultan’s welfare in the after-life; though angered, Selim attempted to reward him with appointment as the ‘ulamâ’ of the Grand Vizier. He was active in the issuing of private fatwâs as well as fatwâs on matters of public policy. In the latter category, his fatwâ authorising the taking of Cyprus from Venice (see Pecekvi, Tarîkh, 2 vols., Istanbul 1281-3, i, 486-7) may represent the first time a mufti’s fatwâ was regarded as sufficient religious sanction for an important matter of state policy (in later centuries, the Mufti appears...
to have become at least the spokesman for the 'ulu ma, though he continued to consult widely before delivering his opinion: cf. I. Mouradgea d'Osinson, Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman, 7 vol., Paris 1788-1824, iv, 511-13, 528. On the 'iṣlahu'll-ʿulamā', question of the status of the Muftis' fatwas, see Repp, op. cit., 113-15, 212-21, 279-90. If not actually instituted before his death, the Muftis' close involvement in appointments to the higher offices in the learned profession, a function which they took over from the kādī 'askers, was certainly mooted in Abu l-Suʿūd's time, with the intent that he should take on this fundamentally important duty (Repp, op. cit., 293-5). Abu l-Suʿūd's achievements were recognised by substantial rewards, notably a greatly enhanced salary which, at least from 973/1566, came to surpass that of the kādī 'askers.

Further systematic work needs to be done on the nature of the office in the 17th and 18th centuries, during which time (and indeed until the end of the empire) the Mufti was recognisably a state official, having gradually been absorbed into the hierarchy, at its head, from the previous position of having stood entirely outside it. He was, however, often in frequent touch, if not invaribly, drawn into the decision-making process, in which he played an important part, on matters of state policy such as the making of war and peace or the deposition of a sultan, not in the forum o the dīwān-i hamāyūn, of which, as mentioned earlier, he was not a member, but through the medium of "consultations" (maṣāṣī, muṣāṣī). The very much greater involvement in affairs of state and the consequent demands on his time meant that the function of the preparation of fatwas, and particularly "private" fatwas, a function of such importance in the early years of the office, passed largely into the hands of a deputy, the fatwa ēmi, who became with the passage of time a highly influential figure in his own right (on this post, and the organisation of the Muftis' deputies generally, see Uzuncarşılı, op. cit., 195 ff.; U. Heyd, Some aspects of the Ottoman fatwa, in BBOAS, xxii (1969), 35-56). It might be speculated that this absorption into the learned hierarchy, at its head, of an office which had originally stood outside it, and much of whose raison d'etre lay in its independence from the secular government, had its cost. Certainly in purely material terms, though the Muftis gained greatly in terms of salary, perquisites and defined powers, they lost the tenure of the office for life which the early Muftis had almost without exception enjoyed; removal from the office was by now a common occurrence.

In 1241/1826, following the destruction of the Janissaries, Mahmūd II gave the residence of the Agha of the Janissaries near the Suleymaniye mosque to provide an office for the Shaykh al-Islām and his department. The Shaykh's now for the first time had a permanent location for their work, having previously carried out their functions in their own residences or in rented accommodation [see BĀB-I MĒRĀTĪ]. The diminution of the powers and influence of the 'ulamā' generally in the 19th century affected the position of the Shaykh al-Islām, as well as they gradually lost their influence, more particularly after the revolution of 1908. The last holder of the office, the 131st, resigned on 4 November 1922 in the wake of the abolition of the sultanate a few days earlier. The office came formally to an end following the abolition of the caliphate on 3 March 1924. Bibliography: Given in the article.

R.C. REPP

SHAYKH MUSĀ NATHRĪ, modern Persian writer dealing in historical novels. The details concerning his life are at the best sketchy. By profession, he was involved in educational activities, serving as principal of the government college Naqšt in Hamadān and as Director of Education in Kirmāngāhn (for his latter position, see Armāngāhn [March-April 1930], 73). He edited the periodical Itīḥād which was published from Hamadān in 1293/1914 (Sadr Ḥāshimī, Tārīḵ-i āḏārūyī va maḏallāt-i Irān, i, Isfahān 1343/1964-5, 46). An article from him, entitled ʿĪlah u saltanat "Love and kingship", was published at Hamadān in 1337/1919 (repr. Bombay 1342/1924), and deals with the exploits of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Achaemenid dynasty.

The material for the narrative was borrowed by the author from the French translation of Herodotus's account and historical works in French, as well as from the Avesta. The author claimed that his work was the first historical novel in Persian and concludes that he writes in a manner similar to Western literary models, but Buzurg Alavi has pointed out that Muḥammad Bākīr Mīrzā Ḵusrawī's Shams u tughrā is earlier (1328/1910). However, as a piece of fiction, it hardly stands up to artistic scrutiny. According to the criticism of E.G. Browne (LHP, iv, 465), the book "is overloaded with dates, archaeological and mythological notes and prolix historical dissertations." It was the first of a trilogy; the others, which appeared later, are Sīlār-ye Ĺīḏī "The Lydian dynasty" (Bombay 1342/1924-5) and Sangūqāḏāt-i ʿoshqāḏād kāhānūm-i Bābīlī "The story of a Babylonian princess" (Kirmāngāhn 1311/1932). These show only a slight advance upon their predecessor, and not surprisingly have received little attention from Persian critics. The only aspect of Shaykh Muḥammad Naṭārī's literary exercises finding approval concerns his language, which tends towards a simplified form. His works, therefore, must be judged not so much for their artistic merit as for their place in the overall historical evolution of modern Persian fiction.


SHAYKH SAFTI [see SAFT AL-DĪN ARDABĪLI].

AL-SHAYKH SAĪD, a monsoon harbour on the straits of Bāb al-Mandab [g.z.], lying just north of the so-called Small Strait on a cape whose high cliffs dominate the island of Mayyūn [g.z.]. This Strait is also called Bāb Iskandar because Alexander the Great is said to have built a town here. The harbour, named after Shaykh Sa'id whose tomb is found on the northern side of the cape, has been identified by Sprenger and Glaser with ancient Ocelis or Acila, which is mentioned by Pline, Ploiemy and in the Periplus Maris Erythraei, and conceals perhaps some
name like 'Ukayl. The harbour is said to have belonged
to the pre-Islamic Kataban [q.v.]. When the latter was preparing to put the plan into force in 1838, he encountered the resolute opposition of the British, who occupied Aden in 1839 and established a coal station on Mayyun (Perim) in 1857. The
cape was bought from the local sultan 'Ali Tabat by
a Marseilles firm, and turned over to the Société de Bâb al-Mandab in 1871. In 1884 the harbour was occupied by the Turks, who fortified the cape, not
withstanding continuous but fruitless attempts by the French to enforce their claims. Al-Shaykh Sa'id was
bombarded by the British in 1914, but the Turks held out, being supported in 1915 by troops sent by the
Zaydi Imam Yahyâ b. al-Manṣûr. The Turks even bombarded Mayyun and temporarily closed the
Straits of Bâb al-Mandab.

**Bibliography:**

**SHAYKH AL-TA'IF** [see AL-TUSI, MUHAMMAD B.]

**AL-SHAYKH AL-YUNANI**, the disguise of one of the participants in the transmission of authoritative Neoplatonic thought to Islam based upon a translation of large portions of books IV-VI of the _Enneads_ of Plotinus. Fragment.s with this designation have been recovered without, however, allowing a reconstruction of the form and extent of his work. It is also debatable whether al-Shaykh al-
Yunâni was substituting for the name of a given philosopher and even might have belonged to the entire lost Arabic Plotinus source. The wide range of meaning of _shaykh_ [q.v.] permits a choice between "Greek Teacher" and "Greek Old Man"; occasional Greek references to some Neoplatonists as _geron_, among them Porphyry (see Kutsch), might perhaps tip the scales in favour of "Old Man", whether Porphyry's role in the Arabic Plotinus reflects historical links [see PÆRAKIVOS] or not (see Zimmermann). In addition to the fragments from the _Enneads_, al-Shaykh al-Yunâni is credited with a brief treatise on topics of Neoplatonic philosophy. In this case, as well as in other references, there can hardly be any doubt that he was under-
stood to be one and same person, even where he is brought into contact with ancient philosophers or, rather mysteriously, is described as a pupil of Diogenes (see _Stew k-himma_, ed. D.M. Dunlop, 56-7, 58-61). The manifold problems connected with this figure can
not be separated from the entire complicated and fateful history of the Arabic Plotinus, for which see _UZKHOLOVIA._

---

**SHAYKHIIYA, an important school of speculative theology within Twelver Shi'ism, influential mainly in Persia and Iraq since the early 19th century. Although at times its leaders have been excommunicated and its doctrines condemned as hereetical, Shaykhism (also known as the Kâshfîyya) has accommodated itself fairly successfully with the majority Usuli establishment and is generally regarded as a school ([madhhab]) rather than a sect ([fikr]). Bahrain [see BâB, BâB] began in the 1840s as a radical development of Shaykhî heterodoxy.

1. Early history.

The origins of Shaykhism are to be found in a highly original attempt to effect a synthesis between (1) the theosophical Shi'ism of Mullâ Şâdîr Shîrâzî [q.v.] and the School of Išâfânî, (2) the wakfn Bâbîrî tendency, and (3) what Amanat calls a "diffuse prac-
ticism", influenced by crypto-İsmâ'îlî and related ideas. Later Shaykhî doctrine owes much to a wish to play down the school's own distinctiveness and effect a compromise with the Uṣûlî establishment.

The school's founder, Shaykh Ahmad al-Âbâsî (1166-1241/1753-1826 [q.v.]), is still reckoned one of the leading Shi'î "islamî" of the early Kâdjâr period, and a thinker of considerable force. His early life in al-Âbâsî', a backwater with few provisions for religious learning, was unpropitious for one with ambitions to
compromise with the Usull establishment. The cardinals of Arabic Plotinus and Traditions. This claim to intuitive knowledge sets the
main currents of Shi'î thinking then contending for dominance: the Usullîs, with their emphasis on
iajtihâd through reasoning, and the Akhbârîs [see AKHBARIYYA in Suppl.], who stressed a literal adherence to the texts themselves, without recourse to
iajtihâd.

Having acquired licences from several eminent muqaddas, in 1221/1806 al-Âbâsî travelled to Persia. Here he remained for almost twenty years, patronised by Fath ʿAli Shâh [q.v.] and a succession of Kâdjâr notables. He lived mainly in Yazd (1806-14) and Kir-
mânhshâh (1814-21), where he enjoyed the patronage of Muhammad ʿAli Mîrzâ and wrote some of his most important books, including the _Šahr al-zîrâyâ al-
gamîlâ al-kabîrî_ (his magnum opus) and commentaries on the _Risâla al-lîmiyya_ of Muḥsin Fayd al-Kâshânî and the _Ajbîyya_ and _Maṭûlà_ of Muḥamad Sâdîr. In 1822 in Kâzâwín, al-Âbâsî first encountered a

**Bibliography:** F. Rosenthal, al-Sâdî al-Âbâsî and the Arabic Plotinus source, in _Orientalia_, N.S. xxii (1952), xxii (1953), xxiv (1955), repr. in idem, _Greek philos-
ace; 'Abd al-Râjmân Badâwî, _Plotinus opud Arabes_, Cairo 1955, 184-98; W. Kutsch, _Ein arabisches Bruch-
charge of apostasy, and in the last four years of his life, spent largely in Karbala', he became the object of a campaign of vilification. He died on his way to Mecca on 21 Dhul 'l-Ka'da 1241/27 June 1826, aged seventy-three.

Al-Ahsâ'î was succeeded in Karbala' by a younger Persian disciple, Sayyid Kázím Rashtî (d. 1259/1844; birth dates range from 1198/1784 to 1214/1799-1800 [g.e.]), like his mentor the product of a non-clerical family. Rashtî remained in Karbala' until his death and, despite repeated denials that he had established a new madhhab within Islam and insistence that he was no more than an expounder and defender of the teachings of al-Ahsâ'î, became an effective focus for the allegiance of a small but influential grouping of 'ulamâ' and laity. A school had effectively been created: on Rashtî's death, his followers split into radically different factions. This division, which has recently been studied in some detail by Amanat, Bayat, and MacEoin, is of wide significance, since it encapsulates some of the most important tensions in Kâ'djâr Shi'ism.

The two most extreme divisions to emerge after 1844 were Bâbîsm, which rapidly outgrew its Shaykhî origins to proclaim a new revelation and a new 'âyi, and a conservative branch based in Tabrîz. This latter group included leading 'ulamâ', merchants, government officials, and notables; after a period of wholesale separation from the religious mainstream, it merged with it and lost its character as a distinct school.

The successive claims of Sayyid 'Aâl Muhammad Şîhrazî, the Bâb [g.e.], were a logical development of several strains in Shaykhî thinking, most importantly the emphasis on intuitive knowledge and the concept of a single individual, the Perfect Shi'ti or bâb, who could act as an infallible guide to the ìmâm. Both al-Ahsâ'î and Rashtî seem to have been regarded (and to have regarded themselves) in this light; the latter divided the dispensation of Islam into two distinct periods: a cycle of outward observances (which came to an end after twelve centuries) and one of inner lights (which began with the appearance of al-Ahsâ'î).

2. Kâ'djâr Shi'ism

The Bâb's rival claim for the allegiance of the school was Hâdîjî Muhammad Karîm Khân Kârîmânî (1225-88/1810-70), the eldest son of Ibrahîm Khân Zahir al-Dawla, the governor of Kirmàn and Bâlûcistân (1803-24) and one of al-Ahsâ'î's leading patrons in Persia. A member of the ruling Kâdjâr family by birth and marriage, Karîm Khân's role as a religious leader in the Kârmân region was both strengthened and complicated by his position as the senior member of the powerful ìlkmàn clan and his control of its financial resources. The history of Kârîmânî Shaykhism is closely linked both to the fortunes of the ìrâhîmî family and wider political developments.

A prolific writer and would-be polymath, Karîm Khân sought to reconcile Shaykhî teaching with ìsîlî orthodoxy, insisting that the school agreed in all its main principles (îsîlî) with traditional Shi'ti doctrine, while differing only in practice (farsi). The clear heterodoxy of the Bâb and his followers was both an impetus to this policy and an aid in furthering it. Hence his ambivalence over the doctrine of the Fourth Support (al-rûka al-râbî), with which he became particularly associated. In a novel reworking of the traditional five bases of religion (divine unity, prophethood, resurrection, divine justice, and the ìmâmâ), Kârîmânî reduced them to three (knowledge of God, prophethood, and ìmâmâ) and added a fourth pillar, knowledge of the friends and enemies of the Imams.

In its original formulation, this doctrine leaned towards recognition of a single, divinely-appointed mediator between the ìmâm and the faithful (identified with al-Ahsâ'î, Rashtî, and, it would seem, Kârîmânî himself). Later, however, almost certainly as a reaction to the Bâb's advancement of similar claims, this was modified to a more general advocacy of the ìlkmàn and other holy figures as representatives of the ìmâm. In many respects, this debate presages that around Khumaynî's concept of utlâyât al-fâ'ish and whether its application should be to a single individual or a collective body of ìlkmânîs.

Kârîmânî's most significant break with the doctrine of an inspired guide came, however, with his appointment of his own son, Muhammad Khân (1252-1324/1864-1906) and the creation of a spiritual dynasty similar to those found in Sûfîsm. Leadership of the school was passed down through a series of Ibrâhîmî ìlkmàn (generally known by the title Sâkâr Aka): Hâdîjî Zayn al-Abîdîn Khân (1276-1360/1859-1942), Abu l-Kâsîm Khân (1314-89/1896-1969), and 'Abd al-Râdî Khân (d. 1979). This period saw mounting conservatism, particularly with regard to social reform and acceptance of Western ideas. Bayat speaks of intellectual stagnation in a situation where original Shaykhî doctrine was taught privately while public profession was made of orthodoxy (Bayat, 181).

During the leadership of Hâdîjî Muhammad Khân, tension between Shaykhîs and their opponents, known as Bâlîsâfîs, erupted into violence on several occasions, culminating in virtual civil war in 1905 (MacEoin, Bâlîsâfîs). Identification of the Shaykhîs with Kâdjâr interests, and Muhammad Khân's own hard-line royalist stance, encouraged a widening of the issues to a point where the original dispute was eclipsed by growing agitation for a constitution.

Following the assassination of 'Abd al-Râdî Khân in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution of 1979, the headquarters of the school was moved to Başra in 'Irâq, where leadership passed to Hâdîjî Sayyid 'Aâl Mûsâwî. At its height in the last century, Shaykhism was an influential school with converts in all the main Persian cities, 'Irâq, India, and eastern Arabia. In Persia, the membership included high-ranking government officials and even Mu'azzâf al-Dîn Shâh [g.e.]: in this respect, it appears to have been an acceptable alternative to Sûfîsm, following the collapse of the Nîmatullâhî revival of the early 19th century.

3. Doctrine

In broad terms, Shaykhî doctrine differs very little from that of orthodox Twelver Shi'ism, and is generally little further from it than the views of the theo-epistemological thinkers: if anything, al-Ahsâ'î and Rashtî made greater efforts than Sâdûr and his followers to remain part of the official religious system. Despite an obvious debt to Ibn al-'Arâfî and the Shi'ti theosophers, al-Ahsâ'î disagreed with them on several important issues, in particular the doctrine of the oneness of existence (wahdat al-wujûd). Since God remains ontologically separate from and inaccessible to creation, al-Ahsâ'î emphasized the role of the prophets and ìmâms as intermediaries between the divine and human worlds. Within this context, he regarded the imâms as the four causes of creation: active (they are the locations of the divine will); material (all things have been created from the rays of their lights); formal (God created the forms of all creatures from the lights of their forms); and final (God created all things for their sake).

It was this view that led to one of the earliest arguments against al-Ahsâ'î, namely, that he held the
imâms to be creators instead of God. Although he
denied this criticism in its extreme form, and argued
that his views were based on well-known traditions,
there is no doubt that the imâms and their role as
manifestations of the divinity played a central role in
his theology. Belief in the necessity of the continu-
ing presence of an imâm combined with al-Ahsâ'i's
own conviction of the possibility of visionary contact
and inspiration to produce a central doctrinal focus
in intergenerational life.

This itself led to the view that religious truth has
developed through the ages, mankind being likened
to a growing child in need of progressively stronger
diets. Alongside the idea of an age of inner truth suc-
ceeding one of outward observance, Shaykh" teaching
proposed that humanity had either come of age or
was about to do so—a doctrine which had its strongest
impact on Bâbism and its successor, Bahá'ism [q.v.].

Ra"ghi's belief that a new age of spirituality had
started with al-Ahsâ'i seems to have given rise to
speculation within the school as to the possibility of
the advent of the Twelfth Imâm's imminent advent,
but how extensive such chiliasmic expectation really
was it is very hard to establish. The Kirmânî Shaykh"s
naturally play down all suggestions of messianism,
while modern Bahá'ís exaggerate its role on the basis
of oral statements. In their writings, both al-Ahsâ'i
and Ra"ghi adopt a conventional attitude to the ques-
tion of the Imâm's return. Nevertheless, the fact that
Ra"ghi's death was immediately followed by a fran-
tic outburst of millenarianism suggests that, at the
very least, talk of living gates to the Imam had excited
speculation that the Ma'ddît himself might soon make
his appearance.

In their lifetimes, however, orthodox criticism of
al-Ahsâ'i and Ra"ghi found a particular focus in the
former's teaching on the eschatology of the individ-
ual. In several works—notably the Sharh al-zbjara—he
developed an original doctrine of resurrection based
on a complex system of physical and spiritual bodies
(for details, see MacEoin, Cosmology, Corbin, Terre celeste,
146-74). According to this scheme, man possesses four
bodies: two physical and two spiritual. For the orthodox
the crucial problem with this system, which involves
resurrection in an interworld known as Hûrûhâiyâ, was
its denial of a return for the first qâsad, the fleshly
body of terrestrial elements. Although the Shaykh" doctrine
does not entirely spiritualise the process of sub-
sequent resurrection, it tended to be interpreted in that
way by the school's opponents.

4. Literature

The corpus of written materials produced by the
school's leadership is enormous, although very little
has been penned by adherents. A great deal still exists
only in manuscript form, although the Shaykh" com-
munity of Kirmân has made microfilm copies of all
the originals in its own library. Their Sa'âdat Press
has published reliable editions of works by all the
shaykhs, amounting to several hundred volumes, and
plans to issue more. A full bibliography of Shaykh" writing from al-Ahsâ'i to Abu 'l-Kâsim Khân may be
found in the latter's Fâhib, to which Momen's The works of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsâ'i is useful addition.

Bibliography: Shaykh Ahmad b. Zayn al-Din al-
Abâsî, Dâwâdvm al-kalam, 2 vols., Tabriz 1273/
1856-7, 1276/1860 (94 treatises); Idem, Sharh al-
ziyara al-âgamâ'a al-kabira, new ed., 4 vols., Kirmân
1355-6 Sh./1976-7; Sayyid Kâsim Ra'ifî, Dâhil al-
mutahâyayn, n.p. 1276/1859-60; Shaykh 'Abd Allâh
Abâsî, Sharh-i hâli-i Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsâ'i, Bombay
1309/1892-3 (the main biographical source); H.A.
Mahfûz (ed.), Sharh Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsâ'i, Baghdad
1376/1957 (autobiographical accounts); H. Corbin,
Terre celeste et corps de râsurrection de l'Iran Mazdâon à
l'Iran shi'ite, Paris 1960, Eng. tr. Spiritual body and
corporeal resurrection in pre-Islamic Iran and Shiite
Iran, Tehran 1977 (contains translations from works by
several Shaykh" leaders); Idem, L'oeuvre shiâtie en thôologie
shi'ite, in Annales de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes,
Section des Sciences Religieuses (1960-1); Hâjjî Muhammad
Karim Khân Kirmânî, Irâdâl fî al-vâkâm; G. Scarcia,
Kerman 1905: La "guerra tra Sunnî e Bâbî", in AIUON, N.S., xiii (1965), 195-238; M. Mousarris Câdrâhkî, Shaykhîyân, Bâbîyân, Tehran 1352
Sh./1976; Abu 'l-Kâsim b. Zayn al-Ahsâî Khân
Kirmânî, Fâhib-i kashif-i Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsâ'i 'otu'li
masjîyâ także 'izâm, Kirmân 1977 (comprehensive
bibliographical information); D. MacEoin, From Shaykh-
ism to Bahûism: a study in charismatic renewal in Shi'I
Islam, Ph.D. diss. Cambridge University 1979; Idem,
Elr, art. Ahsâ'i, "Shaykh Ahmad b. Zayn al-Din; idem,
Elr, art. Bâbî; Elr, Art. Cosmology in Shi'ism;
V. Rafaî, The development of Shaykh thought in Shi'I Islam,
Ph.D. diss. UCL 1979; Mangol Bayat, Mysticism and dissent: socioreligious thought in Qajar Iran,
Syracuse 1982, chs. 2, 3 and passim; Abbas Amatun,
Resurrection and renewal: the making of the Babi movement
in Iran, 1844-1850, Ithaca & London 1989, ch. 1,
6; M. Moemen, The works of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsâ'i:
a bibliography, Baha'i Studies Bulletin Monograph
no. 1 [1992]. (D. MacEoin)
field of philology, he edited Ibn al-Sikkit's K. Lisb al-
manik and K. al-Asfâz; two general works on the
Arab literature of the 19th century and the first quarter of
the 20th century respectively; and his Catalogue raisonné
des manuscrits de la Bibli. Or. de Beyrouth (1913-26), a
library of which he was in effect the founder and the
donor of a large part of its manuscripts.
A lifelong concern of Shaykhû was to highlight the
contribution of Arab Christians to the Arabic lan-
guage and literature, a topic little noticed until his
time. It was this fact, plus criticisms from some Western
and Arab scholars, which led him to write, from 1910
onwards, one of his most important and controversi-
ically works, al-Nasîrîn yawaaqit ad-dabâhah bayna Arâb al-
Dâhîya/La christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabe
avant l'Islam. He had already written on the topic ear-
lier in his career, but this work excited, when gath-
ered together in three vols. 1912-13, lively polemics,
well studied in Hechâim, Louis Chânko and son livre: Le
christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabe avant l'Islam,
Beirut 1967. Shaykhu was critical for including as
Arabian poets whose religious allegiance was doubt-
ful or unclear, but Hechâim points out that he had the
over-enthusiasm of a pioneer but was breaking new
ground in bringing the topic forward for critical
assessment and examination.
Yet undoubtedly his major achievement was al-
Maqârik, founded in 1898 and having appeared, with
interruptions from the two World Wars, continuously
ever since; it is thus, with Zaydân's al-Hîlîl, the sole
journal of the late 19th century to have survived till
the present time. His declared aim for it was “stren-
uousness to support the cause of the Christian religion,
and to promote seriously the disciplines of oriental
scholarship and the diffusion of the sciences”. Like
many other founders of journals of the Nahda, he
threw himself totally into it, writing numerous articles,
almost all its reviews of works appearing at the time:
a total of 2,700 writings, making up ca. 7,000 pages.
If some of his apologetic concerns are now less promi-
nent, the journal remains highly valuable for recon-
stituting the intellectual milieu of the late 19th century
in the East, and is an immensely valuable source on
the Arab scholarship and literature of its time.
Shaykhû, disregarded by some, strongly criticised
by others, at times not always himself showing a sense
of discernment, could never be ignored, given the
stature of his personality, his immense literary output
and his restlessness. He remains, with others of
his colleagues at Beirut, such as L. Maâlîf, A. Saâlînî,
L. Lammens and J.B. Belot, a major figure in Arabic
letters of the Nahda.
Bibliography: Given in the article. Brockelmann's
notice, S III, 428, is very short and has errors.
Those of Y.A. Dâibhûr, Beirut 1956, ii, 515-24,
of Kahâylla, Mâlîfîn, viii, 161-2, and Zirîrî, A'dâm,
Beirut 1980, iii, 246-7, are equally succinct.

(L. Pouzet)

SHAYKIYYA
(sic; the name comes from the eponym, Shayk; there is no medial hamza or umlaut), a tribe of
the northern Nilotic Sudan, first mentioned in
1929 (R.S. O'Fahe and J.L. Spaulding, Kingdoms of
Africa, 1930, p. 29) in the text of a letter which he wrote in the
Bahr al-Ghazal, 1930. The approximate his-
torical boundaries of their territory stretched from
al-Dâbbâ, at the southern end of the great bend of the
Nile, upstream to just above the Fourth Cataract.
Despite claims to 'Abbasid descent, the Shaykiyya
are undoubtedly Arabised and Islamised Nubians (J.L.
Spaulding, The Old Shaiqi language in historical perspec-
tive, in History in Africa, xxvi [1990], 283-92). In the
16th century, they were subjects of the Fundj Sultanate
[see p.124] under the latter's northern governors, the
'Abdallâb. At the end of the 17th century the Shay-
kiyya revolted against 'Abdallâb rule; thereafter, they
were de facto independent until the Turco-Egyptian
conquest of 1820, which they fiercely resisted.
On the eve of the 1820 conquest, the Shaykiyya
were divided into four kingdoms—Hannâkâ, Kajdâbî,
'Adînâbî and 'Umarâb. Under Turco-Egyptian rule
(1820-85), many Shaykiyya horsemen served the régime
as irregular soldiers (badkhâzâk), while others took serv-
cice with the Khartoum traders in the southern Sudan.
During the time of the Mahdist rebellion and state
(1882-98 [see MÄDIYYA], many Shaykiyya went over
to the Mahdi, while others resisted. During the Anglo-
Egyptian Condominium (1898-1956), many Shaykiyya
joined the Sudan Defence Force; upon independence
in 1956, a significant proportion of the officer class
were Shaykî.

Bibliography: W. Nicholls, The Shaikia, An account of
the Shaikia tribes and of the history of Dongola Province
from the XlVth to the XIXth century, Dublin 1913 (ex-
panded Ar. tr. 'Abd al-Majid 'Abdîn, Khartoum
n.d.); Hayden Ibrahim, The Shaykiiya. The cultural and
social change of a Northern Sudanese racist people,
Wiesbaden 1979; Ali Salih Karrar, The Shaykii brothers-
hood in the Sudan, London 1992 (main focus on the
Shaykiiya region).

(R.S. O'Fahe)

SHAYTÀN (A.), evil spirit, demon, devil.
1. In pre-Islamic Arabia.

According to the lexicographers, shaytân is derived from
the verb qaṭana "to detain somebody in order to
divert him from his intention and his destination", qaṭăn being "a cord" and qaṭân "an evil man". The verbs
qaṭana and tushaytana signify "to behave like the
shaytân of the human race."

The Shaytân is an evil, rebellious spirit, inhabiting
Heli-Fire; he cannot be seen, but he is imagined as
a being of great ugliness (al-Dâhibîz, Hayawadn, vi, 213).
Verbs undermine his wickedness, his cunning and
his malice. He is called by this name for having
turned aside from the righteous path and for rebel-
lion; hence the name is applied to any impertinent
rebel among humans, qaṭân and animals (Yâkût, Mu'llîf, Beirut 1885, iii, 394); Hayawadn, vi, 213).

Shaykhu, disregarded by some, strongly criticised
by others, at times not always himself showing a sense
of discernment, could never be ignored, given the
stature of his personality, his immense literary output
and his restlessness. He remains, with others of
his colleagues at Beirut, such as L. Maâlîf, A. Saâlînî,
L. Lammens and J.B. Belot, a major figure in Arabic
letters of the Nahda.
Bibliography: Given in the article. Brockelmann's
notice, S III, 428, is very short and has errors.
Those of Y.A. Dâibhûr, Beirut 1956, ii, 515-24,
of Kahâylla, Mâlîfîn, viii, 161-2, and Zirîrî, A'dâm,
Beirut 1980, iii, 246-7, are equally succinct.

(L. Pouzet)
Akhbdr, the shaytân is seen as a "genie", sometimes good and sometimes evil. He accompanies man in all his activities. The Prophet is reported to have said: "There is not one of you who does not have a karîn beside him or within him. Through his superhuman intelligence, the latter seems to be at the origin of all progress. In fact, in the Kur'anic story of Solomon, it is said that the latter received from God, among other favours, shaytân builders (bdjinni) and workers of magic (muṣâhimun), which were imposed upon them (XXXVIII, 37). Al-Djahîzî, speaking of the intelligence of the shaytân, writes: "The shaytân are, by comparison with us, more subtle, less harmful, more intelligent, less curious, of lighter body, of more extensive knowledge and of more profound wisdom. For proof of this, all that is needed is general agreement that there is nothing on the earth that is of marvellous innovation, subtle, majestic, nor any secret or manifest transgression, emanating from passion and desire, which is not the consequence of a solicitation by the shaytân and a seduction exerted by him" (Hayawdn, Cairo 1323/1905-6, vi, 83-4). In fact, in the folklore of pre-Islamic Arabia, every work "of genius" is attributed to the shaytân (e.g. the construction of Irâm Dhât al-Imâd).

One of the well-known roles of this karîn, called šâtîb "follower" or sahaq "companion", is to act as inspirer to soothsayers and prophets (see Fahd, La divination arabe, 75). The spirit which inspires the poet is called shaytân al-hamdta; i.e. "the holy spirit" (vb. al-kâfû). "Speak, he was told, and Djîbîrî shall be with you in order to avoid the shame [which would have attached to him], resulting from the fact that his son spoke in verses" (Aghâni, ii, 44; La divination arabe, 74). Accused by his enemies of being a poet, Muhammad vehemently refutes the charge. Numerous sûras stress the absence of any similarity between his message and that of the poet: "We have not taught him poetry" (XXXVI, 69); "This is not the speech of a poet" (LXXIX, 4). The basis of this reaction was definitely the belief deeply ingrained among Arabs that poetic inspiration was demonic in origin. The spirit which inspired Hassan b. Thâbit [e.g.], Muhammad's own poet, was, at the outset of his career, a female djinn. A text of al-Djahîzî exposes an attempt at the depaganisation of poetic inspiration in Islam. In effect, the Prophet would have replaced this shaytân with "the holy spirit" (vb. al-kâfû). "Speak, he was told, and Djîbîrî shall be with you in order to avoid the shame [which would have attached to him], resulting from the fact that his son spoke in verses" (Aghâni, ii, 44; La divination arabe, 74). The genii and djinn of Islam, dominated and anthropomorphic. The conception of inspiration and revelation from these sources is deeply felt. The hâdiths assembled by Ibn Sa'd (Tabâbbât, i/1, 131 f.) regarding the various attitudes of the Prophet at the time when he was under the influence of inspiration, illustrate such a conception (La divination arabe, 75 ff.). For more substantial information, see Fahd, in Sources orientales, viii [1971], 155-214, section Angels, demons and djinns in Islam.

Bibliography: Besides the references made in the text, ample documentation is to be found in the article mentioned above (212-14) and in the voluminous notes. See also Fahd, La divination arabe, Paris 1987. For the pagan deities (Nuhum, Kuzah, Taghût, etc.) considered to be shaytân, see idem, Le pantheon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire, Paris 1968, index s.v. shaytân. The notions of al-Djahîzî, al-Damîrî, al-Kazwînî, etc. have been assembled by G. van Vloten in Démones, Geister und Zaubert bei den Arabem, in WZKM, vi/1993, 159-73, 290-2. In this article, the emphasis is laid on lexicographical material. See also: A.S. Tritton, Spirits and demons in Arabia, in JRAS (1934), 715-27; A. Eichler, Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran, Leipzig 1928; Goldziher, Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie, i, Leiden 1896, where djîn, djîn, hîdâ, 'îl'ma, etc. are examined. Among the Arabic sources, the following should be cited: Tabâbbât, i, 79 ff. (where there is a compilation of traditional notions on the origin and organisation of angels, demons and djînns, Kuzawîn, Aghâtî al-nakhlokkâtî, i, 55-63 (Ger. tr. with commentary by S.J. Ansbacher, Die Abschône über die Geister und die wunderbaren Geschôpfe aus Kuzawîn's Kosmographie, Kiel 1905; F. Taeschner, Die Psychologie Kuzawîn's, Kiel-Tûbingen 1912). Considering the importance of the material contained in the K. al-Hayawdn of Djahîzî (the references of van Vloten being based on manuscript sources), the passages concerned are the following (ed. Abd al-Salâm Hârîn, Beirut 1968/1969): i, 153, 300: shaytân al-kamâlûs; ii, 153, 300;
The word is used 70 times in the Kur'an in the singular form, including six times in the indefinite (XXI, 17, XV, 17, XXII, 3, XXXVII, 7, XLIII, 36, LXXI, 25), plus 18 times in the plural shaytān, always definite. Etymologically, the word is related to the Hebrew šāḏān, the root of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [i.e. and its employment is parallel to the Jewish and Christian use of the name. The relationship between the names Iblīs (used only 11 times in the Kur'an) and al-Shayṭān is noteworthy. The name Iblīs figures mainly in the stories of the creation of Adam and the subsequent fall of the devil (the context of 9 passages is "bowing" before Adam). Al-Shayṭān, on the other hand, is the one who tempts Adam and Eve, but his role in scripture extends well beyond this one myth. Iblīs is the tempter and it is in that role that the emphasis of references to Iblīs, versus about 120 lines to al-Shayṭān, is especially prevalent at prayer: "'A'isha asked Muhammad how much of references to Iblīs shevid to be the source of his irritation (XXVI, 210, 221) (see A.T. Welch, Allah and other supernaturals: the emergence of the Qur'ānic doctrine of twofold, in Jnl. of the American Academy of Religion, thematic issue, XLVII [1979], 744-5).

The phrase al-shayṭān al-rājīm in XVI, 98 (see also III, 36), which has led to widespread practices for protection from the evil influence of Satan, especially in Kur'ānic recitation (istīfaḍa [see TA'AWWUDH and TADJWID]), presents its own particular problems. While the word rājīm [see RAGĪ] literally means "stoned" and is sometimes taken as a reference to the stoning of the pillars of Satan in the mābūṭ [Ed.] and related to the stories of Abraham and the sacrifice of his son, it has been suggested that the word is an Ethiopic loan word from meaning "accursed" (see A. Jeffrey, Foreign vocabulary of the Quran, Baroda 1938, 139-40).

The indefinite usage in the phrase kull shayṭān rājīm, "every accused satan," in XV, 17, and LXXI, 25, suggests a plurality of such satans. This may be understood as parallel to the construction kull shayṭān marad, "every rebel Satan," in XXII, 3, and XXXVII, 7 (see also IV, 117). The linking of these to a literal notion of stoning Satan is probably derived from LVII, 5 (see also XXXVII, 6-7), which speaks of "lamps" (masābbīth) in the heavens (i.e. stars) being objects to throw at the satans.

In Ḥadīth, the name Satan continues its Kur'ānic prominence, with Iblīs not mentioned often (8 lines of references to Iblīs, versus about 120 lines to al-Shayṭān, in A.J. Wensinck, Concordantia, viii, Indices, ed. and tr. R.A. Nicholson, London 1925-40, iii, 3196), especially suggested by the onomatopoeic saḥwaṣa ("whisper") in its root repetition, in its insistence that Satan does not just call or speak but comes over and over again.

The proper name al-Shayṭān may be distinguished from the Kur'ānic plural usage shayṭān, which is often thought to reflect Arabian notions of devils, although it is used in a sense which is not unknown within the Biblical tradition also (e.g. "adversaries" in 1 Samuel, XXIX, 4). These "devils" can be humans or jinn [i.e. see Kur'an, VI, 112] and come in varying ranks [see išťār]. The references suggest that the word is used to refer to the hosts of evil (e.g. Kur'an, II, 102, VI, 121), the evil leaders among humans (e.g. II, 14, VI, 112) and mischievous spirits very similar to jinn (e.g. VI, 71, XXI, 82). They are the friends of the unbelievers (VII, 27), they make evil suggestions (XXXIII, 97) and they were believed by Muhammad's opponents to be the source of his inspiration (XXVI, 210, 221) (see A.T. Welch, Allah and other supernaturals: the emergence of the Qur'ānic doctrine of twofold, in Jnl. of the American Academy of Religion, thematic issue, XLVII [1979], 744-5).

In theological thinking, the existence of al-Shayṭān

iv, 133; vi, 192: hayya = shaytdn', i, 153; vi, 193: the pride of the shaytdn; i, 291; vi, 190-1: defini-

(TRANSLATOR)

2. In the Kur'ān and Islamic lore.

In theological thinking, the existence of al-Shayṭān is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [i.e. and its employment is parallel to the Hebrew šāḏān, the root of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [i.e. and its employment is parallel to the Hebrew šāḏān, the root of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [i.e. and its employment is parallel to the Hebrew šāḏān, the root of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [i.e. and its employment is parallel to the Hebrew šāḏān, the root of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [i.e. and its employment is parallel to the Hebrew šāḏān, the root of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [i.e. and its employment is parallel to the Hebrew šāḏān, the root of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [i.e. and its employment is parallel to the Hebrew šāḏān, the root of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).
as a force of evil has been accepted without a great deal of speculation as to its implications. The emphasis in Islamic thinking has always been that individuals are responsible for their own “fall”, as in the case of Adam, and while the role of Satan as a tempter satisfies a human psycholog-ical need, as F. Rahman points out, he provides no excuse for evil behaviour on the part of the individual. Al-Ash’ari’s statement in his creedal summary (Makalat al-islamiyyin, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 296) “And that God bestows His sustenance upon His servants, be it lawful or prohibited; and that Satan whispers but affirms his lack of real power to effect evil.

Bibliography (in addition to sources mentioned in article): Tafsir tradition, esp. on the ‘istitd’a;, e.g. Tabar, Tafsir, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1955, i, 111-13; E. Beck, Ihtisb and Mensch, Satan and Adam. Der Werdegang einer keramischen Erzählung, in Le Musée, LXXXIX (1976), 195-244; Fazlur Rahman, Major themes of the Qur’an, Minneapolis and Chicago 1980, 121-31; P.J. Awn, Satan’s tragedy and redemption. Ihtisb in Sufi theology, Leiden 1983.”

SHAYTAN AL-TAK “the demon of the arcade”, the name by which non-Shī‘ī Muslim authors usually referred to the Imāmi Shi‘ī theologian of the 2nd/8th century Abū Dā‘far Muhāammad (b. ‘Alī) b. al-Nu‘mān b. Abī Ṭariḥa b. Baḏalf al-Kūfī (also called al-Aḥwāl “the squinter”). No precise dates for him are known; it is only known that he died after 183/799, if it is true (as al-Baghdādī and then al-Safādim state) that he was the real and sole person who “categorically affirmed” (kāta‘a) the death of Mūsā al-Kāzim.

At the outset, his by-name of Shaytān does not seem to have been felt as derogatory. Ibn al-Nu‘mān functioned in Kūfa as a money-changer (ṣawqāf), at the spot called Tāk al-mahāmi‘ “Arcade of the litterers”; it was his skill in detecting spurious coins which is said to have earned him the by-name. This does not affect the fact that, in general, Imāmi authors themselves prefer to call him Mu‘min al-Tāk, Shāh al-Tāk or, more simply, Sāḥib al-Tāq. In Sunni heresiog-raphy, his followers are habitually called the Shayṭāniyya, the sole exception being al-Shahrastānī, who uses the term Nu‘māniyya.

Shaytān al-Tāk was a skilful controversialist, and had discussions notably with his compatriot Abu Ha- narz. Amongst his works (all lost) there appear amongst others several pro-Shī‘ī works of propaganda (K. al-Ināma, K. al-Rudd “a’l-Mu‘āqaza fī istimāt al-majdūd, K. al-Djamal fi amr Taḥla wa T-Qayyur wa A’th, etc.), as well as a K. al-Ma’mūd, and also what was probably a treatise on fiqh called Iľ’al tafal ‘Do, don’t do!’

He was also a poet in his spare time, and al-Marzubānī cites him in his anthology of poets of the Shī‘a. In kālīm, his theories cannot be differentiated from those of the Imāmi theologians of his time, except on points of detail. Like the great majority of them, he thought that, basically, God only has knowledge of things at the moment when He created them; that our own personal “items of knowledge” (i.e. those concerning God) cannot be the result of an act of reasoning, but it is God who creates them within our-selves by “constraint” (al-ma‘ārif kullahā sīfūrī), that ability to act (istīṣ‘ā) is simply health (ṣīha) and is necessarily, arising from this fact, anterior to the act. Going further, in this respect, than Ḥāǧīb b. al-Ha-kam (q.v.), he held, like the other Ḥāǧīm (sc. b. Sāлим al-Djawalī), that all that exists in this present world is body, including our movements and all our other acts. It thus seems also that, whilst not allowing himself to apply formally this term to God (cf. al-Baghdādī, Fīkh, 216 ll. 14-15; al-Shahrastānī, Mīlāh, 404 ll. 8-9), he represented Him as likewise being a body according to al-Khalfānī (al-Uṣūl wa al-Kāfī, Tehran 1375/1955, i, 101 ll. 1-2), he pictured God, like Ḥāǧīm b. Sāлим and others, “with a hollow body as far as the navel, and the rest full and solid (ṣanad)”.


D. GIRMARET

SHAYYĀD, a term that meant primarily “speaker” or “one who recited or sang stories or poems in a loud voice”, as used in Persian and Turkish between the 7th/13th and 10th/ 16th centuries. Although probably the emphatic form of the Arabic root yā-d, meaning “one who highly praised someone or something”, it was never used in Arabic. Indeed, Arabic commentators and writers sought its meaning in the Persian word ʂayyād (“deceiver”) and equated it with kāndīb (“liar”). Thus some saw it as the Arabic emphatic form of ʂayyād, i.e. as an Arabised Persian term. 限额 was not included, however, in the great Persian dictionaries of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. It was first listed in the Qāṣīyāt al-lugāt published in 1422/1605-7, but not all subsequent Persian dictionaries included it. All this has contributed to much confusion about its true meaning.

限额 seems to have first appeared in Sa’dī’s Gulistān (656/1258) and later in such works as Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfi al-Kazwīnī’s Tarīqī [thread (730/1330) and Allākī’s Manākib al-ṣafīfīn (754/1353-4). Disagreement over its meaning began with the earliest translations of, and commentaries on, the Gulistān. Some writers generally equated it with “liar” or “trick-ster”, but others, almost all the 10th/16th-century Turkish writers, defined it as a person who elegantly addressed assemblies or told tales and, in the course of doing so, raised his voice; and they used it interchangeably with the Persian kīsāḥ-dān (Turkicised as ƙasāẖ-dān). Sometimes they added to this the connotation of “conjuror” or “masquerader”, making it synonymous with the Persian mawrakaprès.

Some 19th-century European writers, based on Sylvester de Sacy, also added to ʂayyād the meaning of “dervish”. In EF, s.v. ʂayyād, F. Kopriülī categorically made this word synonymous with kalender or vagabond dervish, as well as ʂayyā (q.v.). He also provided his own subjective definition to link ʂayyād to “dervish”. He did not, however, provide any historical evidence to show that ʂayyād were a special Bātīnī dervish group in Anatolia between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, as he believed. Because some dervishes, including poets like Shayyād Ḥamza (q.v.), had the byname ʂayyād, he assumed that this was a term for another kind of dervish. In his Rūṣāla-yā ʨi,
the 10th/16th-century Turkish poet Fa'krit, whom Kopriilu cited in this regard, provides no proof that ṣ̄ayyād had any relationship to Bātīnīn or being dervishes as such. He only says that, shouting at the top of his voice, a ṣ̄ayyād would describe the battles of 'Alī and Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in an exaggerated manner. A ṣ̄ayyād could be a dervish, but Fa'krit does not mention this word in his discussion of dervish groups. Moreover, neither Wāhidī (fl. beg. of 10th/16th century) in his Mānākib-i Hājiyi-yi Dījaran, nor Karakāsh-zāde 'Omer Ėlcendi (fl. end of 10th/16th century) in his Nūr al-hadād li-μan šatadā, in their accounts of contemporary dervish groups, mention this term. Al-Fatrī, in his Mānākib al-dījarān, mentions ṣ̄ayyādīn in the circle of Māwarīnāšt Dījarāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī and his first khalīfatīn [q.v.]. But again, this does not mean that ṣ̄ayyādīn were by definition any group of dervishes. From much of the contextual evidence, F.N. Uzluk has, in fact, concluded that ṣ̄ayyādīn were minstrels or sz [q.v.] players who were often found at Mawlawī gatherings (ṣ̄eyyād ṣāz hikābādā rayāstama, in DTOCF, viii [1949], 587-92).

It is especially worthy of note that the great Ottoman historian Muṣṭafā 'Alī (d. 1008/1600), in his Mawā'id al-nafūtīs fi ḥairst al-muqābālat, never discusses ṣ̄ayyādīn in the context of dervish groups, although he had a thorough knowledge of such groups and included them in this work. Muṣṭafā 'Alī characterises ṣ̄ayyādīn and kiyahkan as people who told lies without reason and swore oaths in order to convince their listeners of what they were saying. This resulted from their attempts to explain unbelievable events in an exaggerated manner. Alongside, the ṣ̄ayyādīn appear to have been a class of people who had the profession of speaking as narrators or storytellers in a loud voice before large groups. In the early 11th/17th century, the term ṣ̄ayyād began to disappear from use and was replaced by such words as kiyahkan.

Bibliography: For a thorough discussion, see IA, art. Ṣeyyād (O.F. Akun). (G. Leiser)

SHAYZAR, a town of northern Syria, on the right bank of the Orontes (nahr al-'Asī [see al-'Asī]), some 20 km/12 miles to the north-west of Hamā, ancient Ṣīṣara, Byzantine Greek To Sezer. It is mentioned from earliest recorded times in Egyptian texts, notably the Amarna tablets. The town was refounded by the Seleucids at the end of the 4th century B.C. under the name of Larissa, but resumi its original name in the Roman period. The name Shayzar is attested in the pre-Islamic Arabic literature, e.g. in Imru' al-Kays. According to al-Baladhurī, Fustāḥ, 131, the town was conquered by the Arabs under Abū 'Ubayda in 17/638; under the Umayyads, it became an iktim of the district of the ʿund of Hims. All through the mediaeval period, Shayzar, which controlled one of the Orontes crossings, held a strategic position on the first order. At the end of the 4th/10th century, it was a pawn in the struggles amongst the different masters of Syria: Byzantines, Fatimids and Hamdānīs. Thus the Greeks occupied it 966-70 and again in 994-8, it having passed in the interim into the hands of the Hamdānīs and then the Fātimids. After 999, for nearly 80 years, the town reverted to the Byzantine emperors. The real apogee of the town came at the end of the 5th/11th century with the installation of the Banū Munkidh [q.v.] at Shayzar in 474/1081. Five princes of this family governed it until 552/1157: Sadiq al-Mulk 'Alī (474-5/1081-2), then his son Abu l-Murhaf Naṣr (475-9/1082-98), and another of his sons, Abū Sallāma Murshid (491/1098), who renounced power in favour of one of his brothers, Abu l-'Asākir Sulṭān (491-749/1098-1114). The last Munkidh prince, Tādh al-Dawālā Muḥammad, son of the preceeding, died in 552/1157. The Banū Munkidh, from the Arab tribe of Kindān, settled in western Syria at the opening of the 11th century when they expelled the rule of the Mirdāsids [see Mirdas, Banī] of Aleppo. The latter ceded to them, in the first place, ca. 1025, the territories at around Shayzar which they were controlling at that time. In 474/1081 Sadiq al-Mulk 'Alī purchased from the Byzantine bishop of al-Bāra the town of Shayzar, and from this time onwards, the Banū Munkidh resided in the citadel of Shayzar. We know of the town's history under them especially well from the autobiography, the K. al-Ptibdr, of a member of the family, Usāmā Ibn Munkidh. For three-quarters of a century the family succeeded in forming their territories into an autonomous, petty principality. But it was the object of many covetous rivals, given its position at the centre of the ambitions of the princes of Antioch, Aleppo and Damascus. The Munkidh amirs nevertheless succeeded in preserving their autonomy essentially by diverse means. The payment of tribute to a nearby prince assured them of protection, as in the 1080s with the prince of Aleppo Muslim b. Kuryāsh, and also enabled them to obtain the evacuation of hostile armies from their territories. Thus in 1110 and 1121, there was secured the departure of the Franks of Antioch, who had established themselves on the fringes of Shayzar. The same means were used in July 1133 regarding the prince of Damascus, Shams al-Mulūk, who was besieging the fortress. The Munkidh princes conducted a skilful policy of alliances and of playing off one power against the other. Thus in the 1080s, the amīr married one of the daughters of the Saljūq of Damascus Tutush, who was at that time envisaging the conquest of the whole of Syria. In the 1120s, at the time when the Crusaders were at their most dangerous, Abu l-'Asākir Sulṭān succeeded in establishing friendly relations with King Baldwin II of Jerusalem. After the end of that decade, the decisive alliance was that with the new ruler of Aleppo, Zangī, which allowed Shayzar to resist the implicit alliance between the Būrids or Būrids of Damascus and the Crusaders. Even so, the principality was in real danger on two occasions during the first half of the 12th century. First, the Assassins or Ismāʾīlīs succeeded within a few hours in seizing the fortress of Shayzar, left temporarily deserted by the Banū Munkidh. Then in 1138, the citadel was besieged by a coalition organised by the Byzantine emperor John Comnenus and including the Crusaders and the Damascenes. The town was saved by a lifting of the siege before it could succeed, probably to be connected with dissensions in the besiegers' camp. The Munkidh period of Shayzar's history was also one of a relatively significant cultural development of the principality, due to first of all to members of the ruling family such as the prince-poet Abū Sallāma Mūrmūd, or his famous son Usāmā, both famed in the realm of letters. There were also a number of refugees from the Crusaders, fugitives from places like Tripoli, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān or Kafartāb at the court of Shayzar. These included political refugees, such as the amīr of Tripoli Fākhr al-Mulk Ibn Ammār in 502/1109, but above all, scholars and teachers of Usāmā like the poet Ibn al-Munţa and the Andalusian grammarian Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who had worked at the dār al-tim in Tripoli.

The violent earthquake of 552/1157 brought about the death of the greater part of the Munkidh fam-
ily, who were present at an entertainment in one of the rooms of the citadel at the time of the quake. Nûr al-Dîn profited from the opportunity to seize Shayzar in face of the Franks and the Assassins who were coveting it. The town was given to a family who were probably of Kurdish origin, the Banû Madj d al-Dîn Abu Bakr Ibn al-Daya, was the foster-brother of Nûr al-Dîn. His successors were his brother Sâbîk al-Dîn 'Uthmân and then the latter's son and grand-son 'Izâr al-Dîn Mas'ûd and Shâhîd al-Dîn Yusuf. Yusuf was dismissed by the ruler of Aleppo, al-Malîk al-'Azîz, probably because he had for a certain time given allegiance to al-Malîk al-Mu'azzam of Damascus. Shayzar then lost its relative autonomy and was given to a Kurdish amîr called Ibn al-Dunyâr, who was directly responsible to the Ayyûbid ruler of Aleppo. The fortress, whose garrison had been reduced after the end of the Banû 'l-Daya, was dismantled some years later in face of the Mongols. The Banû Munkîdîh was divided into a lower town or madina (in European sources, suburbium, pars inferior civitatis), occupied today by a hamlet, and an upper town dominated by the citadel (kal'a) (the praesi- dium, oppidum, pars superior civitatis). The lower town, to the north of the fortress, between it and the bridge used as a crossing over the Orontes, was several times occupied by besiegers, although it was probably protected by a wall. The fortress, however, was sited on rocky outcrop oriented north-southwards and called by al-Dimashkî, 205, "the cock's crest". On the southern side, to strengthen the site's defences, a deep ditch had been dug by cutting into the rock for several metres. Of the fortress of the Banû Munkîdîh, nothing remains for certain, everything having been destroyed by the earthquakes between 552/1157 and 565/1170. The oldest remains now visible are ostensi-bly, according to Max Van Berchem, those of the Banû Munkîdîh, lord of Shayzar under the Fatimids, almost certainly dismantled between the years 630/1233 and then, after the devastating appearance of the Mongols, by the Ayyûbid al-Malîk al-Mas'ûd Sahâl al-Dîn Yusuf b. al-Malîk al-Kâmil Muhammadd (690/1291, is in the Maktabat Dar al-Islâmiyya in Peshawar; a modern copy of this manuscript is at Leiden (R. Weiper, in SGW, ii [1965], 241), in addition to Brockelmann, S 1, 460 and to Sezgin, ii, 80). Al-Shayzar composed a second anthology soon after 622/1225, called Dirâshat al-Islâm dha'h al-nâfi' wa l-nizâm. It comprises 16 books, which start with madhî and end with qa'edâh/khaîtâb, and each has 10 chapters, the first 5 of which—according to the author—always deal with poetry (najm) and the other 5 with prose (nâfr; with very many verses!) of poets and literary people of the Islamic period, i.e. from the 1st to the 7th centuries A.H., occasionally with exact dates. The work was composed for the last Ayyûbid in Yemen, al-Malîk al-Mas'ûd Sahâl al-Dîn Yusuf b. al-Malîk al-Kâmil Muhammadd (r. 612/1215-1259) and contains at the end of each of the 16 books—additionally also, in other places—a poem in his honour composed by the author, who sporadically designates himself as mamlâk, and a second one by his son Ahmad. This adab work is an interesting and informative source, for it gives not infrequently ablāt (with explanations), kâyât, ra'dât, and excerpts or accounts of all sorts from texts, from traditions of the period and of families, and from his own life, preserved otherwise only covertly or not at all (cf. Brockelmann, t, 302, S I, 374, xi; 5; see for this Arabic, i [1954], 237; Kh. Mardam Bak, in MMFA, xxxii [1977/1958], 3-20). The unique manuscript of Leiden of 697/1298 is available in a facsimile edition by F. Sezgin, Frankfurt/Main 1986 (with reference to the Ph.D. thesis by M.D. Ahmad, An introduction to and analysis of the Leiden ms. ... with a critical edition of some passages, Oxford [1954?]). Another work by al-Shayzar which has been preserved (al-Zirîkîf, al-Lâ'tûmâ, Beirut 1979, vii, 223) and which was also composed on behalf of al-Malîk al-Mas'ûd, is 'Addî al-nâjîm, an almanac "which closely resembles the celebrated Calendar of Cordova. The astronomical information contained in al-Shayzar's almanac, such as the solar meridian altitude (52°2' at the equinoxes) and midday shadow lengths for each month, indicates that the work was not compiled for use in the Yemen" (D.A. King, Mathematical astronomy in medieval Yemen. A bibliographical survey, Malibu 1983, 22; idem, A sur- vey of the scientific manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library, Winona Lake, Indiana 1986 [American Research Center in Egypt, Catalogs, vol. v], 66). When and where al-Shayzar died cannot be ascertainment.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(R. SELLEHEIM)

SHEBEK [see SHABAK].
SHEBELLE, a river of the south of Ethiopia and of Somalia, the Shabeelle or Webi Shabeelle, is the longest stretch of water in the Horn of Africa, both in regard to its length (2,488 km/1,546 miles) and in regard to the extent of its catchment area (200,000 km²). It rises in Ethiopia on the fringes of the Bole, Arsi and Sidamo, at Hogosso, at an altitude of 2,660 m/8,790 feet, 225 km/140 miles south of Addis Ababa, to the north of Mount Guramba and not far from the sources of another important river, the Ganale, which combines its waters with other rivers to form, in Somalia, the Juba. After the explorations of Christopher (1843), Sacconi (1883) and Baudi di Vesme (1888, 1891, etc.), its course was explored and its sources pinned down by an Italian expedition under the Duca degli Abruzzi, Luigi Amedeo di Savoia (1923-9).

After an origin in rugged country, it flows in a vast bend towards the north-east, rapidly losing height, and then turns southwards. In its upper course it receives numerous affluents from the Harargé and Arsi mountains before forming the southwestern border of the Ogaden. When approaching Mogadishu [see MAKDISHU], at Batad it runs parallel to the land between Jilib (Gelib) and the sea, not far from the mouth of the Juba, with which, when very swollen, it may sometimes join up. The Shabele, with the Juba, is the only permanent river in Somalia. Both of them traverse arid regions, in such a way that they have been compared to the Tigris and Euphrates and the region which they encompass in Mesopotamia. The river has made possible sedentary and agricultural life along its banks, which contrasts with the nomadism dominant on the plateau between Jilib (Gelib) and the Juba, but far from the mouth of the Juba, with which, when very swollen with flood waters, it may sometimes join up.

The Shabele is, with the Juba, the only permanent river in Somalia. Both of them traverse arid regions, in such a way that they have been compared to the Tigris and Euphrates and the region which they encompass in Mesopotamia. The river has made possible sedentary and agricultural life along its banks, which contrasts with the nomadism dominant on the plateau between Jilib (Gelib) and the Juba, but far from the mouth of the Juba, with which, when very swollen with flood waters, it may sometimes join up.
Shefiq Mehmed Efendi — Shehir Emaneti

Mehmed as well. A copy of the work, bearing this title, is apparently held by the Vienna National Library, and many of Istanbul’s libraries, including Istanbul University, Topkapı Sarayı and Suleymanie. Although Shefiq Mehmed remained active through his historical writings and poetry in the years around 1115/1706, he did not achieve wide public notice until 1125/1713, when his friendship with the new Western Azaam, Dâmed Ali Paşa [q.v.], secured him a place in the Western circle of intimates and he was rewarded with the chief post in the small accounts bureau (küçük mühasebedi) of the evakâf. He died in Istanbul in 1127/1715. Like many Ottoman litterateurs, he was proficient in Persian and Arabic, and was a member of the Mawlawi Stûf order [see Mawlawiya].


Shehir Emaneti (v.), a term used for two successive institutions of the Ottoman empire.

The first of these appears in the person of the shehir emini mentioned in the Kûnân-nâme of Mehmed II as ranked below the defterdar and defter emini but above the reis-ul-tâhtâb, without his function being defined. His appearance just after the conquest of Constantinople by Byzantine scholars of the 12th century, perhaps inspired by a passage of Count Andreossy, who translated this function as “prefect of the town” and followed by some Turkish authors (‘Othmân Nûrî, in Meğêjî-yi Umîr-i Bâlediyey, i [Istanbul 1922], 1358-9), to put forward the hypothesis that this official was the successor of the Byzantine eparchos, himself the heir of the Roman praefectus urbis. However, later Turkish scholars, following with Fuat Köprüli (Bizon’un ormanlı müesselerine tari, Istanbul 1931, 260-7), have rejected this idea, noting, quite rightly, the dissimilarity between the two offices. In effect, the eparch, the leading administrator of the capital, responsible for its provisioning, judge and police chief and deputy for the emperor during his absence (L. Breher, Les institutions de l’Empire byzantin, Paris 1949, 186-92), seems rather to have fulfilled the urban functions of the Grand Vizier, or at least those of his lieutenant, the kâtîm, than the much more modest ones of the shehir emini, who appears to have functioned more like intendant of the royal buildings in pre-Revolutionary France.

The shehir emini’s functions, so far as they can be deduced from the various documents in which he is mentioned, involved the construction, repair, provisioning and payment of salaries of the personnel of the imperial palaces in Istanbul, sc. the New one (Topkapı) and the Ancient one, as well as those of Ghâlata Sarayı and of Ibrâhim Paşa, serving as bar- racks for the ‘Ağemî oğhlâns. Together with the matbakh-i ‘amîre emini (head of the imperial kitchens), the darbâgâne emini (head of the imperial minstrels) and the arpa emini (head of the imperial stables), he was one of the four grand intendants (kâtâ‘îm) of the outside administration (bîrânî) of the palace. He was thus the superior in rank of the head architect and his services, and supervised the building of the imperial buildings, apart from the greatest building operations, such as complexes of religious buildings, etc., for which an ad hoc supervisor was appointed.

He seems to have been a more important personage in the 16th century, and often to have been assimilated to the military class, since we see a müteferrîka becoming sheîr emini and a sheîr emini becoming a hâdisî bağî, than he was in the 18th century, when the office was held by persons previously in the rank of kethâhid. This decline in status entailed a conflict of authority with that of the chief architect, and in 1851 the two functions were suppressed and replaced by that of the director of imperial buildings (sınırîye ‘âlî hâdisî, maddîn), but the appointment to this office of the last chief architect, ‘Abd al-Haîm Bey, shows that it was really the second which absorbed the first.

The second sheîr emini appears 24 years after the disappearance of the first when, in a report of 13 June 1855, the High Assembly of the Tanzimât proposed suppressing the Ministry of Fıhûbî, which had in 1826 succeeded to the functions of the traditional muhtesibî with the same functions of urban policing, and its replacement by a municipal council made up of “the members of the trade corporation with the highest profile” (‘Othmân Nûrî, op. cit., 1371-2). If this new office of sheîr emnetî, translated in texts of the time as “Préfecture de la ville”, seems directly inspired by the French prefectural system, whilst taking into account the assimilation of the term sheîr emini to that of town prefect, proposed by Andreossy, the duties for which he became responsible, of cleaning and keeping tidy the city, as well as the new sheîr emini’s responsibility to tour the markets and bazaars, merely perpetuated the functions of the old muhtesibî.

The date of the creation of this new office corresponds to that of the Crimean War, when the presence of a large number of foreigners in the Ottoman capital brought a demand for municipal services like paved streets and street lighting. Since neither the ancient services of the hâdisî nor those of the sheîr emini were capable of responding to the new needs of a municipality, the intizâm-i sheîr komiyonunu, translated into French as “Commission municipale” was set up on 6 May 1856 with the participation of several members of the city’s European colony. It made up the nucleus of the “sixth circle”, altî‘âdi dî‘ere, the first municipality of the Ottoman empire, limited to the quarters of Perâ (Beyoğlu) and Ghâlata, largely occupied by Europeans and the non-Muslims subjects of the Porte. Founded in December 1857, it was merged after 1869 in the Istanbul municipality with the creation of a municipal council responsible to the sheîr emini, who thus became mayor of the city.

After the foundation of the Republic, a sheîr emnetî was also created for Ankara on 16 February 1924. Finally, by the law of 3 April 1930, a uniform system of municipalities (belediye) was created for the whole country.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Ahmed Lutfi Ef., Ta‘rikh, repr. Ankara 1989,
SHEHIR EMINI — SHEM'I

Shehîr Emaneti — Shehîr Emini


Shehîr-emînî [see sêhehîr emanêtî).

Shehîr ketkûdîsî (t.), an official of the pre-modern Ottoman empire, who had financial and administrative duties. His prime function was to collect the specified taxation from a town or its quarters (a function thus corresponding to that of the âbîd al-balad in Egypt), whereas the yûdûn [q.v.] acquired tax-farming rights in the rural areas of the provinces. As with the office of shehir keikhuddsî, a function thus corresponding to that of the Shaykh al-balad, the commissary's prime function was to collect the specified taxation from a town or its quarters (a function thus corresponding to that of the Shaykh al-balad). The term shehzade (or shehzade, from Pers. یزدâh “king” + زادa “born of”), “prince”, was one of the titles used for the male children born to a reigning Ottoman sultan. It is said to have been introduced by Mehmed I (816-24/1413-21) for his own sons, and over subsequent decades gradually superseded the earlier term âzîz. Shehzade came into use around the same time as the title pâdshâh [q.v.], as part of the general elevation of Ottoman political and cultural pretensions following Mehmed I's reunification of the state, and continued in use until the reign of 'Abd ul-Hamid I (1187-1203/1774-89), when fendî became the preferred princely title.

As a title (particularly from the mid-10th/16th century onwards), shehzade was regularly used in conjunction with the basic title sultan [q.v.], by which all adult sons of the reigning sultan were also known: i.e. “Shehzade Sultan X” (and even “Shehzade Sultan X Khan [sic]”), the designation applied by Peçevî to all six sons of Ahmed I, see Türâgî-i Peçevî, Istanbul 1281/1684, ii, 347-9. A clear distinction was thus made between the ruler and his sons. Shehzade was also widely used in a purely descriptive sense, synonymous with âzîz, “son”: e.g. shehzâdeleri Sultan Bayselî ... see Sultan Mustafa” [his [Mehmed II’s] sons Sultan Bayselî in Beyazî, Türâgî, Âzîz û Ebi’l-Feh, ed. M. Tulum, Istanbul 1977, 84).


Sheker Bayrami [see ’id al-fitr].

Şem’dân-ı zade Suleyman Efendi, also known as Findiklîli Süleyman Efendi, 18th century member of the Ottoman ’ulema”, provincial judge (kâdhî), and author of the Murî l’tevarîşî, was born in Findiklî, Istanbul, at an unknown date. He was the son of a Tokat merchant, Şem’dânî Mehmed Agha, who reputedly stood up to rebels who were attempting to seize and destroy the Istanbul Custom House during the events of the Patrona Kahlîfî [q.v.], rebellion in 1143/1730. He was later recognised for his bravery by the Grand Vizier Yegen Mehmed Paşa [q.v.], who had been the Customs Officer in Istanbul at the time of the events in question (Aktepe, p. xvii). Suleyman Efendi, then, was a member of a prominent Istanbul family, which had settled in Istanbul at least by 1143/1730, if not earlier. He apparently preferred the religious profession over commerce, and chose to be a judge (Aktepe, p. xviii). Information on his career is scant, but a few details are scattered throughout his history. He is known to have been appointed judge at İmârî in Rumeli in 1178/1765, where he served as a guide and host for the passage of Selim Giray Khan into Ottoman territory. Of other Balkan towns, he was appointed to Beypazar and Prizren at dates unknown. In 1183/1769, he was appointed to Ankara; in 1185/1771, to Tokat and in 1190/1776, to al-Fayyûm [q.v.] in Egypt. He died in Istanbul in 1193/1779, and was buried in Eyûbî (Aktepe, pp. xvii, xviii).

Suleyman Efendi wrote his Murî l’tevarîşî as a supplement to Kâthî Celebi’s [q.v.] Taktîm al-tevârişî, written in 1058/1648, and extended by Mehmed Sheykhi and Ibrâhîm Muteferrika [q.v.] to 1145/1733. Suleyman Efendi had intended to end his work with 1188/1774, presenting it to the new sultan ’Abd ul-Hamîd I [q.v.], but he extended it to 1190/1777 to include some of the post-war events and appointments (Aktepe, pp. xxi-xvii). He acknowledged his debt to the official historians Şuhî and Ýzzî Suleyman, whose works he consulted and incorporated until the year 1165/1752. The value of the work lies in Suleyman Efendi’s original contribution for the period from 1165-91/1752-77, especially for the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish War, when, as kâdhî of Tokat, for example, he was responsible for enrolling a regiment of Janissaries for the battlefront (Aktepe, ii/b, 61). His description offers historians one of the few realistic pictures of the difficulties of 18th-century Ottoman mobilisation, and his work supplements the other chronicles of the same period, those of Enwerî and Wâsî [q.v.].

Bibliography: Süflî-i ’olmînî, iii, 86; ’Olînînî mu’âlîfînîn, iii, 144; Babinger, 306-7; Murî l’tevarîshî, Beyazî ms. 5144, published in Istanbul in 1919, with foreword by Ahmed Tewhîth; additional biographical data and an analytical bibliography of manuscript copies in M.M. Aktepe’s edition, Şem’dân-ı zade Findiklîli Süleyman Efendi ısrâhi Murî’t-tevarîshî, Istanbul 1976-81. (VIRGINIA AKSAN)

Şemî’î, the ta’halus or pen-name of a Turkish translator and commentator of Persian literary works who flourished in the second half of the 10th/16th century. In his own works and in most of the biographical sources only this name is mentioned. B. Dor, referring to “two manuscripts” of Hâjjî Khâfîa, mentioned that he was properly called Muhammed Darwîgh. Even more uncertain is the name Şemî’î-Allâh Perzerînî which Bursaîlî Mehmed Tahir attributed to him; this was based perhaps on the confusion with another Şemî’î, a Şüfi poet from the town of Pirzîen [q.v.], or Perzerîn, who belonged to the mystical tradition of Shekh Âlî (d. 896/1490-1) and died in 936/1529-30 (see Hâjjî Khâfîa, ed. Fligel, iii, 287, and Laftî, Tezkîre, Istanbul 1314/1896-7,
SHEM'I — SHEN-SI

The dates mentioned in the sources for the death of the commentator She'mi, sc. about 1000/1591-2 (Hadji'dji Khaflia, ii, 53) and 1065/1556-7 (Thureyya), cannot be correct because his commentary on Djamfs Subhat al-abrdr was completed in 1009/1600 and as late as 1012/1603-4 a verse translation of arba' in traditions, entitled Miftdh-i fattah, was dedicated by Shem'i to Sultan Mehemmed III (see Blochet, ii, 169). Also, very little is known about his life. He is described as a man of mystical inclinations who made a living as a private teacher of "the sons of the people and the servants of the great and the exalted" (Na'imā). The numerous commentaries on Persian classics which he wrote are obviously related to this profession. Several of these works were dedicated to officials of the Ottoman court during the reigns of Murād III (982-1003/1574-95) and Mehemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603).

She'mi wrote commentaries on: (1) Farid al-Din 'Aṭṭar's Pand-nāma, with the title Sāda'at-nāma, and a dedication to Zirek Agha, a courtier of Murād III (cf. e.g. Hadji'dji Khaflia, ii, 68; Dözy, ii, 115; Persch, 93-4; Rieu, Turkish mss., ii, 607; idem, Turkish mss., 156-7; Blochet, i, 350, 384; Atē, 193). (2) Bastān by the same (about 1000/1591-2) (cf. e.g. Hadji'dji Khaflia, ii, 53; Rieu, Turkish mss., 156; Atē, 198; Leiden, ms. Or. 12448). (6) Dādal al-Din Rūmī's Mağna-yi ma'nāvī (ca. 999/1590-1) in six books, by order of Sultan Murād III (cf. e.g. Hadji'dji Khaflia, v, 375; Rieu, Persian mss., ii, 589; idem, Turkish mss., 153). (7) Hāfiz, Divān (981/1574), for his patron Ahmed Pasha (cf. e.g. Dozy, ii, 357; Rieu, Persian mss., 755). (9) Tuhfat al-ahbrār by the same (1006/1597), for Mehemmed III's Khādīm Hasan Pasa (cf. e.g. Hadji'dji Khaflia, ii, 219; Persch, 105; Dözy, ii, 120; Atē, 443). (10) Subhat al-ahbrār by the same (1009/1600), dedicated to Ghādānfer Agha (cf. e.g. Hadji'dji Khaflia, iii, 758; Blochet, ii, 331; Atē, 439). (11) Shāhī, Divān, for his patron Ahmed b. Mehem. (cf. e.g. Hadji'dji Khaflia, iii, 286; Dözy, ii, 119-20; Blochet 341).

She'mi used a fairly simple method. Invariably, the main element of his comment was a full Turkish paraphrase of the Persian text, to which very short explanatory remarks were added. Not inappropriately the term "translation" (terajume) is sometimes applied to his commentaries. His work, as well as that of his confrere Surtī (q.v.), is often criticised in Sūdī's (q.v.) commentary on the Divān of Hāfiz.


SHEMS AL-DIN GÜNALTAY, in modern Turkish, Şemseddin GÜNALTAY, 20th-century Turkish statesman and historian. A prolific historian and a professor, Shems al-Din Günaltay (1883-1961) served as the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic during its decisive transition to a multi-party system in the mid-century.

After obtaining a degree in science at a teachers' college, he graduated from the University of Lausanne, where he studied natural sciences. Privately, he mastered Arabic and Persian. After teaching and serving as principal at various high schools, he was in 1914 appointed minister of or professor of Turkish history and the history of Islamic nations at the University of Istanbul. He also taught the history of religion and Islamic philosophy at the Süleymaniye Madrasa. In 1915 he became a member of the Ottoman Parliament, where he served until its dissolution. During the national liberation struggle (1919-22), he was a member and Deputy Chairman of the Istanbul Municipal Council.

A staunch supporter of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk q.v.), and his successor, President İsmet İnönü (q.v. in Suppl.), Günaltay served more than 30 years as a parliamentary deputy (first for Sivas, then for Erzincan). From January 1949 to May 1950 he was Prime Minister. As such, he introduced legislation for direct parliamentary elections and enabled Turkey to have its first free national elections, as a result of which his party fell from power. From May 1950 to his death in October 1961, Günaltay was successively parliamentary deputy, Chairman of his party (the Republican People's Party) for Istanbul and Member of the Council of Deputies and Senator.

During much of his political life, Günaltay continued to teach history at the University of Istanbul. He also served as President of the Turkish Historical Society from 1941 onwards.


(TALAT SAIT HALMAN)
It was a centre of Muslims during the Tang (A.D. 618-907), Sung (A.D. 960-1279) and Mongol-Yuan (A.D. 1206-1368) periods. Muslims were assigned an autonomous district in the city during the Tang period, and one of the oldest Chinese mosques, named Hua-chien or Ta-shi (also called Tang-ta Shi), originally built around A.D. 742, is located here.

After the Mongol conquest of China, a mass Muslim migration from Central Asia into China took place. In 1289, when the Mongol prince Ananda (who succeeded his father Prince Mangala) was appointed as Prince An-hsi to govern Shen-si, more Muslims were brought into this province. Ananda and his son Urgel Temir had close contact with Central Asian Muslims. It is said, according to the author of the Qutmi' al-ataurid, that they were converted to Islam and gave strong support to it. Muslim communities in Shen-si, especially in the north, thus increased and gradually developed into one of the biggest Muslim population concentrations. By the mid-19th century, before the great rebellions, the Muslim population in Shen-si was probably around 4,000,000; but after the suppression of the rebellions, the population was reduced to around 300,000.

Chinese Islamic madrasa education has been regarded as starting from Shen-si, and from there spread all over China. Hu T'eng-chou (1522-97), a Shen-si native of Hsien-yang, with the Islamic name Muhammad 'Abd Allah Ilyas, was the founder of the so-called Shen-si school of Chinese madrasa-mosque education (another one is the Shan-tung school). Hu's teaching was said to emphasize interpretation of the doctrine of Tawhid and Islamic philosophy. He adopted a great number of Arabic works as textbooks, and invented a so-called Ching-t'ang Yü (madrasa language) in his b here teaching. Ching-t'ang Yü is, in fact, a hybrid of Chinese and Islamic (Arabic and Persian) languages. This language is still employed in Islamic college teaching at the present time. Hu's inclination to an Arabic form of Islam, since he spent quite a long period studying in Arabia, distinguished the Shen-si school from the Shan-tung school, which was more inclined to Persian Islam.

Shen-si has always been rather a poor province in natural resources, while its people were notorious for being turbulent and violent in nature. Likewise, Shensi Muslims were also known for their militant characteristics. Throughout modern Chinese history, Muslims from this region played a significant role in local rebellions; however, it was not until the mid-19th century that Shen-si Muslims fought for their own lives and religion. Shen-si Muslim insurrections in 1860s and 1870s resulted from social, economic and religious conflicts between the Han and the Muslims, and political oppression from corrupt local Manchu bureaucrats. It has been suggested that the Muslim insurrections echoed the Taiping Revolt. Muslim rebellions in Shen-si, were certainly influenced by the Qahiriya Süfi (a sub-order of the Naqshbandiya) reform movement led by Ma Mingshin [q.v.] early in the 19th century. Ma's movement stimulated the Muslim's consciousness and strengthened their Islamic identity. The best known Shen-si Muslim rebel leader was Pai Yen-hu [q.v.], who later, together with his followers, fled to Sinkiang to join Ya'kub Beg's [q.v.] movement, then fled to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia and eventually settled there; they were the forefathers of the present Dungans.


SHENLIK (fr), an Ottoman term for public festivities which marked special occasions and, unlike ceremonies limited to certain groups, involved the participation of the entire populace.

The main festivities of the empire included religious ones such as the commemoration of the death of Husayn on 10 Muharram, the eve of the Prophet's birthday and the end of Ramadhan, marked and celebrated by holidays. The Pilgrimage provided other opportunities for public festivities: the departure of the royal caravan and pilgrims for Mecca on 12 Ramadhan and their return on the third month of the year were publicly honoured. On the return of the Pilgrimage caravan, for instance, houses were decorated, the pilgrim's door was painted green, and everyone sought the pilgrim's blessing and intercession. Another religious celebration of non-Muslim origin occurred on 23 April when all celebrated St. George's Day, on which the Muslims commemorated Khyjur, as a festival for spring when many went on picnics.

Non-religious public festivities included the girding of the sultan which marked the formal acknowledgement of his succession, as well as the birth or circumcision of his children, the sons' initiation into formal education, the wedding of a member of the sultan's family or some noted dignitary, and the reception of certain ambassadors. Another major occasion was the departure of the Ottoman army on campaign, often accompanied by the firing of cannon, beating of drums, and performances by military bands; major victories and the homecoming of the army were also extensively observed, with mock battle scenes and illuminations. Fireworks, including small rockets (fajlak), were often the most significant feature here. In many instances, the sultans also promoted spectacular pageants, mock battles between Muslims and Christians, water triumphs, illuminations and fireworks in order to keep up the morale of the populace in times of defeat and other calamities. There were also parades of trade guilds before the sultan, lasting for as long as three days or more, in which they displayed their professional techniques on large floats. The mingling of religious with secular events often enhanced its splendour. Many Ottoman works, such as the Surnamey-i hümâyûn (Topkapi Palace Archives doc. no. R. 283) and Surnamey-i Wâbi (Topkapi, Palace Archives doc. no. A. 3539), contain depictions of such public festivities.

SHERBET (Ar. Pers. Tk.), a fruit-based drink; the term is derived from the Arabic šehr, meaning a drink or beverage. Sherbet was first recorded in English in the early 17th century, and there are many other European cognate forms, viz. sorbet (Fr.), sorbeto (It.), sorbet (Sp.), etc. According to Turkish and European sources, in Istanbul sherbet was made from a variety of ingredients, of which the most common was lemon juice, mixed with sugar, honey and water, and sometimes with musk and ambergris, often cooled with ice or snow in summer, and served warm by itinerant vendors in the winter time. Other ingredients might include violets, nīlīfer (water-lily flowers), rhubarb, rose, loun, amarand and grapes. Richard Knoles, *The general history of the Turks*, London 1621, describes a dinner given for foreign ambassadors in Istanbul in 1603, when “the table ... thus furnished, the guests without any ceremonie of washing sat downe on the ground ... and fell on their victuals, and drank out of great earthen dishes, water prepared with sugar, which drink they call Zerbet”; elsewhere he mentions that it is made of “the juice of lymons, water and sugar”, and describes a beverage prepared from prunes (nīlīfer) in An. Dom. 1610, London 1615; an anonymous manuscript in the British Museum of 1027/1618 (Add. 23880); and J.-B. Tavernier, a new relation of the Inner-Part of the Grand Seignor’s Seraglio, London 1677, all describe the composition and serving of sherbet in detail.

The Turkish historian Ewliya Celebi, *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, tr. J. von Hammer, London 1834-50, lists the ingredients of a variety of sherbets, and another fruit-based drink, kābh dākh (possibly with an alcoholic content) which was equally popular in the 17th century. He names the various districts where the sherbet-makers lived, such as Top Hane, Findikli and Scutari, and their special products. He also describes a procession in 1042/1633, when the merchants of musk sherbets (ejrībe-yi mīmāneseke) “pass exposing to public view in china vases and tankards every kind of sherbet made of rhubarb, ambergris, roses, lemons, tamarinds, etc., of different colours and scents, which they distribute among the spectators”.

The lemon juice which was so important a component of sherbet, came from lemons (limuri), almost exclusively imported from the island of Chios; see Sandys, *Les Voyages*, Paris 1654, and R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, for the Turkish sources. Sherbet was served in pottery or glass covered bowls; a Turkish painting of a sherbētīdī shows the sherbet seller at his stall, working a hand-pump in order to activate a sherbet fountain (Warsaw University Library, Teka 171, no. 536). A by-product of the sherbet industry was the ingenuous invention, at Kütahya in the early 12th/18th century, of pottery lemon-squeezers with a concealed trap; see J. Carswell, *The lemon-squeezer: an unique form of Turkish pottery*, in *9eme Congres International d’Art Turc*, Univ. de Provence, Etudes historiques 3, Aix 1976.

**SHERF**

**SHEREF, ABū AL-RAMĀHN (1853-1925), late Ottoman historian and statesman.** Abū al-Ramāhn Sherif was born in Istanbul, the son of a chief clerk at the Imperial Arsenal (Topkāline-yi tūmīre), whose family hailed from Safranbolu in northwestern Anatolia. Abū al-Ramāhn Sherif graduated from the famous Galatasaray Lycée in 1873. After this he taught at several different establishments, from the Maḥāndī-ı Aślām (a college for civil servants which existed between 1864 and 1876) to the Dār al-Funūn (University), which was re-opened in 1900, having been closed since 1880. All through the long reign of Abū al-Hamīd II (1876-1909 [q.v.]), he was a central figure in the educational establishment, serving for sixteen years as director of the Civil Service Academy (Mektub-ı Müşā要害) and for fourteen as director of the Galatasaray Lycée.

After the Constitutional Revolution in 1908, Abū al-Ramāhn Sherif gained even more prominence. He was appointed to the Senate (remaining a member until the end of the Empire) and was made Minister for the Dār al-Mulk (Revenue Register). He also served as Minister of Education for three short spells and as Minister of Pious Foundations (Ewkd) and President of the Council of State. As Minister of Education, he took the initiative in founding bilingual (French-Turkish) “model” (niştāme) secondary schools.

From 1909 until the end of the empire in 1922 he was the last official chronicler (saṣf-ṣaṣf) of the Ottoman Empire. In this capacity, he finished the eighth and last volume of the history of his predecessor Lutfi Efendi. His own chronicle of the years 1908-18 has remained unpublished. Abū al-Ramāhn Sherif’s importance for the study of Ottoman history lies not so much in any great originality or depth but in his work as an organiser and populariser. He published fourteen books and numerous articles. Some of the former, such as the Ta'rīkh-i daeel-i tājmānīye (1885), and its English version *History of Turkish Diplomatic History* (1888) were widely used as textbooks in schools. He also wrote a regular historical column for the newspaper *Wahid* (“Time”). Abū al-Ramāhn Sherif was instrumental in establishing history as a modern discipline in Turkey. The most important step in this direction was the establishment in 1910 of the Ta'rīkh-i ʿOthmāni Endümmen (Society for Ottoman History). This society, of which he became permanent president, concentrated on translating European works on Ottoman and Turkish history and on text editions. Its main aim, the publication of a large-scale Turkish history of the Ottoman Empire, was not realised during his lifetime, but the institute’s journal, *Ta'rīkh-i ʿOthmāni Endümmen Meşrûtâtı* (TOEM), published from 1910 to 1924 and continued under the title of Türk Ta'rīkı Endümmen Meşrûtâtı until 1928, was the first of its kind in the Empire.

In 1923, Abū al-Ramāhn Sherif was elected to the National Assembly in Ankara as one of the representatives for Istanbul. He also headed the Turkish Red Crescent Society. In 1925 he fell ill; he died at Istanbul at the age of 72 and was buried in his native Eyyüp.


**SHEWKĪ BEG (Seví Bey in present-day Turkish orthography), Turkish composer of great popularity, was born the son of a comb-maker in 1277/1860 in the Fatih quarter of Istanbul. The exceptionally gifted young man was accepted at the Sultan’s music school (Muzık-i humdyun mektebi) under the aegis of Callisto Guatteri (1860-99), and studied there under...**
the celebrated composer Hâdîjî-i Ârîf Beg (Haci Ârîf Bey, d. 1302/1885). Strongly addicted to alcohol and unable to pursue a normal existence, he lived a der-

vish-like (râmiî) variant of a Romantic artist's life. At the age of 31, he died on 2 Dhu ’l-Hijja 1307/19 July 1890 and was buried at Beylerbeyi on the Bosphorus.

Şevki Beg, sometimes called the “Turkish Schubert”, is known for his songs in the form of şarkî (şarkâ), the “Lied” form of Turkish art music that had gained a new quality and popularity by the compos-

itions of his famous teacher. In his own lyric-melanc
colic style, Şevki Beg composed several hundred şarkî songs. In contrast to Hâdîjî-i Ârîf Beg, he con-
tented himself with a relatively small selection of modes (makâm [q.v.]/makam) and metres (işâ’il/usâ’il). About one-

third of the pieces attributed to him are composed in one and the same makâm, called “lovers” (yükdâñ/üyük) — a remarkable correspondence to the main subject of his song texts. The most popular of these texts were recorded, together with indications of mode and metre, in contemporaneous and later song text collections.

Some of his melodies have survived in musical nota-
tion. Suphi Ezgi (1870-1962), who knew Şevki Beg personally, is said to have written down 120 of his songs. He published fifteen of them in his volumi-
nous book on Turkish music (see below). A few more are included in other printed and handwritten song collections.

Bibliography: Suphi Ezgi, Nazari ve ameli türk müsikisi, i-v, Istanbul 1933-53, passim; İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İsmail, Hoş sâd, Istanbul 1938, 276-8; Y. Oztuna, Şekî Beg, Ankara 1988 (lists 234 works, presents 140 song texts; full bibl.); idem, Büyûk türk müsikisi ansklopedisi, Ankara 1990, i, 355-9. (E. NEUBAUER)

ŞEYKH-OGHLU, Şadr al-Dîn Mustâfa (modern Turkish: Şeyhöglü, Sadrüddin Mustafa) (b. 741/ 1340-1), sometimes referred to as Şeykh-zâde, under which name he was dealt with in EN. He should not be confused with the translator of the “Lied” form of Turkish art music that had gained a new quality and popularity by the compositions of his famous teacher. In his own lyric-melancholic style, Şevki Beg composed several hundred şarkî (şarkâ) songs. In contrast to Hâdîjî-i Ârîf Beg, he con-
tented himself with a relatively small selection of modes (makâm [q.v.]/makam) and metres (işâ’il/usâ’il). About one-

third of the pieces attributed to him are composed in one and the same makâm, called “lovers” (yükdâñ/üyük) — a remarkable correspondence to the main subject of his song texts. The most popular of these texts were recorded, together with indications of mode and metre, in contemporaneous and later song text collections.

Some of his melodies have survived in musical notation. Suphi Ezgi (1870-1962), who knew Şevki Beg personally, is said to have written down 120 of his songs. He published fifteen of them in his volumi-
nous book on Turkish music (see below). A few more are included in other printed and handwritten song collections.

Bibliography: Suphi Ezgi, Nazari ve ameli türk müsikisi, i-v, Istanbul 1933-53, passim; İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İsmail, Hoş sâd, Istanbul 1938, 276-8; Y. Oztuna, Şekî Beg, Ankara 1988 (lists 234 works, presents 140 song texts; full bibl.); idem, Büyûk türk müsikisi ansklopedisi, Ankara 1990, i, 355-9. (E. NEUBAUER)

SHEYKH-OGHLU, Şadr al-Dîn Mustâfa (modern Turkish: Şeyhöglü, Sadrüddin Mustafa) (b. 741/ 1340-1), sometimes referred to as Şeykh-zâde, under which name he was dealt with in EN. He should not be confused with the translator of the “Lied” form of Turkish art music that had gained a new quality and popularity by the compositions of his famous teacher. In his own lyric-melancholic style, Şevki Beg composed several hundred şarkî (şarkâ) songs. In contrast to Hâdîjî-i Ârîf Beg, he con-
tented himself with a relatively small selection of modes (makâm [q.v.]/makam) and metres (işâ’il/usâ’il). About one-

third of the pieces attributed to him are composed in one and the same makâm, called “lovers” (yükdâñ/üyük) — a remarkable correspondence to the main subject of his song texts. The most popular of these texts were recorded, together with indications of mode and metre, in contemporaneous and later song text collections.

Some of his melodies have survived in musical notation. Suphi Ezgi (1870-1962), who knew Şevki Beg personally, is said to have written down 120 of his songs. He published fifteen of them in his volumi-
nous book on Turkish music (see below). A few more are included in other printed and handwritten song collections.

Bibliography: Suphi Ezgi, Nazari ve ameli türk müsikisi, i-v, Istanbul 1933-53, passim; İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İsmail, Hoş sâd, Istanbul 1938, 276-8; Y. Oztuna, Şekî Beg, Ankara 1988 (lists 234 works, presents 140 song texts; full bibl.); idem, Büyûk türk müsikisi ansklopedisi, Ankara 1990, i, 355-9. (E. NEUBAUER)
introductory material. Then in four chapters Sheykh-oghlu discusses the status and responsibilities of rulers, state officials, legislative, scholarly and religious functionaries, supporting his views with anecdotal material that shows him to be well-versed in scholarship and history and makes the work an important source of information on 9th/15th-century society.

As for the two translations now credited to Sheykh-oghlu, and undertaken at the command of Süleyman Shāh, these are: (1) Marzubān-nāme (believed to be the earlier), based on the Warāwīn version of the original 4th/10th-century work, was itself later translated into Arabic [see MARZBAN-NAMA]. With its didactic nature, typical of Persian court literature, the use of animal fables as in Kalīla va-Dimna, and motifs in its frame story reminiscent of Kutadgu bilig, the work must have been especially attractive to Sheykh-oghlu, and presumably influenced the writing of his own last work, Kenz ül-kibbār (see Yavuz, 11). (2) Köhār-nāme, written by the Ziyārīl rīd of Tabaristan and Gurgān, Kay Kāwā's b. Iskandān [q.v.] for his son Gilān Shāh in 475/1082-3, a work also in the andaruz and "Mirror for Princes" tradition.

In addition to Sheykh-oghlu's importance for the literary, intellectual and social aspects of Anatolia, he has a place in the development of the Turkish language as a literary vehicle in the 8th/14th century. Said to have complained (fashionably) about the unsuitability of Turkish as a vehicle for poetry, he nevertheless stressed the importance of producing works in that language and is praised for the style that he accomplished (see Akin, 483, and Ayan, 11, 15; the Zeynep Korkmaz study of the Marzubān-nāme supplies a detailed analysis of his language).

Bibliography: The main sources are given in the article. For further titles and details of mss., see the bibls. in Akin, Korkmaz and Yavuz.

(KATHLEEN BURRILL)

SHEYKH-ZADE, the name of various figures in Ottoman Turkish literature.

1. A name sometimes used in reference to sheykh-soguksu of the Dîn Mustafa [q.v.].

2. The lahk of Djemâlī, nephew of Sheykhī [q.v.].

3. An unidentified Ottoman writer referred to by sources also as Sheykh-zade Ahmed or Ahmed-ī Miṣrī and said to have presented to Murād II a collection of stories, Hikīyat-ī erdūn-ī, sūh u muslā, translated from Arabic. The Arabic original is considered no longer extant and, contrary to earlier studies, a recent work, the 4th-century Anatolian. In general, however, they express with simple lyricism his moral and religious views. His hikaiā works include nāsīn in praise of Muhammad), a nāzīrī on a ghazel of Rūmī, amatory verse and admonitions concerning the vanity of the world and inexorable death. Important is his 1529-beyli madhnātī entitled Destān-i Yūsuf ["Epic or Tale of Joseph"], a work based on the Kur'ānic version of the Joseph story [see Yūsuf u Zalīkha], unifying popular Islamic tradition with mystic concepts. The format, while adhering in general to the Persian madhnātī tradition, replaces interspersed ghazels with five nākē or moral commentaries. The poem's general tone is strongly reminiscent of folk narrative. The Turkish (largely free of Arab- or Persianisms) requires frequent prosodic licence to achieve the chosen (rənet) metre, and the rhyme structure lacks polish. The M.A. thesis (1992) of Stephanie B. Thomas at Columbia University comprises a study of the work in the context of the Joseph tradition, with an annotated translation of a 952/1545 manuscript as published by Dehri Dilcan (Şeyyad Hamza: Yusuf ve Zelīha, Istanbul 1945). Another 176-beyli madhnātī entitled Hikayet u restān-i Sultan Maḥmūd ["This is the tale of Sultan Maḥmūd (of Ghazān)"]. Its topic (found earlier in Persian) is an encounter between Maḥmūd and a poor dervish. A dialogue between the two debates the worth of worldly values, establishing that control of the lower self (nafṣ), not rank and riches, ensures a place in Paradise (Sadettin
The Banū Hāshim were the descendents of the Prophet's great-grandfather Hashim and, therefore created and propagated as the founder of the Shī'ite (ahl al-bayt [q.v.]) movement upholding a privileged position of the Family of the Prophet (ahl al-bayt [q.v.]) in the political and religious leadership of the Muslim Community. The name is derived from Ḥāshim, one of the da'īs who first stirred up the rebellion against Uthman and invented the doctrine of belief in his return (radīd) and ultimate victory over his enemies.

When ʿAlī was assassinated in 40/661, his partisans of the Faithful as a whole deserved blame for having turned away from him after the death of Muhammad. It was ʿAlī who first gave the hadith of Ghadir Khumm (q.v.) publicity by inviting those companions who had heard the Prophet's statements there to testify on the square in front of the mosque of Kūfah. These statements have traditionally been understood by the Shīʿa as an implicit appointment of ʿAlī to the succession in the leadership of the Community. ʿAlī made plain that he considered the Family of the Prophet to be entitled to the leadership of the Community as long as there remained a single one of them who recited the Kurʾān, knew the sunna and adhered to the true faith.

The most basic distinguishing beliefs of the Shīʿa thus go back to ʿAlī, who must to this extent be considered its founder and first teacher. This fact has been largely unpalatable to Sunni historiography, which therefore created and propagated as the founder of the Shīʿa the figure of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ (q.v.), the malicious Yemenite Jew who first stirred the rebellion against Uthman and invented the doctrine of ʿAlī being the legatee of Muhammad, ending up with extremist fiction denying the death of ʿAlī and deifying him. Only this latter aspect may well have had a historical foundation. Ibn Sabaʾ appears to have been active in al-Madīnah after ʿAlī's death and to have propagated belief in his return (naqdā) and ultimate victory over his enemies.

When ʿAlī was assassinated in 40/661, his parti-
sans in Kufa were evidently convinced that only a member of the Prophet's Family could legitimately succeed him. Although 'Ali, probably following the Prophet's precedent, refused to appoint a successor after having been mortally struck, his eldest son al-Hasan [q.v.], grandson of Muhammad, was immediately recognised without dissent. A few months later, al-Hasan abdicated in favour of the Umayyad Mu'awiya [q.v. on the basis of a treaty which stipulated a full amnesty and safety of life and property for the Shi'it 'Ali and which denied Mu'awiya the right to appoint a successor. According to some accounts, it provided for al-Hasan to succeed him, according to others for election by a council (shura), evidently on the model of the electoral council appointed by 'Umar. Although the abdication aroused general disappointment and some protest among the Shi'a, it was not regarded as a renunciation by al-Hasan of his ultimate title to the leadership, and he continued to be recognised as the legitimate Imam. Al-Hasan died in 49/669 or 51/671, poisoned, it was widely suspected, by one of his wives at the instigation of Mu'awiya. The Shi'a now turned to his younger brother al-Husayn [q.v.] and, distrusted by what they regarded as the oppressive and vindictive nature of Mu'awiya's rule, urged him to rise to restore the legitimate reign of the Prophet's Family. Although by character more inclined to pursue the leadership actively than his brother, al-Husayn declined to act as long as Mu'awiya was reigning, evidently recognising the continued validity of al-Hasan's agreement.

The Shi'a riot in Kufa in 51/671, for which Hudjr b. 'Abd [q.v.] and other leaders were executed, was not an attempt to overthrow or displace al-Mukhtar [q.v., nephew of 'Ali] as governor of al-Madain. In Kufa, visited Karbala* to weep and make vows on the occasion of pebbles being thrown at his deputy in Friday prayers and to insist on the presence of several Shi'ite leaders, among them Hudjr. Al-Mukhtar had not attempted to provoke or exploit the incidence intentionally provoked by Mu'awiya and his governor Ziyad b. Abihi [q.v.] with the aim of crushing latent opposition to the Umayyad rule. Mu'awiya had, in breach of the spirit, if not of the letter, of his treaty with al-Hasan, ordered his governor of Kufa, al-Mughfira b. Shu'ba [q.v.], to curse 'Ali from the pulpit in protest against the cursing of the Shi'ite leaders. There was some fighting between police and rioters in which no-one was killed. Hudjr eluded Ziyad for a time, finding refuge in the quarters of various tribes. Eventually, he surrendered voluntarily on the promise of being sent to Mu'awiya. Ziyad drew up an accusation of armed rebellion against the Shi'ite leaders and had it signed by representatives of the Kufan nobility. Mu'awiya offered them pardon if they would renounce their loyalty to 'Ali and curse him. As they refused, he ordered the execution of Hudjr and five others. The law of Islam and practice so far prevalent allowed only imprisonment and exile for insurrection. These executions amounted to murder. The incident, rather than crushing the opposition, inflamed the sense of outrage of the Kufan Shi'a.

After the death of Mu'awiya and the succession of his son Yazid [q.v.], the Kufan Shi'a and many of the tribal leaders wrote letters to al-Husayn inviting him and offering him their backing. Al-Husayn had, together with other members of the Islamic aristocracy, declined to pledge allegiance to Yazid during Mu'awiya's lifetime and, after his death, fled to Medina to the Sanctuary in Mecca in order to avoid being forced to do so. He sent his cousin Muslim b. 'A'kil [q.v.] ahead of him to test the ground in Kufa. On receiving at first a favourable report from Muslim, al-Husayn set out for Kufa. Determined action by the governor 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad, however, included the Kufan tribe al-Afs and temporarily disarmed the revolt. Muslim b. 'A'kil was killed, and al-Husayn soon faced a Kufan army preventing him from proceeding or returning. He and over twenty members of the Prophet's ahl al-bayt, brothers and sons of al-Husayn, sons of al-Hasan, and descendants of 'Ali's brothers 'A'kil and Daj'far, were massacred at Karbalai on 10 Muharram 61/10 October 680.

The violent death of the Prophet's grandson at the hands of a Kufan army, after the Kufans had first invited him and then failed to stand up for him, had a profound effect on the Shi'a. The passion motive, the call for repentance and martyrdom, became permanent aspects of Shi'i spirituality. In immediate reaction, a movement of penitents (taawubbin), calling for self-sacrifice and revenge for al-Husayn, sprang up among the old partisans of 'Ali led by Sula‘yman b. Surad al-Khosazzai. It gathered strength after the death of the caliph Yazid in Kufa in 68/689, which temporarily provoked by Mu'awiya and his governor Ziyad b. Ma‘sid, sought the leadership of the Shi'a in Kufa, promising to take revenge for the blood of al-Husayn more effectively than his rival Sula‘yman b. Surad. When the latter was killed, most of the Shi'a turned to him, although some of the conservatives remained aloof from his movement. Al-Mukhtar claimed to be acting on behalf of 'Ali's non-Fātimid son Mu‘ammad b. al-Hanafiyya [q.v.], whom he proclaimed the Imam and the Mahdi [q.v., who would restore justice on earth. This choice was natural after the death of al-Hasan and al-Husayn, since Mu‘ammad b. al-Hanafiyya was the only surviving son of 'Ali closely associated with him during his reign. Ibn al-Hanafiyya gave limited encouragement to al-Mukhtar, especially to his aim to seek revenge for al-Husayn, but declined to assume personal leadership of the movement and to come to Kufa. Al-Mukhtar took possession of Kufa by revolt in 66/688. Although he attempted to reconcile the defeated tribal chiefs, initially restraining his followers from taking revenge on those involved in the killing of al-Husayn, conflict soon arose as he accepted substantial numbers of non-Arab clients (mazādil) into the ranks of his movement. The tribal chiefs staged a revolt but were defeated. Now fully in control, the radical Shi'i took revenge for al-Husayn, seeking out and killing those most guilty in his death. Shortly afterwards, the Kufans defeated a Syrian army on the river Khazir, killing 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad. Many of the tribal chiefs and their supporters had found refuge in Bayra, governed by Mus‘ab b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], and agitated for action against al-Mukhtar. The latter was killed as the Byzantines took Kufa in 67/687. Mus‘ab b. al-Zubayr allowed the Kufan nobles to massacre their opponents, and 6,000 to 8,000 of al-Mukhtar's followers are said to have been killed.

The movement founded by al-Mukhtar survived,
however, and spread, chiefly among the lower classes, outside Kufa also. It was commonly called that of 'Abd Allah b. Saba' concerning 'Ali in al-Madâ'in. Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya continued to be recognised as the Imam and Mahdi until his death in 81/700. After his death, which was denied by many, he was generally expected to return and to reign in glory. Other beliefs and practices of the followers of al-Mukhtar also aroused hostility and scorn among conservative Shâfs as well as Sunnis. Al-Mukhtar had made predictions in rhymed prose like the pre-Islamic sooth-sayers, and was widely called by his opponents a magician or false prophet although he did not claim prophethood. He instituted or allowed the public recitation of an empty chair, practiced especially by some Yemenite tribes. The chair was said to be a relic from 'Ali and was compared to the Ark of the Covenant of the Jews. The failure of some of al-Mukhtar's predictions to be realised is said to have given rise to the doctrine of haddât [q.v.], the possibility of a change of God's will. Upholding a radical interpretation of 'Ali's attitude towards the caliphs preceding him, the Kaysâniyya definitely rejected their legitimacy. The usurpation of the rights of the Family of the Prophet by the early caliphs was also at the core of the Shi'i teaching of 'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas (d. 68/686) in Mecca. Ibn al-'Abbas [q.v.], cousin of Muhammad and 'Ali, had been drawn by the caliph 'Umar close to himself and became initially 'Ali's most trusted associate during his reign, though there arose later disagreement between them. After 'Ali's death he backed al-Hasan's caliphate, urging him to resume his father's war against Mu'awiyah. After al-Hasan's resignation he became the main spokesman for the rights of the abd al-baqi'. He consistently countered the reports of Abu Bakr's daughter 'A'isha which described her father as the closest intimate of Muhammad, chosen as his successor by his appointment to lead the communal prayers during Muhammad's final illness. Contrary to her claim, the Prophet had not insisted on Abu Bakr leading the prayers when she pleaded for him to be excused. Rather, he had suggested that 'Umar should lead them. The latter declined, however, to take precedence before Abu Bakr. 'Umar had thwarted the mortally ill Muhammad's intention to dictate a testament as guidance for the faithful, insisting that the Prophet was delirious and the Kur'ân was sufficient guidance for them. Muhammad had not died in 'A'isha's arms, as she claimed, but leaning on 'Ali's chest. Although critical of some aspects of 'Ali's conduct, Ibn al-'Abbas made clear that the Banû Hâshím, and he himself, were convinced of 'Ali's legitimate right to the succession to Muhammad, of which he was deprived by Abu Bakr with the backing of the majority of Kuryâh. Muhammad's kin had protested against Abu Bakr's usurpation, first by burying the Prophet privately in his house, thus denying the caliph the occasion to do the last honours for his predecessor. The election of Abu Bakr in the Hall of the Banû Sâ'idâ, which took place at the time of the preparation of Muhammad's burial, had later been described by 'Umar in public as a falsa, a precipitate, arbitrary act, excusable only because God had bestowed success on it. Abu Bakr had illegitimately denied the Banû Hâshím their inheritance from the Prophet and their Kur'ânic share of war booty and fay'. 'Umar had attempted to satisfy their just claim by offering them partial restitution, but they had declined his overtures as being insufficient.

Ibn al-Abbas' son was Al-Bakir's legal and ritual teaching comprised most of the features which were later seen as distinctive of Shi'i law, such as the hay'âla in the call to prayer [see ADHAN], the prohibition of the mash 'ala't-al-khuffayn [q.v.], temporary marriage. The latter permission (which was not upheld by Zaydi and Ismâ'îlî law) also reflects influence of the doctrine of 'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas, who taught that mut'a [q.v.] was a form of revelation ranking below that reserved for prophets. The Imam was not expected, however, to add in any way to the message and the law revealed by the Prophet, but rather to preserve it in its integrity through his divinely-granted authority. The world was in permanent need of such an Imam and could, in the absence of a prophet, never exist for a moment without him. In a hostile environment, the Imam was protected by his and his followers' license and obligation to practice takyya [q.v.], the precautionary concealment of their religious beliefs and practice. The descendants of Fâtimah were, after the massacre of Karbala', for a generation eclipsed in the leadership of the Shi'ât. Al-Husayn's only surviving son 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin [q.v.] kept aloof from Shi'i activity and attracted no substantial following. Al-Husayn's senior son al-Hasan also avoided involvement with the Shi'ât. Only al-Husayn's grandson Muhammad b. 'Ali, known as al-Baqir [q.v.], after his father's death in 94/713-14 actively engaged in Shi'i teaching, while refusing to be drawn into revolutionary activity, and became the founder of systematic Shi'i religious law. His teaching in particular raised the religious rank and spiritual authority of the Imams who were endowed with a divinely inspired knowledge. The Imam was described by him as muhaddaths, "spoke to" by the angel of revelation. The term was taken from a variant reading of Kur'ân, XXII, 52, "We have not sent you any Messenger of Prophet" adding "or muhaddaths", which was contained in the codex of 'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas and was interpreted as a form of revelation ranking below that reserved for prophets. The Imam was not expected, however, to add in any way to the message and the law revealed by the Prophet, but rather to preserve it in its integrity through his divinely-granted authority. The world was in permanent need of such an Imam and could, in the absence of a prophet, never exist for a moment without him. In a hostile environment, the Imam was protected by his and his followers' license and obligation to practice takyya [q.v.], the precautionary concealment of their religious beliefs and practice. Al-Bakîr's legal and ritual teaching comprised most of the features which were later seen as distinctive of Shi'i law, such as the hay'âla in the call to prayer [see ADHAN], the prohibition of the mash 'ala't-al-khuffayn [q.v.], temporary marriage. The latter permission (which was not upheld by Zaydi and Ismâ'îlî law) also reflects influence of the doctrine of 'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas, who taught that mut'a [q.v.] was practised in the time of Muhammad and Abu Bakr and had been prohibited only by 'Umar. Al-Bakîr's quietist conduct aroused little suspicion among the authorities, and he was widely respected as a traditionalist among Sunni scholars. Among the Shi'ât in Kufa, his prestige was widely recognised.

The activist Shi'ât who had backed al-Mukhtar went underground after his death. The leadership in Kufa fell to Salama b. Buqjary of the Banû Musliya Madhâhidj. His father Buqjary b. 'Abd Allah had been a close associate of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya and al-Mukhtar, and was executed by Mu'âab b. al-Zubayr. Salama became intimately attached to Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya's son Abu Hâshim, who took a more active part than his father in the organisation of a
tightly-knit secret movement spreading Shi'i revolutionary propaganda. After his father's death, Abû Ḥāšim was recognised by the movement as their Imam. After Abû Ḥāšim's death in 97/718 there were rival claims among his followers, that he had appointed as his successor either the 'Abbâsid Muḥammad b. 'Alî b. al-'Abbâs or the Dja'farîd 'Abd Allâh b. Mu'âwiya b. 'Abd Allâh. Salama b. Buḍayr is said to have recognised the 'Abbâsid, but he died shortly afterwards. Decisive was the arbitration of the dispute by Abû Rîyâḥ Maysara al-Nabbâl, a ma'âlid of the Azd, in favour of Muḥammad b. 'Alî. The Banū Munâsîya and their clients now backed the 'Abbâsid and, after him, his son Ibn Khâjdûd. The movement had, still under Abû Ḥāšim, begun to spread to Khûrâsân, mainly through the missionary activity of Bukâr b. Mâhânh, son of a client of the Banû Munâsîya. While in Kûfâ its appeal remained limited, it attracted a broad following among Arab and Persian Muslims during the last decades of the Umayyad caliphate.

A few years after al-Bâkîr's death, his brother Zayd b. 'Alî came to visit Kûfâ in a dispute about a debt. He was immediately recognised as the successor who promised him to lead him to a rising. Initially, he enjoyed broad backing, but his refusal to decree Abû Bakr and 'Umar as apostates and to condemn their conduct, even though he upheld the prior title of 'Alî to the succession to Muḥammad, was taken by many of the former supporters of al-Bâkîr and other radicals as a motive to withdraw. They now generally recognised al-Bâkîr's son Dja'far al-Ṣâdîk [q.v.] as the legitimate Imam. Zayd's revolt failed and he was killed in 122/740.

The schism during Zayd's revolt was decisive for the further development of the Shi'a, giving rise to its Imâmî and Zaydi branches. Dja'far al-Ṣâdîk, who may be considered the founder of the Imâmîyya, closely followed and elaborated the teaching of his father. The teaching authority of the Imâm was further strengthened by the doctrine of their immunity from error and sin ('imâma [q.v.]). The imâmât was based on a divinely-guaranteed explicit designation (nass khâji), of the Imam, and, after al-Hasan and al-Husayn, was handed down from father to son among the descendants of the latter. Knowledge of and obedience to the rightful Imam were incumbent upon every believer. By ignoring the explicit nass of the Prophet for 'Alî and by backing the caliphate of Abû Bakr and 'Umar, the mass of the Community had fallen into apostasy. The radical tendencies of the following of Dja'far al-Ṣâdîk were strengthened by their gradual absorption of the remnants of the Kaysâniyya and adoption of some of their controversial doctrines like ba'dâ and ra'gâ and their messianic expectation of the Mahdi. This expectation was blunted, however, by al-Ṣâdîk's strict prohibition of his followers engaging in revolutionary activity and his insistence that the rising of the legitimate Imam as the Ka'im or Mahdi would occur only in the distant future. The nascent Imâmîyya thus combined radical Shi'i religious dogma with political quietism.

The sectarian movement arising out of the support of Zayd's revolt, later known as the Zaydiyya, was, by contrast, moderate in its Shi'i doctrine and deviation from the religious views of Sunnism, but politically militant. The imâmât could be claimed only by someone prepared to rise with the sword actively seeking the leadership, in addition to being qualified to judge. The Imam, of course, had to strengthen his position by a broad following among Arab and Persian Muslims.

There was no need for an Imam at all times and, after 'Alî, al-Hasan, and Husayn, no designation of a successor, though recognition and support of a legitimate claimant was a religious obligation. The Imam of the Imamiyya was the spiritual leader of the Shi'is and had no superior teaching competence; rather, a collective religious authority of the Family of the Prophet was generally acknowledged. Since the designation of 'Alî as Muhammad's successor had been obscure (nass khâji), the Community, in recognising Abû Bakr and 'Umar as caliphs, had not fallen into a state of apostasy but at most into a state of sin. Others held that their caliphate was justified since 'Alî had recognised it. Messianic tendencies were generally weak among the Zaydiyya.

Zayd's son Yâlî, who escaped to Khûrâsân after the collapse of his father's revolt, was tracked down by the Umayyad authorities there and killed in 125/ 743. His murder strengthened the hand of the Shî'a in Khûrâsân, and revenge for Zayd and Yâlî became one of the slogans of the rapidly-expanding revolutionary movement. The leader of the movement was now, after the death of the 'Abbâsid Muḥammad b. 'Alî, his son al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Abd Allâh, known as al-Nafî al-Zakîyya [q.v.], received the pledge of allegiance of those present. However, Dja'far al-Ṣâdîk, who arrived later, refused to recognise him as the Mahdi and maintained that he would not pledge allegiance to him in the presence of his father 'Abd Allâh b. al-Hasan, the senior among the descendants of 'Alî. Given the large following of Dja'far in the Shî'a, his opposition was a severe setback for the efforts to unite the Prophet's Family behind a common leader, and this encouraged the 'Abbâsidîs to seek the caliphate for their own candidate.

The rivalry between 'Aîds and 'Abbâsidîs erupted into open conflict as soon as the Family of the Prophet achieved their victory over the Umayyads. As the 'Abbâsid Imâm Ibrâhîm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alî was discovered, imprisoned, and killed by the last Umayyad caliph Marwân, the 'Abbâsidîs fled to Kûfâ. The local leader of the revolutionary movement there, Abû Salama al-Ḳâhilî [q.v.], sheltered them but hesitated to pledge allegiance to Ibrâhîm's chosen successor Abu l-'Abbâs al-Saffâh. In accord with the general address of al-Saffâh, Ibrâhîm was inclined to back an 'A'id candidate. His hand was forced, however, by the Khûrâsânîan army commanders who pledged allegiance to Abu l-'Abbâs. A few months later he was murdered for his display of disloyalty by an emissary of Abû Muslim al-Ḳurâsânî [q.v.]. The inaugural address of al-Saffâh, partly delivered by his uncle Dâwûd b. 'Alî, stressed the right of the 'Abbâsidîs to rule as members of the Prophet's Family and denounced those Shî'a who asserted a superior title to that of 'A'id. The Hasanîd Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allâh remained,
together with his brother Ibrāhīm, in hiding after the establishment of the ‘Abbasid caliphate, and his supporters spread propaganda for him as the Mahdi. The second ‘Abbasid caliph, Abū Dja’far al-Manṣūr, was seriously worried and made every effort to find him, imprisoning his father and at last nine others of his Hasanid kin as they refused to reveal his whereabouts. When Muhammad revolted in Medina in 145/762-3, al-Manṣūr murdered his imprisoned kinsmen. In spite of widespread popular backing, Muhammad and Ibrāhīm were defeated and killed. Al-Manṣūr now gave his own son and heir-apparent Muhammad the title al-Mahdi in an attempt to attract popular messianic sentiments to the ‘Abbasid house. His bloody suppression of the Hasanids, however, rather strengthened the pro-‘Alid sympathies in the Shī‘a. The Zaydiyya first restricted their backing to the Tālībids, the descendants of ‘Alī’s father Abū Tālib, and then the descendants of al-Hasan and al-Ḥusayn.

The Khurasanian Shi‘a, who had initially recognised the imamate of the ‘Abbasid caliphs, were at the same time substantially reduced, first by the defection of the Shi‘i tribes of Khurasan, then of Abū Dja’far’s father al-Mu’tamid after he was killed by al-Manṣūr, then by al-Manṣūr’s suppression of those extremists defying him, and finally, by the defection of the supporters of his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who had been appointed by al-Saffāh to succeed al-Manṣūr but was replaced by the latter’s appointment of his own son Muhammad al-Mahdi. Al-Mahdi tried during his reign to tie the ‘Abbasid Shi‘a more closely to the ruling house by denying the imamate of ‘Alī and his offspring and by asserting the sole right of ‘Abbās and his descendants to the Prophet’s succession. His son Hārūn al-Rashīd saw no interest in maintaining a Shi‘i following and precluded further attempts to identify fully with orthodox Sunnism. The ‘Abbasid Shi‘a were thus disintegrated under his reign. The attempt of his son al-Ma’mūn to recover broad Shi‘i support for a caliphate of the Banū Ḥāshim, including ‘Alids as well as ‘Abbasids, by appointing Dja’far al-Šaḍīq’s grandson ‘Alī al-Riḍā as his successor, ended in failure. There was stubborn opposition from the ‘Abbasids and little appreciation among the Shi‘a, a more closely to the ruling house by denying the imamate of Abū Tālib, and then the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.


SHI‘A (A.), a term having various significations. The root ʿš-r involves, inter alia, the ideas of knowing something; being aware of something; being a poet; being hairy; notifying, making aware of something; marking something; etc. ʿ š-r stems from the latter semantic field. It denotes: 1. The rallying signal for war or for a travel expedition, war cry, standard, mark indicating the place of standing (mashīf) of soldiers in battle or pilgrims in the Pilgrimage (‘Arfa: the idea of “recognising” this mark). The war-cry of the Prophet’s Companions was ‘Amīt, amīt! O victorious ones, go forward, go forward!”; thus prefiguring victory (T4; s.v.). The ancient Arabs departed for the Pilgrimage as for war, round their chief and their banner, with each tribe having its own fixed place at ‘Arafa and Minā [g.v.] around the standard or the decorated tent of the chief. They had their own cry, imitating that of the totem animal or bird of the tribe, and also the distinctive ritual formula of the talbiya [g.v.], indicating readiness to serve the chief and also uttered before the completion of the separate rites of the Pilgrimage. See on this, T. Fahd, Le pèlerinage à la Mekke, in Le pèlerinage. Etudes d’histoire des religions, i, Paris 1974, 65-94.

2. The idea of a mark is extended to the budna, victim intended to be slaughtered in sacrifice (hadā‘) at the time of the Pilgrimage (see refs. in Wensinck, Concordance, iii, 136, 143), marked by a knife-cut on the two sides of the back (sainād). Whence ʿš-dīr is synonymous with ʿainād “to draw blood”. ‘Uṣūr can be said of a slain ruler instead of ʿainād, and it was said of ‘Umar when a man wounded him on the forehead at the time of the throwing of stones at Minā, ʿuṣūr ṣāir al-muṭimān; he was murdered on his return from the Pilgrimage. The blood-money for the maqṣūr was 1,000 camels (T4; s.v.).

Sha’ir, denoting the budna, is extended, in the plural sha‘irīn (Kūrān, II, 158, XXII, 32, 36) to all the rites of the Pilgrimage: standing places, journeyings, runnings, throwing of stones at Minā, sacrificial, the talbiya, etc. Al-Maḍ‘īr al-Qimārī (II, 198) is the journey between ‘Arafa and Minā and that between al-Ṣafa and al-Marwa.

3. The places where these rites were performed were also called maqṣūrīn. A maqṣūr was any place or thing which puts one in the presence or gives a feeling of the sacred or of a divinity: symbols of the divine, such as animals, trees, hills and standing stones. According to H. Lammens, ʿš-dīr denoted the place where victims meant for sacrifice were marked; similarly, mandakī (Kūrān, II, 128, 200, XXII, 34, 67) originally denoted the places where sacrifices to the gods were offered, places along roads and on the Pilgrimage route, marked by the presence of some source of coolness (water, a tree or a rock), eventually denoting those cult places frequented by the pious (cf. T4, vii, 67). On those places marked out as sacred (maqṣūr, ʿanṣāb, manaḍīf, mandakī, dijamās-rāt, mandakī), see Lammens, Les sanctuaires précis- lissimes du l’Arabie Occidentale, in MUSJ, xi (1926), 39-169, at 78 ff.; Fahd, Le panthéon de l’Arabie Centrale à la veille de l’hégire, Paris 1968, 238 ff.

4. Sha’ir also denotes the distinctive clothing, etc., which the Dhimms [see dhimmīa] were required to wear in ‘Abbasid and later times; see for this, gnvrs.

Bibliography: Given in the article. On the maqṣūr, see the refs. in Brockelmann, S III, index, 962, victory (T4; s.v.). The ancient T. Fahd.

SHI‘B DJABALA, one of the three most famous ayyām [g.v.], battle-days of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, the other two being the First Day of al-Kulub and Dhī Kār [g.v.]. The yәnim is variously dated to around A.D. 550 or 570. The two main contestants in this yәnim were the tribes of Ta- mīm and ‘Arīm, in which ‘Arīm emerged victorious over Tamīm.

The chief instigator of the yәnim was the Tamīmī chief Lakīt b. Zurārī, who wanted to avenge the
death of his brother Ma'būd at the hand of 'Amīr after he had been captured at the yawm of Rahrahān during the preceding year. Lākīt was able to muster against 'Amīr a large tribal host, consisting of almost the whole of Tamīm, Ḡasād, Ḍhubūyān and al-Ribāb. In addition to these tribes that belonged to Mudzir, the large tribal group, Lākīt invoked and received the assistance of the Lakhmīd king of al-Ḥira (q.v.), al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʾmān, who sent to him his brother Ḥāṣān, and of the Kindī king in Ḥadjar (Yāmāma), al-Djawn, who sent to him two of his sons, according to one account Muʿāwiya and 'Amīr. The confederated tribal host advanced against 'Amīr, 'Abs and other tribal contingents, which had fortified themselves in the ravine or gūb in the mountain called Djabaḷa in Nadjd; hence the name of the yawm as Shīb Djabaḷa. A stratagem, conceived by the 'Absī chief Kays b. Zuhayr that sent the ferociously thirsty caravans out of the ravine, followed by the infantry, and then the cavalry of 'Amīr and 'Abs, carried the day. Lākīt fought heroically but was killed, as was one of the two Kindī chiefs, while the other was captured.

The yawm was remarkable for the participation of the prestigious Kinda (q.v.) in the battle; it is sometimes referred to as Yawm al-Djawnawyan after the two Kindī chiefs; and one of them, Muʿāwiya, assigned the banners to the various tribal detachments before the battle was joined. But the yawm also contributed to the further decline of Kinda's power among the Northern Arabs and to its ultimate departure to Ḥadramawt, whence it had originally emigrated to central and northern Arabia.


Better than Yākūt and Bakrī on the topography of Shīb Djabaḷa is the Saūdi traveller M. Bulayhir al Nadjdī, in Sahih al-akhbar, 1972, ii, 216. The best discussion of Yawm Shīb Djabaḷa remains the one by G. Olinger, who analysed the sources and the various accounts in Al al-Qam of the family of Ablī al-Marrī, in MO xxv (1931), 206-29.

SHĪB, the name of three fortified places, which first mentions go back to Antiquity, and of a mountain, all in Southwest Arabia. They have been distinguished, from the times of Hamdānī and Yākūt onwards, by suffixing the name of a neighbouring settlement or the local region.

1. Shībām Ḥadramawt, in lower Ḥadramawt, in the wadi of the same name, famed for its lofty houses in sun-dried brick, warranting its designation as a UNESCO site of world significance.

In South Arabian inscriptions, it appears as Sḏm from the end of the 3rd century A.D. and in the 4th century, the time of the conquest of Ḥadramawt by Himyar. Islamic Shībām was known above all as a centre for the ibādīyya (q.v.) after their defeats in the 12th/1740s, and for three centuries it seems to have been part of an Ibādī principality. According to Hamdānī, the western part of the region belonged to Kinda; it was an important town at this time, with 30 mosques (Sfā, 86). Its history then merges into that of the dynasties of western Yemen (Ṣulayhīds, Ayyūbīds, Rāʃīlīds, etc.), until a local power of Ḥadramawt established its authority in the 9th/15th century, that of the Kāṭfirūd sultan 'All b. ʿUmār, consolidated by his great-grandson Abū ʿUwāyryn Ḍabḍ (d. 977/1570). After him, Ḥadramawt became again fragmented, but the main Kāṭfirūd line persisted till the end of the 18th century, until another Kāṭfirūd came from Indo-
	nesia and divided power there with the Yāfītīs. Then the whole area passed to the Kaʿāʿītīs in 1858 until their removal in 1967.

Shībām is a fortress town, with walls and towers which made it impregnable. The houses rise to eight storeys, uniting the defensive and defensive and the heightous and the heightous. Water is gained by a sophisticated system for storing up rainwater and by wells. Shībām has enjoyed a prosperity not easily explainable by the modest agricultural resources of the surrounding territory, but stemming from commercial revenues drawn by its people, situated as it has been on the caravan route from the ports of al-Ṣibīr and al-Mukallā towards the direction of Ṣanʿāʾ. Before the decline of caravan traffic in the 1930s, each month the town received 400 to 1000 camels. There were also, until after the Second World War, important remittances from male members of the population who had emigrated to India, Singapore and Indonesia. The village of al-Safī has grown up extra muros, and today, with 15,000 inhabitants, is more populous than Shībām itself with 8,000.

2. Shībām Kawkābān (also Sh. Akyan or Sh. Ḥimyar in ms. sources), a large settlement, with 2,000 inhabitants at the time of the 1975 census, 37 km/20 miles to the northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ and on the plain of Ṣanʿāʾ, dominated by the vertical wall of the Ḩabāl al-Dulā (3,140 m/10,300 feet).

It is mentioned in inscriptions from the 3rd century A.D. onwards (Sḏm or Sḏm) as centre of the Ḥīṣarān Shībām tribe. The name Sh. Akyān preserves some of the Kaʾb or lords of the kind of principality, the Banū Ḥūd Kāḥīr Akyān. In early Islamic times, Sh. Kawkābān was the birthplace of the local Yūfrīd dynasty (232-387/847-998), founded in High Yemen, and contributing to the disappearance of an Abbāsid caliphal authority in Yemen. The Great Mosque of the town may date from the Yūfrīd era or earlier. At this time, according to al-Hamdanī, the local population were still considered "Ḥimyarītē", including in language; this presumably implied a claim to continuity with the old South Arabian culture and a local language close to Arabic but with some unusual features. From the 10th/11th century, Sh. Kawkābān was a bastion of the AlīdSharaf al-Dīn family, who provided two Zaydī Imams of Yemen; today, it comes within the area of the tribe of Hamdānī. At all times it has played a notable role in Yemeni affairs, as frequent references in the chronicles attest, arising from the agricultural richness of the region around it, the strength of the fortress of Kawkābān and its proximity to Ṣanʿāʾ.

3. Shībām al-Qhīrās (also Sh. Sukhaym in ms. sources), a small village and archaeological site 24 km/15 miles northeast of Ṣanʿāʾ, and near the western slope of the Ḩabāl Dīn Marmar. In old inscriptions, it appears as Sḏm* (1st-2nd century A.D.), and was the chief centre of the tribe of Yūnus (Ṭrīm). The name of the village of Ťhīrās (population 500 in 1975) serves to distinguish it from the other Shībāms. Its main claim to fame is its vast mosque containing the tomb of the Imām al-Mahdī Ahmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 1092/1681), whose reign was marked by the expulsion of the Jews of Ṣanʿāʾ and their exile to the region of al-Mawzā in 1090/1679 in the aftermath of the messianic movement of Shabbatay Ẓvi (q.v.). At present, there are alabaster quarries in the neighbour-
	hood of the village.

4. Shībām Ḥārāz, a peak of 2,940 m/9,643 feet in the Ḥārāz massif west-south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ, with a
fort on its summit of the same name. In 429/1037-8, according to the Sunnī sources, the founder of the Šulayhīds (q.v.) 'All b. Muḥammad, raised his standard near here and launched the Fātimid dārūsa in Yemen. The fort and the nearby town of Manāḥah formed one of the main strong points of the Ottoman occupation of Yemen 1871-1918.

Other minor Šībānīs exist in Yemen. Hence toponyms of this root, unknown elsewhere in the Arab world, have been especially popular here. The root itself seems to have two main semantic spheres: "band, gag" and "coldness", neither explaining these place-names. However, Landberg, Glossaire datinois, s.v., gives the meanings for šabana "to be high", šabīm "height", which fits better; the toponyms in question are all at the foot of slopes and cliffs or refer to a peak.

(Ch. Robin)


(Ch. Robin and A. Rouaud)

**ŠĪBĀNĪ KHAṈ** (also known as Šāhī, Beg, Šāh Bakht, and Šībāk/Shībāk) Muḥammad b. Shiḥbūs Dādā (gh) b. Aḥl al-Khaṭīr, conqueror of most of western Central Asia between 1500 and 1509 and reviver of the Činggis khanate. His genealogical claim to the Činggisid legacy rested on his lineal descent from Šībānī, the fifth son of Djiči b. Činggis KhaṈ. His royal clan is therefore called the Šībānī bānī, one although it should more properly be known as the Abū l-Khaṭīrī/Shībānī bānī (to distinguish it from, among others, the Yāḏgāḏir or ‘Arabīǧāḏīd Šībānī bānī clan who gained control of Khāṭārām at about the time of his death).

Muḥammad Šībānī was born in 855/1451 and died at the age of 61 (lunar years) at the end of Šībānī 91(6)/late November or early December 1510. After the death of his father (Šāhī/S.K. Ibragimov, 50, gives the obituary date 864/1459-60), his grandfather, Abū l-Khaṭīr (q.v.) took custody of the two sons, placing him and his brother, lifelong companion and fellow adventurer, Muḥammad (858-907/1454-1501), first in the care of a “Uyghūr Bāb Shayḵī” and then in the hands of an amīr, Karāčin Beg. The former was probably responsible for Šībānī’s early book learning and for his hunting and military skills. Šībānī’s childhood and adolescence were spent in and around Sīhnāk (q.v.) on the lower Šīr Daryā (Jaxartes), his grandfather’s headquarters.

Muḥammad Šībānī’s career did not start very promisingly. When he was in his late teens his grandfather died (872/1468) and the confederation which he had created along the Šīr Daryā, already in the process of disintegration, collapsed. Karāčin Beg, who still exercised some control over the two teenagers, took them to Aṣṭrāḵān, presumably seeking the protection and patronage of the Djiči khaṈs there. But problems in Aṣṭrāḵān soon forced the three to leave.

The chronology of the period before 905/1500 is uncertain. The information on Šībānī KhaṈ’s career comes from the pens of men writing after he had established himself in Samarkand in 1500 who view the preceding period as prelude (Kamāl al-Dīn Bannā’, the anonymous author of Taṣawwīk-i gızda— Napārta-nēma, Mullā Šādī, Muḥammad Šālīh, Bābūr and Khāndāmīr). His fluctuating fortunes during the quarter-century or so after his grandfather’s death may be inferred from what is known of his peregrinations during this time.

After leaving Aṣṭrāḵān, he and his brother returned to Sīhnāk and the Šīr Daryā plain. His apparently unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in the region prompted his taking refuge at Bukhārā far to the south of his homeland. There the Aṛghīn amīr, ‘Abd al-‘Alī Tārkan (d. ca. 1494), hired him, presumably as a mercenary, and there he stayed for two years. He eventually gravitated back to the middle Šīr Daryā, where the commander of the fortress of Aṛḵū offered (The commercial importance of Aṛḵū at this time is indicated by the fact that Khunjūdī, 85, who calls it “an entrepôt (bandārgād) for merchants coming from Samarkand and Bukhārā.”) Šībānī then continued down-river and seems to have taken or been given Sīhnāk, his grandfather’s old capital. But the entire Šīr Daryā watershed remained an object of contest between the “Kāzāk” Djičids who had split with Abū l-Khaṭīr in the mid-1460s, the Mīrāṇshahī Tūmrīds who held Samarkand and Bukhārā and the KhaṈs (like Muḥammad Mazādī Tārkan), both active in the middle and upper Šīr Daryā basin, and the Čaḡāhāṭī Činggisids (Yūnūs KhaṈ, d. 892/1487, and his sons, Sulṭān Muḥammad, d. 914/1509, and Sulṭān Aḥmad d. 909/1504) whose centre was Ṣaṭṣḵent. In this fluid situation, Šībānī seems to have enjoyed only occasional military success, usually in service to others.

Muḥammad Šībānī does not seem to have come into his own as a significant force until the early 890s/mid-1480s when he carried out successful raids in Khāṭārām (then subject to the Tūmrīd Čaḡāhāṭī Tūmrīds of Harāt). In the course of these forays, he briefly captured Aḍāk (or Awak) and Tlrsak (Dirsak), problems in Astrakhan soon forced the three to leave.
warded by Sultan Mahmud Khan of Taškent with the town of Arkuk. Babur in discussing the battle (17, 25) makes no mention of Šībānī Khan’s role in the defeat of Sultan Ahmad.

The next decade or so is a particularly obscure one and Muhammad Šībānī and his family do not occur in the narrative until his spring 905/1500 campaign to take Samarkand, ostensibly on behalf of Sultan Mahmud Khan who had already tried unsuccessfully to capture the city after the death of Sultan Ahmad Mīrzā in 899/1494.

From this point onwards, his career is easier to follow. In 905-6/1500 he captured Samarkand, symbolic site of Timurid authority. Although the Mirṣaḥallād Zahir al-Dīn Bābur took it and held it over the winter of 1500-1, Muhammad Šībānī re-captured it after a long siege the next spring. The second taking of Samarkand began a busy period of territorial conquest for the fifty-one year old warrior. His success there prompted increasing defections to his side from the Turko-Mongol tribes supporting the Timurids and the Caghatay Cinggisids and gave him the means to now conduct campaigns of conquest and expansion.

Šībānī Khan was a relentless campaigner, rarely spending more than a month or two (usually during the winter) in any one place. In addition, he could rely on his brother’s son ‘Ubayd Allāh and his own son Muhammad Tāmūr to conduct independent campaigns in his name. Between 906/1501 and the end of 912/spring 1507, he added most of the region of Transoxania, Khūrāzim and Balkh to his domains. In mid-Muḥarram 913/late June 1507 he took the capital of Khurasan, Harat, and followed that with an attempt the same year on Kashābār. The campaign season of 914/1508 was mainly spent in the west taking brief control as far west as Astara bād and south to Bistām. After spending the summer near Bistām, the khan returned to Buchkārā where he spent the winter, celebrating the Šībānī Khan's main political achievements were the elimination of Timurid authority in Transoxania and Khurāsān; expulsion of the Caghatay Cinggisid line from Taškent and the Farghāna Valley, and forging a confederation of Turko-Mongol tribal groups (Djalay, Dūrmān, Kungrāt, Manghī, etc.) under the acknowledged khanate of the Abu ‘l-Khayrīd-Šībānī clan, thus laying the foundation for the political structure that would govern the oases of Transoxania and Balkh for most of the 16th century.

Like his Timurid predecessors, Muhammad Šībānī was a patron of scholarship and the arts. Khundjī and the anonymous author of Tawdtnkh-i guzida-Nusrat-ndma detail the discussions of social and religious issues over which he presided and the scholars who attended his convocations. His patronage and his own production of literature in Persian and Turkish have been studied (Hofman, 226-8).

Among his architectural projects was the Madrasayn Khāniyya in Samarkand, a bridge over the Zarafshān, a pleasure palace at Kānī Gil (dārāh bāgh), ‘imārat and īdān) and another at Karqājā (on these latter two, see Khundjī, 291, 318-19).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The major sources for Muhammad Šībānī’s life are: (1) Kamal al-Dīn Bānīā’ī (or Bīnā’ī), Shībānī-nāma (for bibliographic information, see Bregel-Storey, ii, 1117-18; listing of chapter headings and partial text—fols. 34b-38b of 42 fols. Leningrad ms., in A. Samoilov, ‘Ismā‘il Bahār’s Shībānī-nāma and another at Karshāf (on these last two, see Khundjī, 291, 318-19).

2. Mullā Shāhī, Fadkh-nāma (composed ca. 1500-1; Bregel-Storey, 1120-1, a partial tr. in Ibragimov et al., 53-90 (fols. 56a-77b, 111b-122b of Leningrad University ms. no. 902) (on Šībānī, see Ibragimov, 44-8); (2) Muhammad Šībānī, Shībānī-nāma (Caghatay text), ed. P.M. Melioransky and A.N. Samoilovich, St. Petersburg 1908, German tr. A. Vāmbyrē, Die Scheibaniade, Stuttgart 1872 (Muhammad Šībānī joined Šībānī Khan’s entourage 907-13/1501-7); (3) Mullā Shāhī, Fadkh-nāma (composed ca. 1500-1; Bregel-Storey, 1120-1, a partial tr. in Ibragimov et al., 53-90 (fols. 56a-77b, 111b-122b of Leningrad University ms. no. 902) (on Šībānī, see Ibragimov, 44-8); (4) Muhammad Šībānī, Shībānī-nāma (Caghatay text), ed. P.M. Melioransky and A.N. Samoilovich, St. Petersburg 1908, German tr. A. Vāmbyrē, Die Scheibaniade, Stuttgart 1872 (Muhammad Šībānī joined Šībānī Khan’s entourage 907-13/1501-7); (5) Fadl Allah b. Aḥmad b. Ala‘ī Jārāsh, Zahrār al-siyar, 45-8); (6) Muhammad Šībānī, Shībānī-nāma (Caghatay text), ed. P.M. Melioransky and A.N. Samoilovich, St. Petersburg 1908, German tr. A. Vāmbyrē, Die Scheibaniade, Stuttgart 1872 (Muhammad Šībānī joined Šībānī Khan’s entourage 907-13/1501-7).
SHIBANI KHAN — SHIBANIDS

Zayn al-Din Wasi', Badr'i al-wak'd, ed. A.N. Boldirev, 2 vols., Moscow 1961, and Kh "adja Bahi' al-Din Hasun Nihr, Maqalak il-khahib, ed. Syed Muhammad Faizullah, New Delhi 1969, esp. 13-16 of introd., 15-22 of text. This latter work empha-
sizes, perhaps apocryphally, Shiban Khan's close-
ness with the Nasibids of Bukhara.

Other useful, though retrospective, sources are:
(late 16th century) Hafizi Tanbih, Sharaf-nama-yi shahi ("Abd Allah-nama), facs. ed. of St. Petersburg (Leningrad) IVAN ms. no. D88, ed. and tr. M.A. Salakhutdinova, Moscow 1983 (vol. i of four pro-
jected vols.) and (mid-17th century) Mahmid b. 
Amir Wali, Bahar al-asrdr fi mandkib al-akhydr, vi/3, 
Tashkent IVAN, inv. no. 1375. Safawid sources 
(e.g. Hasuni Rumiili, Ahsan al-tawerik, ed. C.N. 
Seddon, Baroda 1931, passim to p. 123) also 
can be consulted for Shiban Khan's Khurasan 
campaigns.

2. Documents. R.G. Mukimova, K istorii 
agaram-ba otomogii u Uzbekistane. Po materialam "Vakf-
nama", Tashkent 1966 (the vakf-nama ca. 1320 of 
Muhim Shiban Khanm, Muhammad Shiban Khan's daught-
ter-in-law, on behalf of his 
madrasa). 

3. Studies. Y. Bregel, arts. Bukhara III. After the 
Mongol invasion, and IV. The Khanate of Bukhara and 
Khurasan, ed. E.A. Davidovich, Denezhnaya reforma 
Shibani-khana, in Trudi Akademii Nauk Tadzikskoi S.S.R., 
xii (Material po istorii Tadzhikskoi SSR 1939), 
Dushanbe 1954, 84-108; idem, korpus zolotkh i 
serebnikh monet Shibani-kharov XVI xeh, Moscow 1992; 
M.B. Dickson, Uzbek dynastic theory in the sixteenth 
century, in Trudy XXV-go Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa 
Vostokovedov, Proc. of the 25th International Congress of 
Orientalists, Moscow, 1960, Moscow 1963, 208-16; 
Idem, Shah Tabmashe i Uzbeki, unpubl. diss., 
Princeton 1958; H. Hofman, Turkish literature. A bio-
bibliographical survey, iii/1, Utrecht 1969; A.A. Semenov, 
K svozhu u proshlkhzhdeni i sostave Uzbekev 
Shibani-khan, in Materiali po istorii Tadzhikskoi 
SSR 1939, Dushanbe 1954; idem, "Na'mati uroven' pereshlkh 
Shibani-khan, in Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie, iii (1956), 51-9; 
M.B. Subukin, Art and politics in early 16th 
century, Central Asia, in CAJ, xxviii (1983), 121-48; Maria 
Szappe, Entre Timourides, Ozbegs et Babylons. Questions d'histoire politque et sociale de Herat dans la premiere 

(R.D. McChesney)

SHIBANIDS, a Turco-Mongol dynasty of 
Central Asia, the agnatic descendants of 
Shiban, the fifth son of Djoci son of Cinggis Khan, 
more especially two distinct branches of those descendants, 
the Abu '1-Khayrid and the 'Arabahshids-Yadgarids who, 
in the early 10th/16th century, seized control of 
the urban oases of Transoxania or Mawara'nahr and Khar 
"arazm (q.v.), from the T眉murl眉ids (q.v.).

I. History and politics

For nearly the entire 10th/16th century the Abu 
'1-Khayrids ruled most of what is now southern 
Kazakhstan, eastern and southern Uzbekistan, Taj-
ikistan, Kyrgyzstan and northern Afghanistan. The 
'Arabahshid-Yadgarid branch held what is now 
Turkmenistan and western Uzbekistan, i.e. the lands 
of the lower Amu Darya and its extensive delta and 
the oases along the northern slopes of the Kopet Dagh 
for much of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. 
During the 10th/16th century, the Shibanids of 
Kharazm were dominated by the Shibaniids of 
Transoxania, whose centres were Bukhara, Samarkand, 
Tashkent and Balkh.

The proximate origin of Shibanid sovereignty in 
Transoxania and Kharazm was the khaneh of Abu 
'1-Khayrid Khan (q.v.) in the Kopchak Steppe (the 
priairie north and east of the Aral Sea) the traditional 
homeland (yurtdish) of the house of Shiban b. Djoci. The 
Turkish and Mongol groups (Kerait, Dhjlawiri, 
Kuchnari, Monguts, Khvajgi, Maraghi, Sarayzah 
Nayman, etc.) which provided the military manpower for these 
Shibanids came to be generically known, for reasons 
no longer clear, as Ozbegs (q.v.), a term eventually 
adopted by outsiders to signify the entire political 
organization including both the non-Cinggisids, the 
Ozbegs proper, and the Cinggisid royal clan.

In a political environment which gave precedence 
to descendants of Cinggis Khan, the Abu '1-Khay-
rid/Shibanid clan under a skilled tactician, Muhammad 
Shiban (q.v.) (grandson of Abu '1-Khayrid) emerged as 
the sovereign clan, when it ousted the then-dominant 
sovereign family, the T眉murl眉ids (q.v.), from Transoxania at 
the beginning of the 10th/16th century. By 913/ 
1507, eastern Khurasan (including Harat, Marw and 
Masjhad), Transoxania (Bukhara, Samarkand, Khash, 
Karaq, Tashkent), Kharazm (Kharza, Urgandj and 
Wazir), Turkistan, and the Farghala Valley had 
been conquered and claimed by Muhammad Shiban, 
and many of the military supporters of the T眉murl眉ids had 
joined forces with the Shibanids. But in 916/1510, 
when Muhammad Shiban was killed at Marw in battle 
with the newly-emergent Safawid state of Persia, 
his cousins and their Ozbeg backers temporarily lost 
control those urban centres. Two years later, however, led 
by 'Ubayd Allah b. Mahmud (q.v.), a nephew of 
Muhammad Shiban; Djanf Beg b. Kh "adja Mu-
hammad, a cousin and Suyurruddin Muhammad b. 
Abi '1-Khayrid, an uncle, the Abu '1-Khayrids regained 
control of Bukhara, Samarkand and Tashkent. They and 
their descendants held those regions until 1006/1598, 
adding Balkh and the land between the Hindo Kush 
and the Amu Darya in 1526. The Murghab basin generally 
proved to be the westward limit of Abu '1-
Khayrid authority, although the Shibanid clan 
contested with the Safawids for Harat (q.v.) and eastern 
Khurasan throughout the century; Harat was captured 
briefer in 1536-38, held briefly and then 
not at the end of the 15th century (1588-89).

For the east and south, the T 'en-shan, Pamir and Hindo Kush ranges and the polities which lay beyond them, the remnants of the Qajars (q.v.) khanehs in Eastern Turkistan and the Mogul state in India created by the 
T眉murl眉ids expelled from Transoxania, contained 
Shibanid expansion. To the north, the Yr Darya basin 
tended to mark the northern limits of the clan's jurisdiction.

Both neo-Shibanid states preserved a tradition of 
corporate or clan rule. According to this tradition, 
described by Faḍl Allah b. Rūzbihān Khudji, the 
eldest member of the royal clan held the nominally 
supreme, but largely ceremonial, position of khān (see 
Table). At an assembly (kurultay, kangek) of the eligible 
clan members, the khān presided over the distribution 
(taksim) of territory in the form of appanages. 
Each family (or cousin clan, see Dickson) within the 
royal clan received a territory or territories as an 
appanage, usually in the central and eastern part of 
the country. As generations matured and increasing numbers of 
princes (sultāns) demanded a share of the corporate 
wealth, appanages had to expand either by annexing 
non-Shibanid territory or through the elimination or 
subordination of cousin-clans.

The four major sub-clans in the Abu '1-Khayrid 
khanehs (and their appanage holdings after the 
restoration in 918/1512) were the Suyūndjiks (Tashkent
Table. The Abu 'l-Khayr or Shibanid Khans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khan</th>
<th>Regnal dates</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Relation to predecessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Shibanid b. Shah Budaq</td>
<td>907-16/1501-10</td>
<td>Shibanid</td>
<td>Grandson (of Abu 'l-Khayr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuckundji Muhammad b. Abi 'l-Khayr</td>
<td>918-37/1512-30</td>
<td>Kuckundji</td>
<td>Uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abi Sa'id b. Kuckundji</td>
<td>937-40/1530-3</td>
<td>Kuckundji</td>
<td>Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ubayd Allah b. Mahmud</td>
<td>940-6/1533-40</td>
<td>Shibanid</td>
<td>First cousin once-removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd Allah b. Kuckundji</td>
<td>946-7/1540</td>
<td>Kuckundji</td>
<td>First cousin once-removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd al-Latif b. Kuckundji</td>
<td>947-59/1540-52</td>
<td>Kuckundji</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawruz Ahmad (Barak) b. Suyundjik</td>
<td>959-63/1552-6</td>
<td>Suyundjik</td>
<td>First cousin once-removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pir Muhammad b. Djanji Begi</td>
<td>968-91/1561-83</td>
<td>Djanji Begid</td>
<td>First cousin once-removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iskandar b. Suyundjik</td>
<td>970-2/1562-5</td>
<td>Suyundjik</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd Allah b. Iskandar</td>
<td>991-1006/1563-98</td>
<td>Suyundjik</td>
<td>Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Abd Allah</td>
<td>1006/1568</td>
<td>Djanji Begid</td>
<td>Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pir Muhammad b. Sula'man</td>
<td>1006-7/1569-9</td>
<td>Djanji Begid</td>
<td>First cousin once-removed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the Farghana Valley), the Kuckundjids (Samar-kanid), the Shibanid Budaqids (Bukhara) and the Djanji Begids (Karminta, Miyankai, and, after 1526, Balkh). From approximately 1512 to 1550, these four Abu 'l-Khayr sub-clans consolidated their holdings, carried out campaigns of expansion in Khurasan and the Khazarazm and also occasionally collided with each other's territorial ambitions. But, generally speaking, until the middle of the century, succession of the eldest Abu 'l-Khayr was preserved and the integrity of cousin clan appanage rights respected.

The third quarter of the century was a period of inter- and intra-clan struggle. Individual clans sought to expand at each other's expense and succession within appanages also became subject to contest. The first cousin clan to disappear was the Shibanid, Muhammad Shibanid's own clan and holder of the Bukharaan appanage. Disagreement among Shibanid successor to the Bukharaan appanage led to intervention by the Djanji-Begid clan and its eventual capture of the Bukharaan oasis in 964/1557. The Kuckundji sub-clan at Samarkand, whose head was recognised, on the basis of seniority, as reigning Abu 'l-Khayr-Shibanid khan from 1512-59 (except for the years 1533-40) was the next to be ousted from its appanage. Long-standing internal tensions invited the interference of the Suyundjikids in Tashkent and the Djanji-Begids of Bukhara. In 986/1578, the Kuckundjids finally lost their home appanage of Samarkand. Over the next four years, continual contests between the Suyundjikids and the Djanji-Begids resulted in the ascension of the latter as the dominant cousin-clan.

The Djanji-Begids themselves endured intra-clan struggles, particularly between the Balkh and Bukharaan branches. The single-minded efforts of one of the Djanji-Begid sub-clans, 'Abd Allah b. Iskandar, to unify the Djanji-Begid appanage under his father and then to expand Djanji-Begid control at the expense of the Kuckundjids and then the Suyundjikids, temporarily at least transformed the Abu 'l-Khayr state from one of more or less equally powerful appanages centred on Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent and Balkh to one more closely resembling an imperial entity with a single powerful dynastic family (the Djanji-Begid) intent on limiting succession to the khanate to its own lineage. Although 'Abd Allah enjoyed some success in the short term, especially because he was able to create a military force able to make major advances against the Safawids in the west, the Mughals in Badakhshan, and the Shibanids of Khazarazm, his struggle to create an imperium eventually ran counter to the interests of the non-Cinggisids, the Ozbegs amirs, whose interest lay in preserving Cinggisid traditions, especially the system of appanages with their amirid sub-infeudations which gave the amirs the resources needed to maintain their tribal identities.

After eliminating the Kuckundjids and Suyundjikids clans, 'Abd Allah embarked on a series of external campaigns which covered the period 992-1004/1584-96. In 992/1584, Badakhshan fell to the Djanji-Begid. Three years later he turned his attention to Khurasan. Harat surrendered in 996/1588, Mashhad in the following year and Sistan and Nishapur soon thereafter. Sistan, too, was eventually conquered, and even the Safawids in Kandahar acknowledged Bukhara hegemony. Two campaigns against Khazarazm in 1002/1593 and 1004/1595-96 put that region firmly if briefly under the control of Bukhara. He also led a campaign force as far as Kish in 1003/1594-5. But establishing Bukharaan control here proved impossible.

But any dynastic ambitions 'Abd Allah Khan may have had perished with him in 1006/1598. His son, 'Abd al-Mu'min, antagonised important Ozbeg amirs and was assassinated six months after his father's death. Another Djanji-Begid, Pir Muhammad b. Sula'man, was recognised very briefly by the amirs at Bukhara. But by the spring of 1007/1599, a new Cinggisid line, descendants of the thirteenth son of Ozbeg, Umar, was installed in Samarkand and Bukhara with the backing of most of the Ozbegs amirs.

In Khazarazm, the 'Arabshahid/Yadgarid Shibanid clan underwent a similar process of succession, clan contests and eliminations in the name of the Cinggisid tradition.

II. Society, economy, culture

Most of Shibanid society was engaged in agrarian pursuits typical of an early modern pre-industrial society. The written record identifies three elite groups, understood as having distinctive characteristics: the royals (those of Cinggisid descent), the amirs (ranking members of Ozbeg tribes), and the intellectuals—the religious scholars, heads of saintly orders, administrators of shrines, poets, artists and a range of others acknowledged by society as distinctive and worthy because of some innately spiritual or intellectual capacity. The (male) royals were distinguished by the titles khan (the sovereign) and sultan (an individual eligible to succeed to the khanate). A range of military and administrative offices was reserved for amirs (atalik, divanboghi, hikim, parvinaidji, etc.). Similarly, specific administrative offices, and at least one military office were reserved for the intellectuals (shaykh al-ulam, hafiz, muftis, mudaris and nakhb [q.v.]). Court protocol, including the seating arrangements and thus hierarchy of office, was ascribed to the yasa of Cinggis Khatun. The evolution of offices and office-holding from Timurid times has yet to be studied.
Intellectual families such as the Djuybarls of Bukhara, the Ahrarls of Samarkand and the Parsa’Is of Ghur. These families were the hereditary recipients of the local offices of kādī al-īslām and kādī al-īlād, and as administrators (muhāźāts) of shrines, they disposed of great wealth in endowments. The rise of these great shrine families is a significant feature of Shībānīd history. Based on surviving records, after the middle of the 10th/16th century, at the latest, the wealth of these families seems to have surpassed that of any of the royals or amirs from their own regions. These families played a leading role as patrons of art and architecture. Judging by the recorded activities of the rich, wealth was produced first by land and only secondarily by import-export exchange. Land under private ownership (milKh) prevailed through the Shībānīd era. State land (manālakā) seems to have been generally of minor importance, while endowment (waqf) land seems to have steadily increased in importance under the Shībānīds.

Historically, the Shībānīd territory produced and exported fresh and dried fruits, fibres, some precious metals and livestock, notably horses. Although there are no meaningful trade figures for the Shībānīd period, the main trading partner appears to have been Mughal India. Certainly, the establishment of a Central Asian dynasty (the Timurids of India) in northern India early in the 10th/16th century encouraged the expansion of all contacts between the two regions including economic ones. Bābur records many of the Central Asian products and goods desired in northern India and describes the large trade in horses through Kābul. An apparent boom in commercial construction in Bukhāra in the late 10th/16th century suggests generally flourishing if not expanding inter-regional trade under the Shībānīds.


covering the period 1550-77); R.R. Fitrat and B.S. Sergeev, Kaziskie dokumenti XVI veka, Tashkent 1937 (a selection of 65 kult-court documents from Samar- kand dated 997-8/1588-9 taken from a larger compilation of more than 700 documents from the court dating to the period 997-1000/1588-91 [the Madg- mija-yi waqat'i, Tashkent IVAN, ms. no. 1386]).


SHIBITHTH (A., in popular parlance Shabith, Shabath) is a town situated in the Khuzestan region of southern Iraq, in the Persian Gulf Province, at the meeting of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The town is about 55 km north of Ahvaz and 150 km south of the Persian Gulf. The town is surrounded by rice paddies and has a population of around 70,000 people.

The town is located on a strategic location on the ancient trade route connecting the Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean. It was an important center of trade and commerce, with a population of around 10,000 people in the 1st century CE. The town was the capital of the kingdom of Sabu, which was founded by Sabu, a Persian nobleman who had been exiled from Persia.

The town is known for its rich cultural heritage, with many archaeological sites and ruins. The town is also a center of agriculture, with a large rice field located nearby. The town is bordered by the Tigris River to the north and the Euphrates River to the south. The town is connected by road to the cities of Ahvaz and Khorramshahr.

The town is located in a region with a hot and humid climate, with temperatures ranging from 20°C to 40°C in the summer and from 10°C to 25°C in the winter. The town is also subject to heavy rainfall, with an average of 400 mm per year.

The town is located in a region with a rich agricultural heritage, with rice paddies and other crops growing in the surrounding area. The town is also a center of commerce, with a large market located in the center of the town. The town is served by a number of airlines, with flights to the cities of Ahvaz and Khorramshahr.

The town is home to a number of cultural and religious groups, including the Shabtaiites, who are a branch of the Bahá'í Faith. The town is also home to a number of mosques and shrines, including the shrine of the Shabtaiite leader, Shaykh Ahmad.

The town is located in a region with a rich archaeological heritage, with many sites and ruins dating back to the ancient period. The town is also home to a number of museums and cultural centers, including the Museum of the Shabtaiite Movement.
fennel (bahābī [q.v. in Suppl., Foeniculum vulgare, L.]), like the latter, dill is an ancient plant and is used in kitchen and medicine in the same way as the fennel. The main areas of origin of the cultivated dill are middle and southeastern Europe; wild dill is found in the Mediterranean area and in the Near East. Roots, seed and herb of the dill contain an aromatic, ethereal oil. From old times, the young sprouts have been used as spices for cucumbers and salads.

The main significance of dill, however, was already in ancient Egyptian times in the field of medicine. It was used as a stomachic, carminative, diuretic and vermifuge drug. Its peculiarity consists in the fact that it dispels colic originating from flatulence, heavy gases, and mucus coming from stomach and intestines; it also puts one to sleep. Its seeds, pulverised and cooked in water, cause heavy vomiting and purify the stomach from dyscratic juice (mutāḥḥah). A hip bath in an extract from dill is good for pains of the womb. Applied as a poultice, dill divides the swellings originating from flatulence. Its ashes are good for colic (mutārahhil), heavily festering ulcers, and its decoction for pains of kidneys and bladder, caused by constipations or flatulence. Pulverised and boiled with honey until concentration, and then applied on the backside, dill has a strongly laxative effect. Taken in soup or broth, its seeds strengthen the flowing of milk. The freshly blossoming dill in particular is good for colic, haemorrhoids and sticky vomit from the stomach.


**SHIBLI, AL-DAWLA** [see MIRAJ, BANON]

**SHIBLI, ABU BAKR DULAF B. JASHAR, A SUNNİ mystic. Born in Sâmarra or Baghdad of a family which came from Transoxiana in 247/861, he died there in 334/945. Before his conversion to Sufism he was an official at the `Abbāsid court in Sâmarra, apparently a chamberlain or haṭīb of the caliph’s brother Abū Ahmad al-Muwaqqaf [q.v.] as well as, or subsequently, a wāli or deputy-governor of Dârâmânawd. He was a reputed scholar in Mālikî law and an asiduous student of ḥāthîb. At the age of about 40 he converted to the mystical life, the most important source for the Sufi Khāyār al-Nassādī of Sâmarra [d. 322/934]. Soon after, Khāyar sent al-Shibli on to al-Dūnayd [q.v.], in Baghda’d, for further spiritual training. He remained a novice of al-Dūnayd until the latter’s death in 297/910. The intense relationship between master and novice became the object of countless stories based on the twin motif of al-Shibli being rebuked and in the Near East. “His restlessness, "eccentricities", therapeutic language and pretension (de'awā) as well as for 2. his public preaching. For some time, al-Shibli associated with al-Hallādī [q.v.], but he denied him before the vizier and went, it is said, to accuse him at the foot of the scaffold (309/922). Al-Shibli affected a bizarre mode of life, cultivating “eccentricities” of speech and action which caused his repeated interment in the lunatic asylum in Baghda’d. He was criticised, in particular, by the Hanbalī scholars Ibn `Aṭīf and Ibn al-Duwārī [q.v.], for the pretentiousness in his speech (some Şūfis pointed out that he discoursed on “states”, and “stations”, not on unity, taḥsīl), for his claim of being empowered with unassuming grace, for a lack of respect for the data of revelation (angels, hellafrī, prophets), for his wastefulness and concomitant neglect of his family, as well as for his painful and humiliating penances.

He has left no works, but his sayings (or “allusions”, igānāt) figure in the Şūfī manuals and collections on şadh [q.v.], as do his elaborate eccentricities, ecstatic states and penances. His igānāt were counted by contemporary Şūfīs to be one of the “three miracles of Baghda’d/of the world”. A considerable number of mystical poems have been recorded from him, many of which are quotations of baccic poets like Ibn al-Mu’tazz or amatory poets such as Abū Nuwaṣ, Baghba’h b. Burd, and most importantly, Kays, the māḏḏūn [see MĂGHNbN LÂYÂ], whose example of excessive love al-Shibli adopted as a model for loving God.

As a master of novices he trained numerous disciples, often in rough, sometimes violent ways (visitors flee from him; al-Dūnayd warns his pupils to speak to al-Shibli “from behind the throne; for his swords drip with blood”). Al-Shibli demands of his pupils to see nothing in him but the traces of divine power and instructs them through “eccentric” behaviour: he throws stones at them to teach them about true love; he cuts his beard off to indicate that one should not mourn over the dead but make the Living God one’s sole concern; he burns his clothes as they distract from worship. He had servants or ḥudūdīm, attending to his and his family’s needs, as well as pupils, who received an initiatory garment, like Naṣrābādī, Abū `Amr al-Zaḏjdidī and Ibn Khaff al-Shârīzī [q.v.].

In the classical transmission of the šârīna [q.v.] al-Shibli figures as a link in the chain, between al-Dūnayd and al-Naṣrābādī. Ibn Khaff is said to have received “the white garment of al-Dūnayd” (gāmâ-yî saft) out of al-Shibli’s hands, which was passed thereon to al- Šâhī; then to al-Karâmî and the anonymous author of the Şūfī manual `Adab al-mulâkî, possibly identical with Al b. Dja’far al-Štrâwânî, a pupil of al-Shibli based in Mecca, presents him as the most important authority in Şūfism after al-Dūnayd. He had disciples in Khūrāsân, such as Muḥammad al- Fârâ’i (d. 370/980-1), a student of the Şūfī kalâm theologian and Şūfī Abû ‘Alî al-Thakāfī (d. 328/939-40), who was spied upon by order of al-Shibli; Abû Sahl al-Šu’lîkî (d. 365/980), a student of al-ʿAṣīrî; and the governor (mulâk) of Harāt. Ibn Abî Dhūlī (d. 378/988-9), who “spent a fortune on al-Shibli”. His closest disciple, however, was Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrî of Baghda’d (d. 371/982), “the true inheritor of al-Shibli” (Aṭšārî). By contrast, everyone else was but “a hearer of his word”. Al-Shibli’s claim that the eastern side of the Tigris was safeguarded against the Şī’I Būydîs only through his presence, coupled with the fact that shortly after his death the Daylamîs completed their conquest of Baghda’d, indicates that al-Shibli’s influence at the end of his life extended even to the highest ranks of government. His tomb in Baghda’d was still visibly intact in 1982.


AL-SHIBLI, ABU HAṣĀ ‘UMAR b. ISḥĀQ b. ABHĀD al-Ghaznawī al-Dawlatbāḏī al-Hindi al-Hanafi Šīḥāḏ al-Dīn, celebrated as a teacher and writer of the Hanafi school, and acquired expertise in the languages of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Islamic history and biography, and literary criticism in Persian and Arabic. After the latter’s death in 1898, his career came in 1882 when he first visited ‘Alīgāf, where his brother was a student. The two influences were Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan [q.v.], there were Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan [q.v.], University of London, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literature. Sir Sayyid appointed him lecturer in Persian and Arabic. After the latter’s death in 1898, Pālī broke his relationship with ‘Alīgāf, having founded a national English School in A’zāmgarh. He became a sort of free-lance scholar and author, spending his time in various places, such as Kashmir and Haydarābād, and wrote an account of his travels in Egypt and Turkey, Safar-nāma-ī Mīr-ī Rām-ī A’zāmgarh; his Urdu prose style is simple and clear, and not overlaid with English vocabulary, as that of Sir Sayyid and Ḥālī. He died in A’zamgarh.

Al-Shiblī is described by Saksena (287) as “one of the most striking personalities of his lifetime, a versatile genius with a remarkable career”, listing a dozen aspects of his activities. Elsewhere (392), he names about two dozen of his literary works in a rather confused manner, both incomplete and inaccurate. Pālī was ambitious, and felt an urge to produce large-scale works; thus Muhammad Sadiq tells us (275) that he planned an encyclopedia of Islamic history, combining Western and Oriental methods, but had to restrict himself to a number of monographs, including al-Farāk (1899), a study of the second caliph ‘Umar; al-Qaṣādat (1902); Sa‘īd b. ‘Umar; and Sirat al-Nabī (published posthumously, completed by Sulaymān Nadwī, 1916). His second major project, which he almost, but not quite, completed, was his critical history of Persian poetry,
Shi'r al-'Ajam, of which vol. i was published in 1908, ii in 1909, iii in 1910, and iv in 1912; vol. v was published posthumously in 1918. It is a brilliant account of Persian poetry, which had played so important a role in the emergence of Urdu poetry.

Finally, reference must be made to his Urdu poetry, which he composed through all his life; he also took part in mush'ara [poetic contests and celebrations]. Abu 'l-Layth Siddiki and a number of collaborators divided his poetry into four stages in an Urdu anthology, Undu nisab (see Bbl.). They stress that, as a poet, he was original, not basing his poetic techniques on any teacher. The outstanding stage was the fourth (1908-14), which was a period of turmoil in the Islamic world. In this period he wrote both political and ethical poetry, and some Islamic historical poetry. Among the most famous was Shuhada'i khamam ("The martyrs of the nation"); which commemorates the death of Muslims killed by British troops in the "Gawnpore incident" of 1912 [see KAMPUR].

Bibliography: Shibli's prose works will be found in various editions. For a reliable assessment of his achievements and ideas, see Muhammad Sadiq, A history of Urdu literature, London, 1964, 274-85; and see 161-3 for Shibli's Munawaza-yi Dakh-e-nisab (dated 1907), his major critical work on Urdu literature, which is important for the study of Urdu matnaja [poetry]. His poetry has already been mentioned; see Abu 'l-Layth Siddiki et alii, Undu nisab, Lahore 1969, 144-6, which includes the text of Shuhada'i-khamam. Ram Babu Sakensa, A history of Urdu literature, Allahabad 1927, 287-94, also contains useful information on it. (J.A. Haywood)

SHIFA1 ISFAHAN!, Hakim Sharaf al-Din Hasan, Persian physician and poet of the Safavid period. He was born in 956/1549 (Gulcm-i Ma'am) or 966/1558-9 (Safe) at Isfahan. His Munaza-yi Khakam's (cf. Ethe, 835; Rypka, 300), probably the most accurate, yet inadequate, botanical description of the small type of the anemone (al-nu), is the plant species Artemisia, Compositae.

The word was probably used by the Arabs as a collective noun for the some 200 types of this species, spread in the Mediterranean area and the temperate latitudes. These types occur as herbs and shrubs, many of them being aromatic. In medicine, the herb and its ethereal oil as well as the blossoming buds and their ethereal oil are used mainly as aromaticum, as a stomachic, digestive, carminative, choleric drug, and the blossoming buds also as an anthelmintic. It was further used as spice in the kitchen and as a stimulus of appetite. The Arab authors note mainly the following types of Artemisia: 1. Shih in the specific meaning of Artemisia taisca L.; 2. Surtfn (okpoq), probably A. maritima; 3. Tarhunj, A. dracunculus, tarragon; 4. Kaysim, A. abrotanum, southernwood or "Old man"; 5. Boringaisal, A. vulgaris, mugwort, often identified with kaysim; 6. Afsanfin or abu damhjya, the wormwood (absinth), A. absinthium; 7. (?) A. absenses. It should, however, be realised that the description of plants hardly suffice for determining the types, because nomenclature and synonymy are so vague. The most accurate, yet inadequate, botanical description may be presented here by way of example. It is found in Dusoirides triumphans (see Bbl.) iii, 107, under the entry artemisia (arctemisia), where five types of kaysim are described: One of its types has many twigs, which come forth from a single root, about one yard long. Its leaves are attached to the twigs at some distance from one another, resemble those of the small type of the anemone (al-mu'man) [see SHIKHAT AL-MU'MAN], are denticulated on both sides and grow smaller and smaller the more they are found near the upper end. At the end of each twig there are yellow-coloured blossoms, round and closely connected like a bunch (qumada) of heads of absinth (ru'si al-qumad). They vary in smell from pleasantly to repulsively, and their taste is bitter. This type has roots like those of the white hellebore (al-shahrak al-abjad). A second type ramifies already at the soil from a single root and rises about one yard... A third type...

Shibli Numan'i, of which vol. i was published in 1908, ii in 1909, iii in 1910, and iv in 1912; vol. v was published posthumously in 1918. It is a brilliant account of Persian poetry, which had played so important a role in the emergence of Urdu poetry.

Finally, reference must be made to his Urdu poetry, which he composed through all his life; he also took part in mush'ara [poetic contests and celebrations]. Abu 'l-Layth Siddiki and a number of collaborators divided his poetry into four stages in an Urdu anthology, Undu nisab (see Bbl.). They stress that, as a poet, he was original, not basing his poetic techniques on any teacher. The outstanding stage was the fourth (1908-14), which was a period of turmoil in the Islamic world. In this period he wrote both political and ethical poetry, and some Islamic historical poetry. Among the most famous was Shuhada'i khamam ("The martyrs of the nation"); which commemorates the death of Muslims killed by British troops in the "Gawnpore incident" of 1912 [see KAMPUR].

Bibliography: Shibli's prose works will be found in various editions. For a reliable assessment of his achievements and ideas, see Muhammad Sadiq, A history of Urdu literature, London, 1964, 274-85; and see 161-3 for Shibli's Munawaza-yi Dakh-e-nisab (dated 1907), his major critical work on Urdu literature, which is important for the study of Urdu matnaja [poetry]. His poetry has already been mentioned; see Abu 'l-Layth Siddiki et alii, Undu nisab, Lahore 1969, 144-6, which includes the text of Shuhada'i-khamam. Ram Babu Sakensa, A history of Urdu literature, Allahabad 1927, 287-94, also contains useful information on it. (J.A. Haywood)

SHIFA1 ISFAHAN!, Hakim Sharaf al-Din Hasan, Persian physician and poet of the Safavid period. He was born in 956/1549 (Gulcm-i Ma'am) or 966/1558-9 (Safe) at Isfahan. His Munaza-yi Khakam's (cf. Ethe, 835; Rypka, 300), probably the most accurate, yet inadequate, botanical description of the small type of the anemone (al-nu), is the plant species Artemisia, Compositae.

The word was probably used by the Arabs as a collective noun for the some 200 types of this species, spread in the Mediterranean area and the temperate latitudes. These types occur as herbs and shrubs, many of them being aromatic. In medicine, the herb and its ethereal oil as well as the blossoming buds and their ethereal oil are used mainly as aromaticum, as a stomachic, digestive, carminative, choleric drug, and the blossoming buds also as an anthelmintic. It was further used as spice in the kitchen and as a stimulus of appetite. The Arab authors note mainly the following types of Artemisia: 1. Shih in the specific meaning of Artemisia taisca L.; 2. Surtfn (okpoq), probably A. maritima; 3. Tarhunj, A. dracunculus, tarragon; 4. Kaysim, A. abrotanum, southernwood or "Old man"; 5. Boringaisal, A. vulgaris, mugwort, often identified with kaysim; 6. Afsanfin or abu damhjya, the wormwood (absinth), A. absinthium; 7. (?) A. absenses. It should, however, be realised that the description of plants hardly suffice for determining the types, because nomenclature and synonymy are so vague. The most accurate, yet inadequate, botanical description may be presented here by way of example. It is found in Dusoirides triumphans (see Bbl.) iii, 107, under the entry artemisia (arctemisia), where five types of kaysim are described: One of its types has many twigs, which come forth from a single root, about one yard long. Its leaves are attached to the twigs at some distance from one another, resemble those of the small type of the anemone (al-mu'man) [see SHIKHAT AL-MU'MAN], are denticulated on both sides and grow smaller and smaller the more they are found near the upper end. At the end of each twig there are yellow-coloured blossoms, round and closely connected like a bunch (qumada) of heads of absinth (ru'si al-qumad). They vary in smell from pleasantly to repulsively, and their taste is bitter. This type has roots like those of the white hellebore (al-shahrak al-abjad). A second type ramifies already at the soil from a single root and rises about one yard... A third type...
buds three or four twigs from one single root, just one yard long, to which leaves are attached in the same way as they are to the blue stock (al-shih al-o^abali) is bitter, divides from the mountains is probably to be taken A. arborescens L. The first type, with many twigs and a pungent odour, is probably water, bitter. As one can see, the description of the water, could be A. vulgaris taste and odour. The first type is the common white on the (al-zayturi), azrak) the fourth is called in Rostam, the said (afsantm). (al-shih al-o^abali) is bitter, divides from the mountains is probably to be taken A. arborescens L. The first type, with many twigs and a pungent odour, is probably A. arborescens L. The fourth type, with one twig, which grows in inland water, could be A. canadensis. For one of the other types the widespread A. vulgari is probably to be taken into account. As one can see, the description of the types mentioned follows a rather fixed scheme: outward appearance, twigs, roots, leaves, blossoms, then taste and odour. The Arab authors give many details about the medicinal use of shih. It resembles absinth, but does not have the latter's astrangent power. Taken with rice and honey, it kills intestinal worms. The Artemisia from the mountains (al-shih al-o^abali) is bitter, divides and dissolves flatulence and is less astrangent than absinth. Its ashes, taken with almond oil, are good for loss of hair (da`al-Iqbal). It makes the itch disappear (al-ulkud), is good for laboured breathing and aids urination and menstruation.

**Bibliography:**

**SHIHAB AL-DIN AL-HUSAYNI**, Banu, a dynasty of amirs who held the tax-farm or iltizam [q.v.] of the Lebanon mountain districts of the san`ajah of Sidon-Beirut, and later also those of the wilayat of Tripoli, from 1631 until 1841. The Banu Shihab were already the recognised chief-tains (malakdanim) of Wadi al-Taym, a valley of the Anti-Lebanon, at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Syria (922/1516). Their involvement in the affairs of the Lebanon resulted from their alliance and inter-marriage with the Banu Ma`n [q.v.], the paramount Druze chiefs of the Shuf [q.v.] region, who held the iltizam of the mountain districts of Beirut-Sidon almost continuously from ca. 998/1590 until 1108/1697. When the Ma`n line died out, this iltizam was transferred by the Ottomans to their Banu Shihab relatives, allegedly with local consent (1108/1697). Subsequently (1124/1712), the Banu Shihab fixed the organisation of the territory assigned to them in fiscal cards called mukaddas, assigning the administration of each unit to the strongest family of makhmudsh from the local Druzes or Maronites. As newcomers to the Lebanon, the Banu Shihab, who were Sunni Muslims, faced strong opposition among the Druzes of the country from the very start. But the Druzes were further alienated by the consistent Shihab support for the Christian Maronites. This alienation worsened as leading Shihab amirs began to convert to Christianity and become Maronites, a process starting in the latter decades of the 18th century. The subsequent alliance of the Banu Shihab with Muhammad `Ali Pasha [q.v.], and their collaboration with the Egyptian occupation of Syria (1832-40), set them on the collision course with the Ottomans which was the direct cause of their downfall.

The Banu Shihab survive today in two branches, one Banu Maronite, the other Sunni Muslim. A member of the Maronite branch, General Fu`ad Shihab, was elected president of the Lebanese Republic for the period 1958-64.


(K.S. Salibi)

**SHIHAB AL-DAWLA** [see Mawlud al-Mansur].

**SHIHAB AL-DIN** [see Muhammad b. Sam].

**SHIHAB AL-DIN AHMAD B. MAJID** [see ibn Majid].

**SHIHAB AL-DIN DAWLATABADI** [see al-Dawlatabadi].

**SHIHAB AL-DIN AL-HUSAYNI**, Shaykh, a Nizari Isma`iliki dignitary and author of the 13th/19th century. Shihab al-Din, also called Khallal Allah, was born around 1268/1852-52, probably in Irak; he was the eldest son of Ajj `Ali Shihab, Agha Khan II (d. 1302/1885), the forty-seventh imam of the Nizari Ismai`lis, and the elder half-brother of Sultan Muhammad Shihab Khan III (1294/1376/1877-1957), the forty-eighth Nizari imam. Shihab al-Din spent the greater part of his life in Bombay and Poona, where he died in Safar 1302/December 1884, being eventually buried in the family mausoleum at Najaf.

Shihab al-Din Shihab was a learned member of the Agha Khans' family; he was also regarded as one of the pirs of the Nizari Ismai`lis, particularly by the Nizari Khodjas (see Muhammad b. Zayn al-Abidin Fakhr al-Husayn, Kitab i Hitayat al-mumins al-talihin, ed. A.A. Semenov, Moscow 1959, 178-9; W. Ivanow, *Isma'ili Literature*, in the series of publications of the Ismaili Society of Bengal, viii [1922], 66-7). Shihab al-Din composed a few treatises in Persian dealing particularly with the ethical and mystical aspects of the Nizari Ismai`li doctrines. His works, preserved in India and Central Asia, in fact represent the earliest examples of a literary revival, initiated in the second half of the 13th/19th century and utilising the Persian language, in the life of the Nizari Ismai`li community. His writings include the Khubat-i ysha (ed. H. Udjakl, Ismaili Society series A, no. 14, Bombay 1963) and the unfinished Risala dar hakikat-i din (ed. and tr. W. Ivanow, Islamic Research Association series, no. 3, Bombay 1953). Later editions and English translations, by W. Ivanow, of his Risala were published in 1947, 1955 and 1956 in the series of publications of the Ismaili Society of Bombay; this work has also been translated into Arabic, Urdu and Gujarati (see Shihab al-Din Shihab al-Husayni, *True meaning of religion*, tr. W. Ivanow, Bombay 1956, Preface).

SHIHAB AL-DIN AL-KARAFI — SHIHAB TURSHIZI

SHIHAB AL-DIN AL-KARAFI, Abu VAbbas Ahmad b. Abi 5l-cAlaJ Idrfs b. cAbd ... art of making
pen-boxes and calligraphy. He was the author of sev-
eral poetical works which included Khusraw wa Shmn
problem, al-KarafT introduces a rather sophisticated
him into accepting a position as judge.

Though a committed rationalist, however, he was far
script). In theology he followed the school of al-Ash
and hailed as "the greatest
and North Africa to study ustul-fik with him. His
six-volume opus on Mllik law, al-Dhikhara, testifies to
his mastery of the positive branches (fur'i) as well.
None of this would be enough, however, to induce
him into accepting a position as judge.

In addition to his legal activities, al-KarafT also had a
hand in several other disciplines. His al-Islahdr frma
had many friends, in particular with the title of Tadj al-Shu'
and comprising some 8,000 couplets.

Towards the later part of his life he retired to Isfahan,
where he died in 1291/1874-5.

Shihab's chief field of poetic exercise seems to have
been the panegyric, in which he reputedly wielded
a fluent pen and could compose lengthy kaSIDdn within
a short time. A critical remark by Diwan Beg! (ii,
889) regarding his poetic style confirms the view that
he was fond of grandiloquence, allusions and metaphors.
The Sipahsalar Library in Tehran owns a manu-
script copy of his divan containing a collection of
kaSIDdn and comprising some 8,000 couplets.

Bibliography: Fihrist-i Kitdbkhana-yi Madrasa-yi 'Ahi-
yi Sipahsalar, ii, Tehran 1316-18/1939-7, 519-20;
Sayyid Ahmad Diwan Beg! Shihza!, Idrakat al-
qar'at', ed. 'Abd al-Husayn Naw!t, Tehran 1365/
1886, ii (also contains an extract from Garagi
shaygdan, supplied by the editor); Rida-kuliKh!n
Hididayat, Madmna al-fusah!, ed. Muzahir Musaffa,
Tehran 1339/1960, ii/1; Muhammad 'Ali Tabriz!
(Mudarris), Rayyanan al-adah, Tabriz! (? 1238/1949),
ii; Diqihu!d, L!g!b-nama, s.v. Tadj al-Shu!
Yahya Aryanpur, Az-! Sab! t! M!n, Tehran 1350/1971,
ii; Wizarat-i Farhang u I!shad-i Islam!, Nmz-tawaran-i
farhang-i Iran, Tehran 1988 (?).

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

SHIHAB TURSHIZI, the pen-name of the Persian poet M!zra'Abd Allah Khbn, b. probably ca.
1167/1753 (Bahdr, Armshn!, xii/1, 37), d. 1215/
1800-1.

He started his poetic career in his home town of
Turshiz in Khorasun, but left it in 1189/1775-6 for
Shahriz, the capital of Karim Khbn Zand [q.v.].
His ambition took him from place to place in search of
suitable patronage. Finally, in 1203/1888-9, he entered
the service of Sh!hza!d Mahmd Durnran!i B!mir!
Shihz, the Afghan governor of Harat (who subsequently
became ruler of Afghanistan); ShHZzr!d Mhamd had
employed the poet's father, Habib Allah Shihz, Turshiz,
for thirty years (see Shihz's verses quoted in Buzurg
niya's article published in Armshn!, vi/9, 557).
Shihz included his patron for some nineteen years, becom-
ing his poet-laureate and chief astronomer as well as
attaining the rank of Khbn. Their association came
to an end with ShHZzr!d Mahmd losing the govern-
orship of Harat in 1212/1797-8 in an internal power
struggle. Thereupon, Shihz retired to Turbat-i Hay-
daryya [q.v.], where he died not long afterwards.

Apart from poetry, Shihz was also skilled in other
fields such as astronomy, painting, the art of making
pen-boxes and calligraphy. He was the author of sev-
eral poetical works which included Mbarun wa Mr!n
was born during the twenties of the 19th century. His
birthplace was Simirum, a small town in the Isfahan
district. His family had a long history of supplying
military jugglers to the Khumsh!d Khans, from whom he received many
favours. The poet's fortunes continued to prosper dur-
ing the reign of Muhammad ShHZz's successor, N!sr
al-Din ShHZz (1264-1313/1848-96). Besides writing
poems, which brought him financial rewards, he was
officially assigned the task of organising mourning
assemblies commemorating the death of Husayn.

According to a reference in Garagi-i shaygdn by Mirza
Tahir Isfahan!, Shihz, it may be assumed that Shihz

SHIHAB ISFAHANI, the pen-name of Mirza
Nasr Allah, a prominent Persian poet of the
Kadh!r period, fl. in the 19th century.

According to a reference in Garagi-i shaygdn by Mirza
Tahir Isfahan!, Shihz, it may be assumed that Shihz

(S.A. JACKSON)
SHIHAB TURSHIZI — SHIHNA

SHIHNA (.), an administrative-military term in the mediaeval Islamic eastern world.

From the end of the 3rd/9th century, the term, which in a general sense meant a body of armed men, sufficient for the guarding and control of a town or district on the part of the sultan, is occasionally found in the specific sense of the shihna [q.v.] (Tyan, L’organisation judiciaire en pays d’Islam, Paris 1938-43, ii, 366, n. 5). As the designation for a military governor of a town or province, the term shihna belongs primarily to the period of the Great Saljuqs, though Abu ‘I-Fadl Bayhaqi (writing in 450-1/1058-9) uses the term in the sense of the commander of a body of armed men in charge of a town or district on behalf of the sultan (Tarikh-i Bayhaqi, ed. Afi‘ Akbar Fayyad, Mashhad 1350/1971, 22, 25, 24) and his office as shihna (ibid., 9, 10, 25, 26, cf. also Doerfer, iii, 320-1). The term is found throughout the Il-Khanate and survives into the period of the Turkish dynasties of the Karakoyunlu and the Ak Koyunlu [q.v.]. Thereafter, it disappears except in a debased sense in some provincial districts, being superseded by the term daragha [q.v.]. The shihna belonged to the military classes and officials of the ‘urf jurisdiction. The authority which he held was, like that of other officials, essentially delegated authority.

Nizam al-Mulk [q.v.] appears to have regarded the terms mukta‘, wali and shihna as broadly synonymous (Siyadat-nama, ed. Murtaza Hezari, Teheran 1342/1964, 6). He presided over a diwan, which in a general sense meant a body of armed men, sufficing for the guarding and control of a town or district on the part of the sultan, is occasionally found in the specific sense of the shihna [q.v.] (Tyan, L’organisation judiciaire en pays d’Islam, Paris 1938-43, ii, 366, n. 5). As the designation for a military governor of a town or province, the term shihna belongs primarily to the period of the Great Saljuqs, though Abu ‘I-Fadl Bayhaqi (writing in 450-1/1058-9) uses the term in the sense of the commander of a body of armed men in charge of a town or district on behalf of the sultan (Tarikh-i Bayhaqi, ed. Afi‘ Akbar Fayyad, Mashhad 1350/1971, 22, 25, 24) and his office as shihna (ibid., 9, 10, 25, 26, cf. also Doerfer, iii, 320-1). The term is found throughout the Il-Khanate and survives into the period of the Turkoman dynasties of the Karakoyunlu and the Ak Koyunlu [q.v.]. Thereafter, it disappears except in a debased sense in some provincial districts, being superseded by the term daragha [q.v.]. The shihna belonged to the military classes and officials of the ‘urf jurisdiction. The authority which he held was, like that of other officials, essentially delegated authority.
as it were, of the sultan vis-a-vis the caliph.

Under the Saljuqs of Rum, the shihna appears to have been the military governor of a town or the head of the garrison of the province (Gl. Cahen, La Turque prie-Ottomane, Istanbul-Paris 1988, 198).

In the sources for the Mongol invasions and the Il-Khanate, there is a lack of precision in the use of the term shihna. It is used at times synonymously with baskâk, dârîhâg (dârîhâgi) and nâ'ib (D.O. Morgan, Who ran the Mongol empire?, in JRAS [1982], 129, and see Lambot, Mongol fiscal administration in Persia, in SL, lxv [1906], 80 n. 2). By the reign of Ghazan (694-705/1295-1304) the baskâk and shihna were distinguished from each other and from the commander of the citadel of a town (see below). However, in a document for the appointment of a shihna in the Dastur al-kâtib of Muhammad b. Hindûsh Al-Nâkhôjavânî, ed. A.A. Ali-zade, ii, Moscow 1976, 36, shihnâgi and baskâkt appear to be used synonymously.

The importance of the shihna varied; some, like sulânas and malûks, received large payzas when their appointment was registered; others, who were of lesser rank, and medium malûks (malûks-i mutawassit) received smaller payzas (Rashld al-Dln, Târikh-i mubârakâr âhÎzâdî, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 295).

According to Qâwawî (i, 96, tr. Boyle, i, 122), Cînzîg Kân appointed a person of groups to persons of the office of shihna in Samarqand after its conquest. Yeme Subetye, as they pursued Dâlân al-Dîn Muhammad Khân-zârazîn through Khurûtân, left shihnas in the towns through which they passed with an al-tamgha as a sign of the surrender of the population (ibid., i, 177; also 113, 115, 120, 121, 136-7). When Abû Bakr Sa'd b. Zangî, the ruler of Fars, sent his brother Ta-htamût to Ôgây-dev with his submission, tribute was laid on the province and a Mongol shihna appointed (Wa'assÎf, Târikh, ed. M.M. Isfâhânî, lith. Bombay 1269/1852-3, B. Spuler, Die Mongolen in Iran', Leiden 1985, 117-18). In 650/1252-3 Mengî-Kâns' appointed governors (shîhnamûn), shihnas and scribes to assess the taxes and to number the population (Qâwawî, ii, 72-3, tr. ii, 596). As the conquests proceeded and the Mongols established an administration, shihnas were appointed over towns and districts (Spuler, op. cit., 284-5).

As in the Saljuq period, the shihna was concerned with the administration of customary law. There is, however, a yârÎchî for the appointment of kâddûs issued by Ghazan, in which it is stated that shihnas, malûks, kâtîfs, 'Aalawis and 'ulâmâ were to assemble in the Friday mosque in the dîwân al-mudâlîda to hear cases between Mongols, or between Mongols and Muslims, and other cases which were difficult to decide, and to settle them according to the shari'a (Rashld al-Dîn, op. cit., 219), but this probably merely reflects Ghazan's policy to convert the Il-Kânante into an Islamic state. Clearly, the shihna's activities were conducted mainly according to customary law. A document for a certain Shâykh Dorsam as shihna of such-AND-such a province (al-kadâm), which instructs him to investigate thoroughly yarÎchî affairs and to decide them according to justice and the yasak (Dastur al-kâtib, ii, 37), most probably reflects general practice. Another document in the same collection, concerning the complaint of the people of Sîlâmân [q.v.] against the extortion of their shihna, states that the latter had been dismissed and his successor ordered to settle affairs justly according to the rule of the yasak. The people were to refer yarÎchî matters to him (ibid., 38-9).

It would seem from the document that cases were submitted by the shihna to the yarÎchî (ibid., 39).

A letter to a kâddû in the Dastur al-kâtib forbids yarÎchîs, shihnas and others from interfering in shari'a affairs (i/2, Moscow 1971, 455). Ghazan's yarÎchî on his uniform of weights and measures was addressed to shihnas, malûks, bîtîkyetân and others (Rashld al-Dîn, op. cit., 257); this implies that these matters were within the purview of the shihna. Under Ghazan, the shihna also appears to have been concerned with the general provincial administration. When he decided that grain should be stored in the provinces for the use of the army, the shihna of the province was ordered to take delivery of the grain and to pay cash for it (ibid., 301). Together with provincial governors (baskak, ddrughaci), the shihnas were in charge of the billing of dînas and others in the provinces, a practice which Ghazan forbade (ibid., 355-7).

The payment of the shihna, as in former times, was by dues. In the Sélâdat-nâmâ of 'Alâ-yi Tabrîtaz, an item is included in the provincial expenses of Tabriz of 1,000 dînas for the office of shihna (shihna-yânî), 5,000 dînas for the garrison of the citadel (al-isfahân, ddrughâyi bî-yarÎchî iutmâm), and 15,000 dînas for the officials of the shihna (ummdîliyât al-tamghd), the sum for the baskâk was 10,000 dînas (Mirkaml Nabipour, Die beiden persischen Leitfaden des Falak 'Alâ-ye TabrîtÎ, über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 1973, Persian text, 134). A document in the Dastur al-kâtib, ii, 29, states that the yarÎchî was to get from the shihna a bond (malûka) that he would not take more from the province and its population than was laid down in the dîwân as the due of the shihna. From other documents in the collection (cf. ii, 36, 38-9, 305-6, 323-4) it would seem that yarÎchî was not unknown (cf. Rashld al-Dîn, op. cit., 244).

Under the Kara Koyunlu and the Aq Koyunlu, the shihna is found as a local official concerned with the maintenance of public order, ranking among the dîstras, malûks and kâtîfs (cf. a farrâmân of the Kara Koyunlu DâhânahânÎ dated 853/1449, in A.D. Papazyan, Periödeiski dokumentom matenadarina i uazê, vilpas posrî, sâya-xevii, Erevan 1956, 245). Faḍl Allah b. Rûzbihân Khundišt Isfâhânî mentions yarÎchîs and kâtîfs [q.v.] (fortress commanders) of various towns and fortresses belonging to Dîyât Bakr in 892/1478 (Târikh-i Aminî, ed. J.E. Woods, London 1992, 126). Under the Safawids, the term shihna was no longer in general use.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

AL-SHIHR A town and region on the South Arabian Indian Ocean coast approximately 330 miles east of Aden [see 'ADAN], the main port of Hadramawt [q.v.] until the 19th century, when al-Mukallâ rose to prominence. The town is particularly well known as a fishing and trading centre, but is throughout the centuries associated with the incense trade: Ibn Khurruâdatîbîh (147-8) calls the area the Land of Incense (balkâd al-kundur) and quotes the following line of poetry:

Go to al-Shîbr; don't go to Oman (Umânâ); if you don't find dates, you will find incense (làbnâtîn).

Niebuhr, writing in the 18th century (Description de l'Afrique . . ., Amsterdam and Utrecht 1774, ii, 244), reports that incense was still exported through the port of al-Shîbr, and Serjeant (The ports of Aden & Shîbr [medieval period], in Les grandes escales I. Recueils de la Societe Jean Bodin, xxxii [1974], 221) informs us that it was still handled in the port. The town itself is walled along the coast and separated along the line of access to ships in the anchorage by boat. It is divided into two by the wadi bed, al-Misâyl, the west-
ern quarter bearing the name Madjraf and the eastern one al-Ramla. The quarter system within the town is still strong and there are several markets: Sūk al-Lakhm (shark), Sūk al-Humūd (despite the fact that there can be more than one left). The port was named after the inland town [g.e.], etc. Fishing is still an important local industry and the major port commodity apart from incense is fish-oil. Amberrigis ('anbar Shihri) was also a well-known product of the coast, at least in earlier times. The incense comes from the upper reaches of the mountains in the Shihri region. There are graves along the shore said to be those of anbar (Sp. asam, Sp. krem, Fr. ambergis). The Banū Ma‘n (5th/11th century vassals of the Sulayhid) [g.e.] in Aden also held al-Shihir (Abū Makhrama, in Loßgen, Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittalter, Upsalla etc. 86). The town is mentioned on occasions during the Rasulid period (626-858/1228-1454), but figures much more prominently in the history of the Portuguese off the South Arabian coast. The town, which they called Xaer/Xael, was always vulnerable from the sea and they attacked it on more than one occasion and plundered the port (e.g. Serjeant, The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast, Oxford 1963, 67). In 867/1462, the Kathīf sultan Badr ibn Tuwayrīq captured al-Shihir from the Tāhirids (858-923/1454-1517), the successors in the south of the Yemen to the Rasulids. However, it later came under the control of the Kathīf sultanes of al-Mukallā (Serjeant, 25).

Al-Hamdānī (51) says the name of al-Shihir is derived from 'anbar al-arīd, which he adds, is the salinity (ṣabk) of the soil where bitter plants grow. Perhaps more plausible is Abū Makhrama's suggestion (66) that its inhabitants were the Shāḥrī (of Mahra and that the alif and hamza have been dropped and the ẓāʾ vocalised with a kasra instead of the original šaṭa). The latter, al-Shāhrī, is in any case an alternative pronunciation. Other sources (e.g. al-Hamdānī, 134, and al-Idrīsī, Opus geographicum, Naples and Rome, i-ii, 1970-1, 52, 154-5) state that the inhabitants do not speak good Arabic, and this may be rather a reference to their speaking a language other than Arabic (Mahri?). The latter source says specifically that the Arabs do not understand the language of al-Shihir at all and he calls it "old Himyarl". Yakūt (Maqam, Beirut 1979, iii, 327) prefers to associate the name with shihr, a narrow tract of land.

Bibliography: Apart from the references given in the text above, the rare Government of Bombay, An account of the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden, Bombay 1909, contains an interesting and informative chapter, pp. 125-48, entitled Historical résumé of Mukalla, Shehr and Hadhramāt. (G.R. Smrr) SHIHRI or SHAHR, the common term by Arabs and Arabists for the Modern South Arabian language Shērī (in older literature also called Shaurī/Shaḥrī), spoken in the mountains of Zufār ('Urnā) by about 50,000 speakers. As the word Shērī (pl.) designates only the underprivileged, non-tribal part of the population, Johnstone (Jibbali lexicon, p. XI) established the new Arabic term Shihri (Sherrated) to distinguish the Modern South Arabian (Shehr = mountains), in order to avoid old social distinction. Together with the other non-Arabic languages of southern Arabia (Menē [see MAHRI], So'kri [see SOKKRI], Harṣūs [see HARSHIV], Baṭrā [see BATHIRA]) and Ḥobāyṭ, Shērī belongs to a group of closely connected languages called "Modern South Arabian". A special trait of Shērī, not found in any other of the Modern South Arabian languages, is the existence of nasal vowels, a result of the disappearance of "m" in intervocalic position. According to Johnstone (Jibbali lexicon), three main dialects can be distinguished, of which the western one is hardly known. A distinctive mark of the central dialect is the existence of the two phonemes ẓ and ẓ (spoken like ō but without touching the alveoles with the tip of the tongue) instead of ź in the eastern dialect. The origin of Shērī and the other Modern South Arabian languages is controversial. Even if they are not direct descendents of Epigraphic South Arabian, they have so many common features with them (perfect 1st and 2nd persons with k, three sibilants ẓ, ẓ, ẓ) and with the languages of Ethiopia (ejectives), that they should be incorporated in the group of South Semitic to the exclusion of Arabic.


SHIKARI (pl.), a form current in Muslim India, passing into Urdu and Hindi and derived from Pers. šikār “game, prey, the chase, hunting”, with the senses of “a native hunter or stalker, who accompanied European hunters and sportsmen”, and then of these last sportsmen themselves (see Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, London 1903, 827-8, s.v. Shikaree, Shekarry). The native hunters stemmed from the many castes in India whose occupation was the snaring, trapping, tracking, or pursuit of birds and beasts, but the caste which adopted or received the word Šikārī as its tribal name was found chiefly in Sind by the early 20th century. A writer in 1822 said: "Shecarries are generally Hindoos of low caste, who gain their livelihood entirely by catching birds, hares, and all sorts of animals", but the Šikārīs of Sind seem to have abandoned the occupation from which they take their name. They are described as outcast immigrants from Rādjabūtana, found from Bengal to the Pandjāb, the origin of whose honourable appellation was explained, though they probably possessed, like other aboriginal races, a knowledge of wild animals and skill in tracking and were employed by the Muslim nobility in quest of sport. They were subsequently engaged in making baskets, and as sweepers and scavengers, and appear to have corresponded in most points, to the Bhangis of Bengal and Hindustan. They are carrion, and, even when professing Islam, were considered unclean, and not allowed to enter a mosque,
unless they underwent a ceremony of purification by fire, after which they were classed as Mā'āchīs. Those whose occupation was the taking of life were naturally held in small esteem in a land which has been penetrated by the principles of Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Brahmanism, but the purification ceremony demanded by Muslims before admitting Shikārs to their worship was an example of the extent to which Islam in India had been affected by the attitudes of Hinduism. 

**Bibliography:** E.H. Aitken, Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, Karachi 1907; Census reports of the Government of India, [T.W. Haig—C.E. Bosworth]

SHIKARPUR, the name of two places in Sind. 1. That in upper Sind, situated in lat. 27° 57' N. and long. 68° 40' E., was founded in 1657 by the Dāʾūḍpūrs, a warrior/tribe, on the Shikarīgh or hunting ground [see shikarī] of the Mahars, hence the name. In 1701 they were defeated by the first Kalhōra chief, Yār Muhammad (1701-18); his son Nūr Muhammad (1718-54) drove them eastward where they founded Bāhāwlpūr [g.e.]. In 1739 the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shah [g.e.], had to cede all the region west of the Indus to Nādir Shāh, who in 1740 invaded Sind to punish Nūr Muhammad and annexed Bāhāwlpūr, Sīlī and Shikarīpūr. He restored Shikarīpūr to the Dāʾūḍpūrs, but in 1754 the Kalhōras recovered it when Ahmad Shāh Durrānī [g.e.] made Murād Yār governor over the whole of Sind. During the period of vassalage to Kandahār (1746-1825), the region, now known as the Mughālī Pargana, saw a great influx of Pāhān settlers who received lands on reduced rents [Pulīdārī]. At the same time, Shikarīpūr became a trade post for trade with the regions of eastern Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia, a trade monopolised by the Hindu, and its merchants and covered market were famous throughout Asia. Sind’s vassalage to Afghanistan was broken by the Tāl-pūrs in 1789, who recovered Shikarīpūr also in 1825.

The period of British rule (1843-1947) saw a gradual decline in Shikarīpūr’s importance, since their control of the town became regional and Balākīrī, and the opening up of the Khyber pass route and the railway link to Quetta, ended its strategic and economic role. Reduced to the position of a country town on the eve of Pakistan’s creation (1947), it gradually began to develop as a centre of agriculturally-based industries. It became a District headquarters (1977) and now possesses a municipality. Its population, estimated at 20,000 to 25,000 by the middle of the 19th century, is now 88,000.

Its most celebrated literary and spiritual figure was Shāh Fakhr ‘Alī (d. 1780), an Afghan migrant, and founder there of the Kādirī khānīs and a madrasa; venerated by rulers like Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, he wrote books in Arabic, Persian and Pashto, and his letters and books like Futūhāt al-ḥashībīyya won general recognition. Also, Múnshī ‘Aṭā Muhammad (d. 1855) wrote the Tāzā nāsī al-maṭrīk, a contemporary account of the Tāl-pūrs and their relations with the rulers of Kābul (ed. B. Rahim Khan, 1939). Tāl-pūrs. In 1789 the town of Tāl-pūrs was founded by the Phānnars seven miles away from Dāḍū town, and was also captured by Nūr Muhammad in 1701. It was renamed (old) Khūbdābād and remained the Kalhōra capital till Ghalām Shāh (1757-72) transferred it to nearby Haydarābād. Devastated by the Tāl-pūrs in 1781, it is now in ruins.

3. There exist other Shikarīpūrs in the subcontinent, including in the Bulandāhī District of U.P. and in Mysore (Karnataka). See Imperial gazetteer of India, xxii, 277-8.


SHIKASTA [see shiktā].

SHÌHK is the name of two diviners or kāhīns who allegedly lived shortly before the rise of Islam. According to the Abridgé des merveilles, Shìhk the Elder was the first diviner among the ’Arab al-‘Āriba. He is a completely fabulous personage. Like the Cyclops, he had only one eye in the middle of his forehead or a fire which split his forehead into two (shikha “to split”). He is also confused with al-Dādjdīl [q.e.], Antichrist, or at least Dādjdīl is of his family. He is said to have lived chained to a rock on an island where volcanic phenomena occurred. The second Shìhk, called al-Yāshkūrī, was the most famous of his time, along with Saffī [q.e.]; he expounded a vision of Rabi’ā, son of Naṣr the Lakhmīd prince of Yeman, foretelling the conquest of Yemen by the Abyssinians, its liberation by Sayf b. Dīb Yazan and the coming of the Prophet.

2. According to al-Kaẓwīnī, the Shìkhs are a kind of Ṣayṭān, forming part of the group of mutaṣaghayyātin; they are in the shape of a half-man, with one arm and one leg. The Naṣnās, other halves of men, are produced from Shìkhs and whole men. These Ṣayṭāns appear to travellers. It is said that ’Alkāma b. ’Saḏwān b. Ḫumayyīn met one of them one night near Ḥawmān and after exchanging the correct words, the man and the djinnī killed one another.

**Bibliography:** L’Abridgé des merveilles, tr. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1898, 145, 152; Muṣṭafī, Mūṣtāfī, iii, 364, 395 = §§ 1249, 1280; Kaẓwīnī, ’Adīb b. al-makhbūkī, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttinngen 1848-9, i, 371. On the kāhīn in general, see Ba[lam], Chronique de Toubār, tr. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867, ii, 169, and Khānīn. A new analysis of the documentation used in this article, with some additions, has been made by T. Fahd in his La divination arabe, ’Paris 1987, esp. 44, 66, 83, 101, 125, 186-9, 250. [B. Carra de Vaux—T. Fahd]

SHIKKA BANĀRIYA [see al-Kaf].

AL-SHÌILA or AL-SÌLA, the term for Korea in Arabic geographers of the 3rd/9th century. Ibn Khurradadhībih describes in his Kiṣāb al-Maʿāšik wa l-maʿnāšīk, 68-70, cf. 170, the sea route from West Asia to China, describing the provinces, routes and products encountered. According to him, starting from Sanfū (Champa) [see sanf] and travelling eastward along the coasts, there were Chinese ports, such as al-Wākīn (or Lākīn, to be identified with Chiā-chou at Hanoi), Khānīfī [q.e. (Kuang-chou or Kuang-tung), Dāndū (Chuān-chou) and Kānṭū (Yang-chou); and beyond China, there were regions called Wāk-wāk (perhaps Japan) and al-Shīḥā, with high mountains and rich gold mines. Judging from the geographical situation in the T’ang period, Śīlā would appear to
be a region of Korea or Japan. Shil or Sila is presumably a word derived from Si-ra (> Shila, Sila) which supplied the town with water. It was linked to the Korean Kingdoms originally called Sin-ra, which was one of the ancient origins of the Peninsula was the revolt of Ibn KasT ended up as governor there. The prince-Abd al-Rahman III, in his endeavours to re-corded it as being in a fertile region, with many trees, especially pines, orchards and watercourses. The town itself is on a slight hill at the side of a river (the nahr Shilb, modern Arade), which supplied the town with water. It was linked to the roads of the south-west of the Peninsula, and its nearness to the sea (15 km/9 miles) gave access to maritime produce and trade. Roman remains have been found on the site; the exact date of the Arabic conquest is unknown, but Islamic pottery from the 2nd/8th century has been found. There was a Yemeni element in the Arab population, and local scholars with nisbas (ca. 9th century). Today, the fortress is the most important relic in the town of the Islamic period; there has been preserved an inscription on the base of a tower of the enceinte dated 624/1227, together with epigraphic and ceramic fragments and coins. 


AL-SHILLA, Abû 'Alawi Muhammad b. Abû Bakr, biographer and historian from Tarîm [q.v.]. Born in 1030/1621-2, he died at Mecca in 1093/1682. He studied theology, sciences and, above all, mysticism in his native town, in Zufar, in India and in Mecca and Medina. After the death of Shaykh 'Abd Allah b. Abû Bakr b. al-Dâmâl in 1072/1661-2, he began to lecture at the Great Mosque in Mecca, but had to renounce his teaching activities after four years because of ill health. On the basis of a number of works on Hadrami sayyids and Shifs [see B 'alawi],
he brought together more than 280 biographies in his Al-Maṣḥaf al-Rawt fī Mandkib al-Sadda al-Kirdm. Al-Abi b. Nasir al-Dawla and his brother. For this reason he was also known by the nickname "the teacher" (al-Mu'allim), e.g. in a mocking poem that Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.] himself wrote about Al-Shimṣaṭi (Yakūt, Baldūn, s.vv., and cf. Le Strange, 116-17 [Shimṣaṭ]; 108 [Sumaysāt], and cf. map iii). According to Ibn al-Nadīm, who used to know Al-Shimṣaṭi, the latter was still alive when he was writing, i.e. in 777/987 (Fihrist, 154, ll. 24-5; the year is given by Yakūt, Irshad, loc. cit., 240, ll. 12-13). No other precise dates of his life are known.

He was attached to the court of the Ḥārūnid in Māvšil, where he served as a teacher to Abū Taḥlīb b. Naṣr al-Dawla and his brother. For this reason he was also known by the nickname "the teacher" (al-Mu'allim), e.g. in a mocking poem that Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.] himself wrote about Shimṣaṭi (Yakūt, Baldūn, loc. cit. at l. 5, and cf. Fihrist, 235, l. 1). He was of Shīʿi convictions, and thus has an entry in Al-Najḍī (his disciple, Rūḍāl, 186 ff.), which also contains the longest list of his works. He is known, first and foremost, for the only extant poetry of him, in Arabic script in Trak. He was attached to the court of the Hamānids in Mavṣil, where he served as a teacher to Abū Taḥlīb b. Naṣr al-Dawla and his brother. For this reason he was also known by the nickname "the teacher" (al-Mu'allim), e.g. in a mocking poem that Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.] himself wrote about Shimṣaṭi (Yakūt, Baldūn, loc. cit. at l. 5, and cf. Fihrist, 235, l. 1). He was of Shīʿi convictions, and thus has an entry in Al-Najḍī (his disciple, Rūḍāl, 186 ff.), which also contains the longest list of his works. He is known, first and foremost, for the only extant work of his, the K. al-Anwar wa-maḥāsin al-aḍār (The Land of the Eastern Caliphate). It was the place of origin of a 4th/10th century poet (Yakūt, Irshad, loc. cit., 362-3, between Baluya (modern Palu) and Hisn ed-Dur: Beirut, 1376/1957, iii, 363a, l. 4; and cf. Le Strange, Buldin, loc. cit., 123-6; and for Ibn Tulun, Brockelmann, ii, 502, s. ii, 516. (E. Van Donzel)

SHIMṢAṬI, Abu l-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Muhammad b. al-Muṣḥabhar al-Ḍawla, Arab philologist, minor poet and anthologist. As poet he is known, first and foremost, for the only extant poetry of him, in Arabic script in Trak. He was attached to the court of the Hamānids in Mavṣil, where he served as a teacher to Abū Taḥlīb b. Naṣr al-Dawla and his brother. For this reason he was also known by the nickname "the teacher" (al-Mu'allim), e.g. in a mocking poem that Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.] himself wrote about Shimṣaṭi (Yakūt, Baldūn, loc. cit. at l. 5, and cf. Fihrist, 235, l. 1). He was of Shīʿi convictions, and thus has an entry in Al-Najḍī (his disciple, Rūḍāl, 186 ff.), which also contains the longest list of his works. He is known, first and foremost, for the only extant work of his, the K. al-Anwar wa-maḥāsin al-aḍār (The Land of the Eastern Caliphate). It was the place of origin of a 4th/10th century poet (Yakūt, Irshad, loc. cit., 362-3, between Baluya (modern Palu) and Hisn ed-Dur: Beirut, 1376/1957, iii, 363a, l. 4; and cf. Le Strange, Buldin, loc. cit., 123-6; and for Ibn Tulun, Brockelmann, ii, 502, s. ii, 516. (E. Van Donzel)

SHIN [see SN].

SHIN, SALMAN (1898-1978), 'Irākī Jewish journalist, lawyer and a member of the 'Irākī Parliament. Born in the Jewish quarter of Baghdad, he received a conventional religious Jewish education in a Heder (equivalent to the Muslim Ḥaddādā) and, then continued his primary and secondary studies at the secular Jewish school of the Alliance Franchise Israelite in Bagdad, and excelled in languages. Later, he joined the Ottoman Secondary School in Baghdad and was recruited to the Ottoman Army as a reserve officer during the First World War, as an adjutant and interpreter to the German General von Becker at the Turkish Headquarters.

After the defeat of the Ottoman army in 'Irāk, he was taken prisoner, but refused to join the British forces on the grounds that the Ottomans had always helped the Jews, especially after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. He became a prisoner of war in India, but was repatriated to 'Irāk in February 1919.

In 1920 he joined the Law College in Baghdad where many 'Irākī politicians such as Sālīḥ Dja'br, later on Prime Minister (1947-8) studied. On 10 April 1924 his weekly magazine al-Muḥāshir was first issued, subtitled in Hebrew letters Ha-Manorah ("The Candela-Brum"), with its Jewish emblem. This was the first Jewish literary and cultural weekly magazine published in literary Arabic in Arab script in 'Irāk. Shimnā edited his magazine, writing its main articles and translated many news items and articles from European and American magazines concerning Jewish and Zionist activities and achievements, in the Holy Land and abroad. The young poet and writer, Anwar Sha'ul [q.v.] joined him in editing the literary part of the weekly, and many other young Jewish poets and writers became contributors. Their works were among the first romantic poems and short stories published in 'Irāk, being influenced both by European literature and by the Arabic Mahdjar [q.v.] school in the USA. Shimnā and Anwar Sha'ul also encouraged theatrical activities among the Jewish community in 'Irāk, and among the plays performed was an Arabic translation of Cornelle's Le Cid (1925). He also established, with other Zionist activists, The Hebrew Literary Association (al-'Ayniyah al-'Ibraniyyah al-Adasyyah) as a club and library, where Jewish journals in Hebrew, English and French were received.
In 1925 Şinasi started practising as a lawyer, serving the Jewish community and defending its interests after the rise of the Nazi and Palestinian national activities in Iraq, where there were many Palestinians headed by the Mufti al-Hadjj Amín al-Husaynî [q.v. in Suppl.], who were later, in October 1939, joined by their leader. Their activities culminated in the coup d'état of Rashíd 'Alî al-Ghânî, defeated in May 1941 by the British Army, followed by the Pogrom against the Jews of Baghdad on 1-2 June 1941.

In 1947 Şinasi was elected a member of the 'Irāk Parliament and served until 1951, the most critical years in the history of the Jews of 'Irāk, which ended with the establishment of the State of Israel. Şinasi himself resigned from the Parliament and emigrated to Israel, where he worked as a lawyer, serving his community and protesting against what he termed “discrimination against the Jews of 'Irāk”, whose properties were frozen in 'Irāk and who were without community leaders in the new Israeli society. In 1956 he unsuccessfully stood as a candidate for the Knesset. He continued as a lawyer and activist until his death at Ramallah in 1980.


Şinasi, İbrahim Efendi (1826-71), Ottoman poet, journalist, playwright. A pioneer in the Westernisation of Ottoman Turkish literature, İbrahim Şinasi Efendi (in modern Turkish: İbrahim Şinasi) is credited with many firsts—the first play for the legitimate stage, the first translations of French poetry, the first privately-owned Turkish newspaper and some of the earliest journalistic articles, the use of punctuation, incipient modern literary criticism in prose, as well as the introduction of the norms and concepts of French political theories, culture and literature.

Şinasi was born in Istanbul in 1826, the son of an artillery officer. After his early education at a neighbourhood school, he became an apprentice clerk at the Bureau of the Topkâne Imperial Arsenal, where he was trained by several senior staff members in Arabic, Persian and French.

In 1849, through the good offices of the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşîd Paşa [q.v.], he was sent to France where, in addition to literature, he studied public finance. Gaining fluency in French, he reportedly made the acquaintance of Renan, Lamartine, and the family of the prominent orientalist Sylvester de Sacy; according to some sources, he became associated with the Société Asiatique.

During his studies in Paris, Şinasi prepared a compilation entitled Darâh-i embâlî-i şâmilînîye (“Ottoman proverbs”), published in 1863. The first edition contained about 1,500 proverbs and some 300 aphorisms, couplets, and expressions. (In 1870 he published an enlarged second edition which featured more than 2,000 proverbs and over 400 maxims.) This work, with its substantive introduction on paremiology and folk wisdom, stimulated among the Ottoman educated élite an interest in popular culture.

Upon his return to Istanbul in 1852 or early 1853, he worked briefly at the Arsenal again following which the sultan appointed him to the Council of Public Education. Although some literary histories claim that he also served as a member of the Endüşûm-i Dânîşî, this has never been documented. Şinasi’s official status wavered, depending on the political vicissitudes of his protector, Mustafa Reşîd Paşa-Husaynî [q.v. in Suppl.].

In 1855 Şinasi published Terdîşîn-yi mançûmû (“Translation of verses”), a small selection of poems by Racine, Lamartine, Gilbert, La Fontaine, and Fénelon, rendered into Turkish verse. E.J.W. Gibb attributes considerable seminal influence to this volume, claiming that the translations “mark the turning-point in the history of Ottoman poetry”. Şinasi’s renditions are quite smooth in style and faithful to the originals. They served as the first Ottoman taste of the poetry of the Western world in Turkish.

In October 1860, Şinasi started to publish, together with Ağâh Efendi (1832-85), a weekly newspaper named Terdîşîm-i Aḥwâl (“Interpreter of events”), the first unofficial, privately-owned Turkish newspaper. Here, Şinasi articulated his commitment to enlighten the public “in an easily comprehensible language”. Şîr-e erekheme (Eng. tr., The wedding of a poet, by E. Allworth, New York 1981), a one-act comedy, written by Şinasi in 1859, was reprinted in Terdîşîm-i Aḥwâl in 1860 and published in book form the same year. Designed as a play of social criticism, mainly of the hazards of the traditional custom of arranged marriages, it interweaves some of the techniques of European comedy with devices and personae from the Orta oyuna [q.v.] (the Ottoman Commedia dell’arte). Şîr-e erekheme stands as the first Turkish play written for the express purpose of being produced on the legitimate stage. Its first production, however, did not take place until 1908 (in Salónica).

Because of disagreements with Ağâh Efendi, Şinasi left Terdîşîm in the spring of 1861, and launched, in June 1862, his own journal Tazeîr-i aḥkâr (“Chronicle of opinions”), which became a platform for innovative ideas based on European-type rationalism and technological reform for the salvation of the Ottoman state. Şinasi wrote many articles dealing with urban problems, agriculture, industry, and governmental corruption, and advocated the rule of law based on the rights of the people, political rationalism, secularisation, and a system of governance sustained by national sovereignty, freedom, and citizenship rights.

Şinasi was joined in 1863 by the young Nâmit Kemal (1840-88 [q.v.]), in spreading the vision not only of a progressive civil society but also of a modern literature for the Ottomans. Together in Tazeîr-i aḥkâr they endeavoured to promote a new Weltanschauung derived from Western civilisation. Many of their themes and recommendations came to play a prominent role during the last half-century of the Ottoman state.

Significantly, it was Şinasi who introduced to the Ottoman political and intellectual circles such concepts as “republic”, “popular sovereignty”, “art for society’s sake”, “political economy”, “secularism”, etc. In both Terdîşîm and Tazeîr, he pursued his goal of not only “informing the people about new and new ideas” but also “communicating to the government the will of the nation”. In this two-way process, he revitalised the vernacular through his use of a simplified vocabulary and streamlined journalistic style. Şinasi’s Tazeîr printing house constituted a meeting place for young Ottoman men of letters and intellectuals and a breeding-ground for ideas seeking to create a new Ottoman society and literature.

In 1865 Şinasi departed for Paris, leaving Tazeîr-i aḥkâr in Nâmit Kemal’s hands. His departure was probably prompted by his fear of becoming involved in a plot to assassinate the Grand Vizier ‘Alî
Pasha. In Paris he was supported by Mustafa Fadil Pasha, but had little or no contact with the Young Ottomans, choosing to stay out of politics. During his stay in France, significantly lengthened by a visit to Istanbul, he concentrated on a dictionary of the Turkish language. This ambitious enterprise, as reported by Ebüzziya Tewfik (1848-1913), was left unfinished, with 19 of the 31 letters of the Ottoman alphabet completed and 14,000 pages produced—a claim disputed by numerous scholars. No part of this dictionary—which Şinasi had discussed with the linguist Émile Littré and the orientalist Pavet de Courteille—has survived. (Reportedly, Şinasi had also produced, possibly around 1855, a grammar for schools entitled Mehdidi-i 'ilm-i sarf, but no copy of it has ever been found, if it was published at all.) Following his return to Istanbul in the fall of 1869, Şinasi rented a small house, where he also set up a printing press to republish some of his books. He died on 13 September 1871.

Şinasi’s poetry, most of it written in the early period of his life, is hardly distinguished by high literary merit. He published Muntakkabhat-i şair ("Selected poems") in 1862, and his complete Dizdar came out posthumously in 1885. His output consists of an lbâl (hymn), a mîndûş (supplication), a small number of ghazals, a few chronograms and encomiastic verses, a handful of "parallel" or "imitative" poems and didactic verses, and independent (often aphoristic) couplets. Among his most appealing poems are several La Fontainesque fables. His major poems include four kaşidas composed for his benefactor Muşafâ Reshid Pasha. These are of interest for several reasons, and in part from the fact that Şinasi wrote full-scale panegyrics exclusively for this Grand Vizier. He introduced formal revisions (principally the elimination of the nest stress or exordium section), used the kaşida as a vehicle for his positivist ideas, and praised his subject in such terms as "the president of the nation of virtue," "the apostle of civilisation", even courageously asserting that "your legislation puts the Sultan in his place".

Şinasi was also the first Ottoman poet to translate some of his own lines of poetry into French. (Samples of his renditions appear in his Muntakkabhat and Dizdar.) His universalist ideal is contained in one of his most frequently quoted lines: "My nation is mankind, my country is the face of the earth".


SHIŇI, SHIŇIYYA, SH一流的 (A.), a type of medieval Arabic warship used in the Mediterranean. The ąn is mentioned briefly in safsfa. 1 (b) as a type of galleys, but its importance in naval history of the time merits separate notice.

Ancient and mediaeval Mediterranean shipbuilding is poorly documented, and, while the study of cargo-carriers has been somewhat enhanced by an increasing number of discovered wrecks, the only ancient wreck of a war vessel we possess is the Punic ship of Marsala (A. Guillerm, Archeological excavations and experimental archæology. The Punic ship of Marsala and Trireme Olympias, in Tropis, iii [1995], 193-6). We are left mainly with the literary evidence and a few schematic designs of ships in both the Arab and Byzantine sources, the comparative study of which is necessary before any conclusions are drawn.

The type of the Byzantine dromon, which was used as a model for the Arab ąn, followed the classical Mediterranean tradition, i.e. the "shell technique" of shipbuilding, the ribs being added after the planks had been joined together (M. Daefler, Late 17th century conception of French galleys, in Septième Colloque International d’Archeologie Navale, Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue 1994, 15). Nevertheless, the Byzantine dromon of the middle 7th century, and consequently the first Arab warships, were very different from the earlier dromons of the 5th and 6th centuries, which had been swift, small, 30-oared vessels (the word dromon comes from ἀραία τον λόγον "to run, to move quickly").

Though the Arab ąn followed in general the type of the Byzantine dromon, there was at first a substantial difference in that the fighting crew engaged were better-paid Muslims, while the sailing crew were lesser-paid Christian Egyptians. Eventually, of course, Muslim sailors with nautical experience entered the ranks of the sailing crew.

The 7th-century Byzantine dromon and the Arab ąn sacrificed speed and manoeuvrability for heavy machinery, mainly stone-throwing catapults, hence the main weapon of earlier times, the ram, was abandoned by both types of ship: thus in the famous naval battle of Dhat al-şawari (34/655-6 [q.v. in Suppl.]) no use of the ram is reported (see V. Christides, The naval engagement of Dhat al-şawari A.H. 34/655-6, in Byzantia, xiii [1985], 139-45).

Arab and Byzantine naval technology reached their peaks in the 9th and 10th centuries, when, in addition to the heavy stone-throwing machinery, Greek Fire began to be used by Arabs and Byzantines on their warships, and then in Mamlık times, gunpowder and cannons (see NAFT, 2, and BÄRD. iii, and the chapter on incendiary weapons in A.Y. al-Hassan and D.R. Hill, Islamic technology, Cambridge 1986, 106 ff.)

The Arabic sources provide us with many details concerning the function of the Arab warships which do not appear in other sources. Thus the ąn was two-banked, with a separate leader in each bank, and in the lower level, a sick bay was placed with the proper medical personnel (Christides, Naval warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean, 6th-14th centuries). An Arabic translation of Leo VPs Naumachia, in Graeco-Arabica, iii [1984], 143). Like its counterpart the dromon, it had lateen sails, originally two and later three. Arab warships were usually painted black and their sails were white (idem, Byzantine dromon and Arab ąn, in Tropis, iii [1995], 118). The ąn was propelled by sails and oars. Ibn al-Mamâr states that it sailed with 140 oars, leaving open the question of the number of oarsmen as well as that of the fighting men who were placed above them (K. Kaswân al-dawââmân, ed. A.S. Aitaya, Cairo 1934, 340). It seems that in the Arab warships, as in the Byzantine dromons, one person manned one oar, we can assume, therefore, that in every war vessel there were about 150 to 165 sailors, if we
add the supplementary crew (Arabic iconography attests the use of one man to each oar in each ship; see D. Nicolle, *Shipping in Islamic art: seventh through sixteenth century A.D.*, in *The American Neptune*, xlix/3 [1999], 168-97). Nevertheless, the number of the oarsmen in the average *ghan* appears different in the Arabic sources and cannot be defined precisely; likewise, the number of the warriors, which probably varied in each warship, is unknown.

The average *ghat* had a castle placed next to the main sail or just under it (for the position of this castle in both Arab and Byzantine warships, see Christides, *Ibn al-Manqali (Mangli) and Leo VI. New evidence on Arabo-Byzantine ship construction and naval warfare*, in Byzantinológia [1995]).

In addition to the average *ghan*, there were bigger warships with the same name but with a crew of 200 (Ibn al-Manfli, *al-Adilla al-rasmiyya fi l-te`adi al-barhabya*, ed. M.S. Kahtjab, Bagdad 1888, 243).

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(100 References)

**SHINKITî, a town of the mediaeval Islamic Sahara.**

Various hypotheses have been put forward regarding the name Shinkft/Shindjft, of which the following two merit discussion. The first gives it to the meaning “source of horses”, with *sin* = “sources” and *git* = “horses”. According to the various proponents of this etymology, the word’s origin could be either from Asayr or Azer (a Soninke tongue, now extinct, formerly spoken in the Western Sahara) or else Zenaga Berber. The second hypothesis derives the name from *gim*, said to be a deformation of *sin* or *zin*, which in the Adrar and the Tangant conveys the idea of height in relation to the rest of the countryside and *gin*, the name of a hill near the town of Shinkft.

Although Shinkft was to become famous to the point that it was used to denote the whole Moorish territory from Sjkkjft-al-Hamra to the Senegal River, it was never mentioned by the mediaeval Arabic geographers. Is this because the town did not at that time exist, or because it was relatively little known, compared to the great urban centres of the Sahara? The question remains open, but it is nevertheless true that Valentim Fernandas, a Moravian author living in Lisbon, was the first, in his *Description of the African coast from Ceuta to the Senegal (1506-7)*, to draw the attention of the Western world to the existence of Shinkft. However, this does not tell us anything about the origin of the town: at the earliest, in the 1st century, according to H.T. Norris, in his art. *Mauritanie*, at VII, 624a, whilst al-Khalif al-Nahwi, *Bilad al-Shinkft, al-mandra wa l-eshb*, Tunis 1987, 72, claims that Shinkft was actually founded in 660/1262 on the ruins of an ancient Shinkft (the mythical Abbawy) founded in 160/772.

From the 17th century onwards, the Banu Hassân, a branch of the Arab Ma`kil tribe, came into the western Sahara with permanent effects there, imposing their dialect (Hassâniya) and gradually establishing amirates, including that of the Adrar, in which Shinkft was situated. Nevertheless, out of respect for its scholars and saints, the amirs of the Adrar never levied tribute on Shinkft, which, despite its fame, never became a political capital, although it became more renowned than any other town of Mauritania in the central lands of the Muslim world. The men of scholarship and piety of Shinkft were, in this regard, respected everywhere, and attracted students, all the Islamic sciences being taught in their mosques or in the homes of these *ulamâ*.

When they completed their studies and left Shinkft, most of these former students would style themselves Shânakîti (pl. of Shinkft).

The Pilgrimage to Mecca also contributed to the fame of Shinkft, whose permanent population can never have exceeded more than a few thousand persons at most. However, according to Sîrîf `Abd Allah b. al-Hadijî, Brâhim (d. 1235/1878), author of the sole treatise on the history of Shinkft (the *Sahhit al-nakfl fi Almara`iyat Idaw* `Abd-Bakriyyat Muhammad Qitî), “numerous pilgrims from different parts of the Moorish lands used to join the Pilgrimage caravan of Shinkft when leaving on this quest. All the pilgrims of the Muslim West used to pass as Shinkft, and these persons from the various towns of the Maghrib were not just a bridge between Shinkft and the Orient, with several of them settling in this last region, retaining their Shinkfti genealogy and decisively contributing to the cultural influence of this small town. In the course of their travels, they would bring back books and treatises procured in Arabia or elsewhere in the Orient or Muslim West and containing the conventional learning of the Islamic sciences, which they would then spread amongst the peoples of the Southern Sahara, often in course of religious missions.

As intermediaries between the Arab world and the black peoples, the Shânakîti, notably the Idaw `Ali of Shinkft, contributed considerably both to the spread of Islam, in the shape of the Sufi brotherhoods, and to the spread of Arabic language and culture into the south of the Sahara, a region which they visited also for commercial purposes.


**AL-SHINKITI (Shb) ABDALLAH IBN HAJDJAR** (b. 1280/1863 or 1289/1872, d. 1331/1913), Mauritanian scholar and author, whose reputation in the Muslim World principally rests upon his written description of Mauritania and the Western Sahara and his appreciation of the poetic masterpieces of the Moors in Classical Arabic and in their colloquial dialect, Hassâniya. He was born into a scholarly family of the Idaw `Ali Zwaya who were resident in al-Maghardhara in the Trarza [see *Mauritanie*]. His mother, a pious and well-educated lady, stemmed from the Aghlal of Shinkft. His early years were spent in the study of Arabic language and literature and the Islamic sciences in the nomadic schools. Later, he...
undertook extensive journeys inside Mauritania and he stayed for some time at the zdwiya of ... in 1870), attempted to reform the currency with the introduction of the qfghdni in place of the former rupee, living socially with the scholars of al-Azhar. Was the first scholar to write extensively on the prosody (Matba'at 3 Saharidj. al-lu. Mashnak. made the Arabs of the aware, for the first time, of the profound scholarship which was then a living tradition in the furthest Saharan regions. He was the first scholar to write extensively on the prosody (leghna) amongst the Shanâkita. Hassânya is extensively vocalised in his book. Few of the Mauritanian classical poets whom he quotes have biographies. An exception is Muhammad Mah midb b. al-Talâmîd al-Turkzî, a Mauritanian scholar who was highly regarded in Egypt and with whom he had sharp exchanges on religious and literary matters (al-Wasit, Cairo 1378/1958, 381-97).

Ahmad b. al-Amin was devoted to Sufism. He, together with Shaykh Abu Bakr Muhammad Lutfî, wrote a commentary upon Sahârât al-‘a’lî (Maṭba‘at al-Fîlîlî, Cairo 1324/1906) by al-Sa‘yîd Tawfîk al-Bakrî (see F. de Jong, Turqy and Turqu-linked institutions in sixteenth-century Egypt, Leiden 1978, 182-8). In the foreword to this commentary, Ahmad b. al-Amin remarks (in eloquent saqqi) that, having left Şînkît and having travelled extensively in the Middle East, he was honourably received by al-Sa‘yîd Tawfîk “chief of the Şîntsî of Egypt and Şîntî of the Şîft orders”. He wrote a spirited defence of the Titliyana tarihî, of which he was a member, against attacks made against it by Shaykh Yûsuf al-Nahhântî.

Works. Ahmad-Baha Miskî (1970, 55-6), lists fourteen works by the author. Some of them were original compositions, others were works edited by him. Most of the latter are commentaries upon pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. A Dîwân of al-‘Utayva’s verse is also attributed to him. It is unlikely that the list, which Miskî provides, is complete. In view of the fact that these works (including al-Wasit) were printed between 1302/1902 and 1351/1912, the author was astonishingly productive during the years when he was resident in Cairo. He was helped by Ahmad Taymûr Bâhî, the keeper of the Taymîyana library and he was given every assistance in his literary activities. Two works (Tahârat al-‘Arâb, 1326/1908 and Dîwân Tâfâf b. ‘Abîd, 1327/1909) were printed in Kazan. It is perhaps significant that, following his Russian visit, Cairo was to be the forum for the Universal Islamic Congress, advocated by Ismâ‘îl Gasparî [see GASPRINSKY], held in 1907 (see RMM, iv [1908], 103 ff.).


SHINTARA (or Shantarar), Arabic name of the modern Cintra, a little town in Portugal, at a height of 207 m/700 feet above sea-level, 28 km/16 miles to the north-west of Lisbon. It was quite prosperous under Muslim rule, and the Arab geographers remark on the fertility of the Wadî ‘I-Makhzin near al-Kabir. The modern Cintra is dominated by the ruins of an old stronghold of the Muslim period. Of this fortress, now called Castello dos Muros, built at a height of 429 m/1430 feet, there only remain two masses of masonry with the remains of a chapel and baths.

and founded a periodical, *Shams al-Nahar* (1875-9) and the first state school. He restricted the political influence of the "ulama", and exalted the status of the ruler, *shah* or sovereign. Over 40% of the revenue was spent on the army, which was the central feature of Shir 'All's reforms. He reduced the size of the tribal militia and the feudal army and strengthened the standing army, which was trained and equipped in European style, modelled on the British-Indian forces and often led by British-trained officers. By 1878 the standing army numbered 56,000, including 58 infantry and 12 cavalry regiments. In addition, Shir 'All developed the artillery, creating workshops to manufacture modern iron weapons. By 1878 he had 370 guns. The workshops also manufactured small arms including Sniders and Martini Henrys. The army was deployed through Afghanistan mainly with a view to the needs of internal security. In developing the state institutions, Shir 'All relied especially on Ghilzais and Wardaks, who provided 80% of the standing army. These tribes, together with Persians, Harātīs and Parsīwāns, dominated the Durrānī tribes. The Durrānī tribes were largely excluded from power.

Shir 'All's foreign affairs were dominated by his dealings with Russia and, especially, with British India. During the civil war, the Government of India had followed a policy of non-interference, known as "mastery inactivity". The various contenders for power had been given *de facto* recognition in accordance with their holdings, but material assistance claimed under the 1837 treaty made with Dost Muhammad was refused until November 1868. In March 1869 Shir 'All met the new Governor-General, Lord Mayo, at Ambālā, and asked for an offensive-defensive treaty, a regular subsidy and recognition of his son, 'Abd Allah Dājm (1862-78), as heir. Mayo offered only general assurances, money and arms, including artillery. Shir 'All was seemingly satisfied, although in subsequent years he renewed his demands. British interest in Afghanistan derived from border problems, especially the Afshar and Baluch tribes, and, especially, concerns about the expansion of Russia in Turkistān towards the northern Afghan border. Without consulting the Amir, Britain sought agreement with Russia on the northern boundaries of Afghanistan, which were roughly defined in 1873. The Amir was obliged to abandon his hopes of extending his territories beyond the Oxus. Britain also assumed responsibility for defining part of the western frontier with Persia; by the Goldmaid arbitration of 1875, Sīstān was divided between Persia and Afghanistan. Shir 'All's unhappiness was further increased by the British occupation of Quetta [see *kwāra'] on 8 December 1876.

The occupation of Quetta was one element in a new British policy (the so-called "forward policy") inaugurated by the Conservative Government in 1875 and carried on by the Governor-General, Lord Lytton, from 1876. A major background factor in his new policy was the development of the Eastern Crisis of 1875-9, which led to war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1877 and threatened the possibility of war between Britain and Russia. Such a war could have extended to Central Asia, and the attitude of Afghanistan became of major importance. Lytton was prepared to offer Shir 'All a new alliance, stronger guarantees of protection, an annual subsidy and recognition of 'Abd Allah Dājm, in return for the acceptance of British agents in Afghanistan and effective British control of Afghanistan's foreign relations. Negotiations were carried on in 1876 and 1877, but no agreement had been reached when Lytton broke off negotiations in March 1877. Lytton now applied pressure on Shir 'All either to force him to agree to British demands or to overthrow him. An Ottoman embassy was sent to Kābul in an effort to persuade the Amir to renounce contacts with Russia. The reception of a Russian envoy in Kābul in July 1878 gave Lytton the excuse to demand the reception of a British mission and a promise by the Amir to sever all relations with Russia. In September 1878, Shir 'All refused to admit the British mission and in November, Lytton's forces invaded Afghanistan. Shir 'All's army proved incapable of effective resistance and in December Shir 'All fled north, resigning authority to his oldest and former rebel son, Muhammad Ya'kūb ('Abd Allāh Dājm had died in August 1878). It is uncertain whether Shir 'All formally abdicated in December. On 21 February 1879 Shir 'All died at Māzār-i Shārīf and was succeeded briefly by his son Muhammad Ya'kūb Khān.
Shir Khan was one of India's great rulers, whose achievements might well have equalled or surpassed those of Akbar's policy. He placed the governance of his empire on a foot firmly retaining by obtaining the sarkar, composed of a number of parganas, as the optimum fiscal and administrative unit.


Shīr (A.), poetry.
1. In Arabic.
(a) The pre-modern period.
   It is the supreme ornament of Arab culture and its most authentically representative form of discourse. The ideas articulated by poetry and the emotional resonances which it conveys earn it, even in the present day, where numerous new literary forms are in competition with it, the approval of scholars and the populace alike.

Despite the phonetic resemblance, shīr is totally unconnected with the Hebrew ʾšīr, the ‘yım is a ‘hard’ consonant which persists in the roots common to the two languages. The term is attested in ancient Arabic (G. Lanketer Harding, An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions, Toronto 1971, 350-1) and very often used in pre-Islamic poetry.

1. Shīr and its synonyms. The equivalents here are not simple synonyms; they stress one aspect or another of the poetics of shīr. (i) It is appropriate to cite in the first instance the terms, the content of which suggests the notion of quality and of major artistic merit; thus kust thểden artistic poetry as opposed to ragaz (Lane, root k-r-d, 2531b-2532a; ’Alī al-Dīndī, al-šurwar wa-inghid al-šīr, Cairo 1969, 13). The same is true of kastāf: kafṣ, in the first form, signifies the honours of some person with a mark of distinction (Ibn Kutayba, al-šīr wa l-šurwar, 61; NAhabgali, 27, quoting Abū Tammān; Goldziher, Abhandlungen, i, 3, 14-15; Gaudêfroy-Dombeynes, 60; the same is true of durr (poetry) or durr (sing. dura “pearl”, Sti, Göttingen 1858-60, 862, 10; LAC, xvi, 56, 19, the poet al-Zafayn; Ibn Katayba, op. cit., 508, 15; Labīb, Dīdnān, Leiden 1891, 21, 15; Aqānī, 2, 285, l. 20; and al-muhabbar (fabric of high quality manufactured in the Yemen, Ru’ba; Dīdnān, Berlin 1903, 61, xxxvi, v. 22; Ibn al-Muṣafī, Tabakht al-šurwar, 389, quoting ‘Alī b. Āṣīm al-ʿAhdari, Goldziher, op. cit., i, 129-31);
(ii) terms which express perfect order and symmetry are also attested. *Nāzım* "the arrangement of pearls in a necklace" is said to express better than anything else this necessity, raised to the status of a guiding principle by *al-Mufaddalī.* Oxford 1918, 717, 14; al-Mazrūbānī, *al-Masādir al-Dawla, Cairo* 1934, 14, 14; ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Kays al-Rukayyāt, *Dīwān,* Vienna 2002, 238, 1; al-Dābījī, *Kīnān,* in *Raṣā‘ī, Cairo* 1979, ii, 159, 12; Muhammad al-Kalātī, *ΑΒΑΚΑΜ ψαλτάς* al-balām, Beirut 1985, 40; Muhammad Zāhlīl Sāliḥ, i, 37.

Another necklace of pearls, *simt,* denoted an entire poem; thus the *Mu‘allākāt* were called *sumīr.* In the same range of ideas, the poem of *‘Alkama* was considered the best necklace of all time, and each of its verses a pearl. Nasāqa, sometimes associated with ḥaqa, nasīq and nasīq "to weave, weaving" (see Ibn Khaldūn, *Makādat al-Dīn, iii,* 332) belong to the same category (*Wellhausen, Lieder der Hudaiiten,* Berlin 1884, 116, 17; Ibn Kutayba, K. al-Ma‘ṣā‘ī al-kabīr, *Haydārābād* 1369/1946, 633, 19; 814, 1. 9. *Abū Dabīh,* in *JRSL,* 1910, 1051, 1. 2; al-Mazrūbānī, *op. cit.,* 318, relates an opinion of Marwān b. Ḥaṣaṣa, *‘anī had khudā kallāf* "toward a hidden key*" Ṭāhīr’a "I have already woven the verse which is the essential value of this poetry"; Goldziher, *op. cit.,* i, 132-3; (iii) the profession *simt* in the sense of poetry is also attested (see below, *The poetics of effort,* and *‘Adāb in the sense of rhymed speech, very few*), is said to have insisted on a period of apprenticeship for the acquisition of culture by the novice-poet before full acceptance into the world of poetry. This equivalence seems to have been something ancient: in a tradition mentioned by Sozomen; Djawād al-‘Alī, ix, 85-8; Adonis, *‘Alā‘ī al-‘Adāb,* 1934/1974, 23-4.

With Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (d. 296/908), this periodisation becomes more precise, since he mentions the verse of the ancient poets (*kudrām*), of the *muḥaḍramān,* of the *‘awā‘īl al-‘islāmiyyin* (the former Islamic poets), i.e. the Umayyad poets, and of the *muḥdattān* (modern poets), i.e. the poets of the 2nd-3rd/9th-10th centuries (*Taḥākal al-dhārā‘a,* 201). Currently, in spite of certain criticism which has been made very shortly, the periodisation of Ibn al-Mu‘tazz is followed unanimously, although some contemporary scholars would have preferred a less political and more genuinely literary division. Gibb, Blachère, Bencheikh and Heinrichs propose a more strictly cultural periodisation, distinguishing between four periods. Gibb identifies the heroic age, the age of expansion, the golden age (750-1055), the silver age (1055-1226), concluding with the age of the Mamlūks (1258-1800). The problems of such a classification are obvious; it is based on value judgment and assumes uninterrupted decadence during the period extending from 750 to 1800. Blachère (*Moments tournants dans la littérature arabe,* in *SI,* xxvi [1966], 5-18) and Bencheikh (*Poétique,* 11-18) identify the four following divisions: archaic period, a century of transition, the golden age and decline. Fisḥūnūs opposes the notion of cultural decline and asks how this conception is to be reconciled with the intense poetic activity attested in Egypt over three centuries (*Fisḥūnūs,* *La périodisation dans la littérature arabe médiévale,* in *Nordti Azī i Afrika,* 1962/4, 144-56).

To avoid the pitfalls of a historical division, W. Heinrichs proposes distinguishing three movements in the development of Arabic poetry, each of which has produced a type of poetry. The first, that of the Ḥijāzī school, produced ca. 650 a form of love poetry characterised by a narrative theme describing the actions and reactions of persons drawn from life who address the audience directly (Heinrichs, 24).

Finally, it is appropriate to note that, for the archaic period and the Umayyads, *ghīr* also signified *lāqīd* [*aqīd.*] Among numerous examples, worth mentioning is *sa‘ā‘id wa‘sun li qhirī sūlil shāhāmu* "this is the moment of [in]jurious poetry, the darts of which have been drawn from the quiver" (*al-Ḥamāsa,* Bonn 1828, 646, 11, anonymous poet). Al-Farazdāk expresses grief on account of the false attribution to him of versified insults, a *ghīr* which he is supposed to have addressed to Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kasrī (*was-maw‘in ‘alayya l-cifra‘ na-mā‘ ana kallāhuhu* "they have recounted [injurious] poetry under my name, which I have never said", *Dīwān,* Paris 1870, 222, l. 2; see also *al-Ḥamāsa,* 54, l. 28; al-Ṭahārī, ii, 1829, l. 2; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma‘ṣā‘ī,* 708, l. 15; al-Balādhūrī, *Anṣāb al-aqrāb,* v, Jerusalem 1936, 318; *Nakā‘ī al-Ḍahr wa‘l-Fīnāzāk, Leiden* 1905-12, 126, l. 17). Finally, al-Mutawakkil al-Lātiḥī (d. ca. 72/691) claims that he has never answered the darts of *ghīr* against a Muslim (*al-‘Adāb* xii, 165, l. 2).

II. Periodisation.

At a very early stage, as early in fact as the 2nd/8th century, the familiar distinction between three periods in the development of poetry is already evident in the writings of al-Djumahī (d. 231/845): pre-Islamic, the poetry known as *muhdārām* straddling the Djūhlīyya and Islam, and Muslim poetry written by poets born after the Revolution (*Ibn Sallām al-Djumahī,* *Tabākāt fābul al-‘Adāb,* 1934/1974, 23-4).

(1) *Origins.* From the second half of the 3rd century A.D. onward, *ghīr,* in its contemporary form, seems to be associated with song (see below, the tradition mentioned by Sozomen; *Djwād al-‘Alī,* ix, 65-6; Adonis,
Poétique, 19-20; Hassan, Dtwdn, London 1970, 420: “Sing in each poem that you speak, song is surely the favoured place of poetry”; 'Huwayyi and 'Aswâd, al-Salâf b. al-Sulûk al-akhkhâmâru, al-sâlihî, Baghdad 1984, 32-50; Ibn Sa'd, Nujhat al-tarab, 'Amrân 1982, i, 436 and bibl., where the poet offers to sing (taghannalam) a poem to the keepers of the flocks; ‘al-Aghâni, xvi, 78, where Durayb b. al-Simmâ, at the time of the recitation of a poem, is said to be in the process of singing (taghannalam); ‘Alî al-Djumâi, op. cit., 6, 22, 24-5; Sh. Dayî, 51; Muhammad Zâghlûl Sâlâm, i, 36). The poetry/song association should not be regarded as a peculiar prerogative among the Quraysh, for this purpose, the poet is primarily called the bard, the singer. This 'di's muhannâmândi contradicts the generally accepted hypothesis on the beginnings of this form. Originally, it is said, it was linked with 'adji( and had taken its definitive form 500 years before Islam (al-Djumâi, op. cit., 112-13; al-Dâhibî, k. al-Haywânî, Cairo, i, 74; reused by al-Marzubânî, op. cit., 74; al-Sûyûtî, al-Muzhir, Cairo n.d., ii, 477; according to al-Nahshâlî, al-Mumti', Cairo n.d., i, 477, poetic allegedly took up its definitive form in the period of 'Abd al-Mâjâlî b. Hasdînî b. Abd Manâf (or his father, in other words the great-grandfather or grandfather of the Prophet). Modern scholars do not disagree (Blâchère, HÎA, ii, 187-93; Adonis, Poétique, 22-3).

Vestiges of spontaneously-spoken poetry shed some light on the question. Al-Sûyûtî, quoting al-Asma'î, relates that the most ancient poetry of the Bedouin of the Djâhilîyya, that of the âdâ'îl al-'Arab, amounted to a small number of verses spoken by men and women in response to a pressing emotional need (al-Muzhir, ii, 477). The poems of the wells (a case in aSarcenal usage among the Semitic peoples, cf. the Biblical şrt kabër, Num. xxi. 18-20), with striking structural, thematic and stylistic resemblances between the Bible and the verse of the Bedouin of the Djâhilîyya (Djâwâd 'Alî, ix, 410-12, has assembled a large number of specimens of this poetry), lullabies and other fragments associated with infancy (Sa'd al-Dawâdî, Âgher es-turkî, Baghâdîd 1970, passim), funereal dirges (Goldziher, Bemerkungen zur arabischen Trauerpoesie, in WZKM, xvi [1902], 308) and verses evoking skirmishes—all of these, rather than rhymed prose, supplied the first foundations.

Chronologically, it seems that al-shîr al-kadâm, as it is known to us, is considerably older, if credence is to give to a tradition cited by the Greek historian Sozomen. This historian writing at the turn of the fifth century, relates that the Arabs of the desert celebrated their victory over Queen Mavia and the Roman emperor Valens (i.e. between 364 and 378) with the singing of balls (odâî). This plural suggests that there was a cycle of poems; this cycle preceded the fragments of a similar cycle, that of the War of Baûtû [q.v.], the specimen generally regarded as the oldest verse chronicle of the Arabs. It would therefore seem reasonable to move the appearance of this material back in time to the last quarter of the 3rd century, by virtue of the poetical tradition associated with Hira and, more specifically, with 'Amr b. 'Abî, the first Lakhmid king of Hira whose maternal uncle Djâhdîma lived in the 3rd century; 'Amr, a historical figure, was the author of the poetic fragments in classical Arabic aimed at 'Amr b. 'Abî al-Djîmâ (Irân Shahîd, The composition of Arabic poetry in the fourth century, in Studies in the history of Arabia, ii, Pre-Islamic Arabia, Riyâd 1404/1984, 87-91).

(2) The poetic ritual. Arabic poetry is rooted in the oral; it was a voice before it acquired an alphabet, and what results from this is a concurrence between speech and its affective and emotional connotations. This aspect guides discourse towards the following stable procedures: (i) a poetic style overlaid with a multiplicity of synonyms and comparisons; (ii) a predilection for allusive expression; (iii) recourse to a specialised language very different from daily speech; (iv) the use of stable poetic hybrids; and (v) the obligation to be predictable and to abstain from upsetting the audience (M. Zwettler, The oral tradition of Classical Arabic poetry, its character and implications, Columbus, Ohio 1978, 98-102, 109-20, 170-2; McDonald, Orally transmitted poetry in pre-Islamic poetry, Arabia and other pre-literate societies, in JAL, ix [1978], 26-30; J.T. Monroe, Oral composition in pre-Islamic poetry in ibid., iii [1972], 36-40).

The poet knew that he had to be wanted and not to risk disappearance into obscurity, he was obliged to construct his discourse on the basis of an auditory aesthetic. This demanded the exclusion from his discourse of distant allusions and of hermetic or ambiguous statements; otherwise, he was in danger of breaking the continuity of the contact which linked him to the public. Thus in the pre-Islamic period, poetry declared that which the audience already knew, and poetic individualism consisted not in what was said but in the manner of its saying. Oral recitation was to leave on Arabic poetry a mark that would last for centuries; it would be, in Bencheikh’s words, an art of expression and not an art of creation. The recitation of pre-Islamic poetry was strangely reminiscent of a ritual; the officiating poet, who did not create poetry for himself, but for others, encouraged active participation on the part of his public as a means of appealing to the hearts of his hearers. Poetic engagement derived in this case from the simplicity of the verse and the familiarity of experienced listeners with the wording and with the thematic sequence of the kâtâda (A. Hamori, On the art of medieval Arabic literature, New York 1974, 21-2, 24; Adonis, Poétique, 34-5).

This ritualistic aspect of poetry was consolidated by the concept of divine inspiration, already current in the earliest periods. If traditions are to be believed, the great bards of the Djâhilîyya considered that the poem was the speech of a god or of a djînum (demon). It is alleged in this context that 'Abîd b. al-Abraç (ib. in the Djâhilîyya) saw in a dream a messenger who touched him with a ball of hair (kubba min šâr', cf. the graphical resemblance between šâr and šâr'), he commanded him to awake; he rose and began reciting nasâ'îs (al-Aghâni, xix, 94) and became a poet. He is no different from the prophet Isâiâh, who was touched by the angel with a burning coal, in a dream, and began prophesying immediately afterwards (Isa. vi. 5-8). More often, the djînum are evoked both before and after Islam (Muhammad Zâghlûl Sâlâm, i, 34-5; CHAL, i, 41). Von Grunebaum has emphasised, rightly, the resemblance to the Muses: Hesiod, describing his encounter with the Muses, records an experience which is comparable, structurally, to that of Hassân with the djînum at the time of his first steps in poetry (Aesthetic, 333).

This discourse, communicated to the poets by supernatural creatures, possesses a magical force on account of its provenance and also on account of the perfect arrangement of the verbal venae; this is true not only for curses, as has been proved magisterially by Goldziher (see hâkî, Von Grunebaum, Groesch, 123), but also for the madhî which enjoys lasting renown. A Bedouin declares, after receiving a reward from 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, "the eulogy keeps perpetually alive the name of the one who practises it" (Ibn Ragâîk, i, 29; see also Gaudroy-Demombynes, p. xvii).
This concept, albeit somewhat modified, persists after Islam (al-Djundr, op. cit., 19-20, quoting Ru'ba). Abân al-Lâhîkî (d. ca. 200/816) falsely accused by Abî Nuwâs of being homosexual, finds himself deprived of his role as lector to the Barâmîka. His patrons know it well, but even tendentious poetry is irreversable; they tell him, quoting a pre-Islamic verse:

\[
\text{[hatî]}
\]

\[
\text{Kad kila mà kila in sûdet}^{11} \text{ wa-in kâdjâm}^{12} \]

\[
\text{fa-mâ ëltdhrak d mân kau}^{13} \text{idkâ kîlâ}
\]

“What has been said has been said, be it true or false,

How can you be excused against words already spoken?”

(Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 204).

(3) Artistic poetry. In order to be effective, poetic discourse needed to be distinguished by its high aesthetic tone and to express the values of ambient society.

The role allotted to poetry seems to have been that of giving to the generality a unique image in a unique language. Throughout the period, this discourse is seen as definitely and definitely evolving. The diverse dialects and various approaches are bounded in a literary language which develops to encompass metre and other disciplines; new types of comparisons come into being (Von Grunebaum, Growth, 123). In the pagan era, spontaneous poetry coexists with fashioned creations which are extremely demanding in their pursuit of a more developed aesthetic. This pursuit reflects the effort of generations of poets who have broadened their range of enquiry and their vision; from the spontaneous glimpse of nomadic life and of the mundane, there is progress towards more profound reflection and interpretation of life. The best and most successful example of this seems to be the exceedingly elaborate treatise of human time. Beyond the existential anguish deriving from the confrontation between human duration and objective time, the majority of poets have considered time to be a cyclical process wherein tension arises from the opposition between the eternal renewal of temporal units and the limited nature of the units of existence allotted to man. Poetry of sterling quality can triumph over time. Consequently, the poet raises the praxis to a very high artistic level. This is primarily an exercise in recollection; the poet evokes memories of love and acts of valour. Verbs in the perfect tense predominate, perhaps to emphasise the fixed and inangible, hence unalterable nature of the \textit{mar'â} of the poet's family, of himself and of his patron. Other favourite themes sung by the poets, such as nostalgia for past loves or lamentations for the dead (\textit{rihâ}) take on, sometimes, a poignant tone. Only descriptions of animals are in the imperfect tense, with the scene unrolling before our eyes. This is no longer a function of memory, rather of events-in-progress.

In the thematic patterns of eulogy, of lamentations and evocations of tribal glory, the poet expressed the group more than he expressed himself. First person singular became subsumed by first person plural, but the poet's role as spokesman remained distinct. He was the witness and the singer. In all other classes of poetry, the poet plays the leading role: he sings of himself and of his patron. Other combinations at the level of expression which underline the constraining artistic demands is supplied by conventions at the level of expression which underline the inclusion of the form of discourse among the highest strata of speech (Bachère, \textit{HLA}, ii, 386; Bencheikh, Poétique, 8).

On the level of expression, it is appropriate to note not only the use of the dual, the apostrophising of two companions, but also clichés such as the comparison of the traces of an encampment in the sand with tattoos or with letters drawn by a scribe, the various tropes in the descriptions of animals, the description of weapons of war and of the beloved woman. From the archaic period onward, the codification of the poetic text is an established feature. The poet, far from feeling trapped in a straitjacket of constraining and dominating elements, settles comfortably into a protective tradition; or, more accurately, convention constitutes an instrument which he fashions as he pleases, but which he cannot change on pain of derogation. Conventions constitute a code to which conformity is obligatory; otherwise, damage is done to the harmony and to the perfect arrangement supplied by poetic discourse.

A great modern Arab poet and original thinker, Șâlah ʿAbî al-Şâbûr, has stressed the utility of the conventions. While it is true that the greatest talents are capable of dispensing with them, the majority of poets find in these constraining rules a stock of tropes, of hybrids and poietical expressions sanctioned by usage and by the sanction of ambient society, a stock which they are only too eager to plunder (\textit{Iklîs}, 13).

(4) New horizons. It was to be a few decades before...
The new religion changed the poets' vision of the universe; the great conquests suddenly immersed the poets of Hira. The domestication of poetry was now complete: caliphs and governors encouraged these artists to compose eulogies for them with the aim of consolidating their régimes and bolstering their personal prestige. Henceforward, 

Shi'r is conceived as a challenge between two equally-determined adversaries in an explicit request from al-Hutay'a, one of his father's pupils, he describes in lavish detail the process of polishing by which the poem is turned into a smooth piece of woven material, free of knots and of the same density throughout. In other words, in order to attain a harmonious and symmetrical discourse of outstanding quality, it is necessary to control the verbal core and to fashion it by means of incessant arrangement and rearrangement. Recourse to the term ḥudūd and reducing them to a narrative poetry in the full sense of the term. This was considered a natural gift to the poets. Only Imru' al-Ḵays boasts of the abundance of his inspiration; verses come rushing to him in such numbers that they risk becoming congested; he repels them energetically (ṣawāfa 'unnī) before proceeding to a choice, retaining only the most perfect and discarding the minor pearls (Gaudefrey-Demolbynes, 60).

The poetical profession according to the testimony of Muhammad b. Abi Sufyān does not disagree. The outstanding poet is a fabric of superb quality; it is the result of prolonged effort and commitment on the part of the poet-artisan. In a quatrain composed in response to a prompt request from al-Hutay'a, he seeks to fashion

As a result of this process, lasting and very fruitful mutations transformed the world of poetry. A new artistic liberty was born, freed from the modes dictated by genres of secular life, and a poetry of conflicts and contradictions came into being. In ʿIrāq, and specifically in Kūfah, a poetry of libertinism and pleasure prefigured the most successful examples of mughfīl [q.v.] composed by the gurāfiyyah of Kūfah and the innovatory poets of the 2nd/8th century. Poems celebrating the variegated humanity of taverns by al-ʿUkaylibihr al-ʿAsadī (d. 830/899, most fragments in al-ʿAghfānī, xii, 251-76), the crude and acidly humoristic portraits by ʿAbd Allāh b. Zābīr al-ʿAsadī (d. ca. 800, fragments in ibid., xiv, 216-62) and the galant exploits of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmmār al-ʿAsadī (d. towards the end of the Umayyad dynasty, in ibid., xi, 364-79; Ibrahim al-Najjabīr, Muqaddima al-ʿArbūska, Cairo 1987, 291).

A new poetic discourse served for them as a catharsis; by means of it, they could escape from dispossession, from tensions, from oppression and from massacres (CHAL, i, 394). The kastāda, quintessence of the pre-Islamic artistic traditions, underwent certain modifications, although the descriptive passages are remarkable for their fidelity to the archaic model. The urban poems composed according to traditional models do not have the coherence which is characteristic of the most successful poems of pre-Islam. The great poets of the period, with the exception of al-ʿAqīlī (d. 92/710) and Dhu ʿl-Rummān (d. 117/735) [q.v.], succeeded only with rather disjointed and pluri-thematic poems; numerous poems by Djarrīr and al-Paruzadī included several topoi which were not linked conceptually. Only the artist known as buʾm al-takhlīshīs "good transition" made it possible at a later stage to effect a formal fusion of heterogeneous motifs. At the same time, there developed in the Ḥijāz a poetic movement of constantly standing quality, it is necessary to control the verbal core and to fashion it by means of incessant arrangement and rearrangement. Recourse to the term ḥudūd and reducing them to a narrative poetry in the full sense of the term. This was considered a natural gift to the poets. Only Imruʾ al-Ḵays boasts of the abundance of his inspiration; verses come rushing to him in such numbers that they risk becoming congested; he repels them energetically (ṣawāfa 'unnī) before proceeding to a choice, retaining only the most perfect and discarding the minor pearls (Gaudefrey-Demolbynes, 60).

The craft and the polishing were indispensable for the acquisition by poets of two cardinal qualities, nafas (breath) and djarrī (robustness and purity of poetic language), necessary for the composition of set pieces. However, it would be a mistake to exaggerate the importance of the notion of apprenticeship and its defining role; it amounted to nothing more than an idealised approach conceived at a late stage, in the 3rd/9th century, in order to justify a certain conception of jahān and of archaic poetry. In fact, poetry was considered a natural gift (tabīʿ), an innate predisposition. If natural talent did not exist in a person, no apprenticeship could make him a poet.

The Umayyad poets expressed views similar to those of their Ḥajjālī forbears regarding the nature of poetry and the criteria of composition. Shi'ir is conceived as a challenge between two equally-determined adver-
saries, the poet and the poetry. There is insistence on hard work and effort. At no time is there any reference to a poet in a state of grace, cut off from the rest of the world as he composes, with a seething mass of ideas and images bubbling in his breast and seeking release by way of his mouth.

In the framework of a kasida of threats, Suwayd b. Kura’ (born at the beginning of Islam, he reportedly reached the era of Djarir and al-Farazdaq), devotes eight verses to describing, in bombastic tone, his manner of composing superior verses. The ideas developed are as follows: poetry, like a disobedient young camel (cf. ‘anqûr; one of its meanings is a camel very difficult to control), allows itself to be tamed only by the best riders. The verses (kawaﬁf) are described as ‘awast (disobedient) and as a band of recalcitrant wild animals (sarîth min al-sawwâbi nazzî); it must be treated with a great deal of patience; humbly, the poet needs to display tact and to devise stratagems during sleepless nights (abîtu bi-abwabbi l-kawast ... âkâlî’uhat hatâ’ ummisa ‘I spend nights at the gates of rhymes ... until I possess them’). This is the price at which it allows itself to be possessed, and which shows that the possession is carnal. The poet-possessor must show great vigilance, for with poetry everything is problematical: once mastered, it must be carefully confined in the depths of one’s heart (v. 10); otherwise, the verses will flee faraway; they can only be captured by means of prodigious efforts which leave indelible traces in the body of the poet (Ibn Kutayba, op. cit., 17). ‘Adi b. al-Rika’, a contemporary of Suwayd, considers his role as that of a craftsman, planning terms and verses in order to smooth the rough areas and promote harmony among the verses, thus succeeding in composing a kasida of the highest quality. Dhu ‘l-Rumma employs the same images in his attempt to characterise the composition of the poem as closely resembling the training (muhafa) of a weaned animal (Dhahin, Cambridge 1919, 329-30, vv. 26-9; Goldziher, op. cit., 94; partially translated by Gaudroy-Demobynes, 80).

The approach expressed by these poets, all of them from the first century of the Hijra, suggests a stable profession and a perfect mastery of the tools of the trade. For a poet, to compose means enhancing the fruits of his inspiration by means of the memorisation which mobilises, every time that the artist creates his poem with the memory which utilises the finest realisations of his linguistic and poetic heritage, retained since the period of his training. Sa‘îb ‘Abd al-Salbûr considers this strenuous poetic technique an act of homage on the part of the poet towards an immeasurable legacy: in some sense, he writes, the poet presents his poem to this stock which constitutes the quintessence of sensibility and its perfect expression as realised in the ancient poetry (Kird’a ajadida., 15).

IV. The effervescence of urban poetry.

Cultural prosperity, the practice of translation which was institutionalised from the end of the 2nd/8th century onward, the development of written translation according to rigorous criteria in the various disciplines, major conflicts of ideas and the constitution of an Arabic prose capable of expressing the most complex thoughts—all of these factors exerted influence on both poetry and poetics.

1. The evolution of discourse. Under the earlier ‘Abbasids, Arabic poetry remained an essentially lyrical text, descriptive in character. This lyricism reflected the unwillingness of the poet, unless commanded to do so, to deal with exterior phenomena or social relations. In this framework, poems denouncing the vanities of the world (zuhûdaq), according to Heinrichs, 25), the poetry of sexual perversion (mâjlisî, according to ibid); and Bacchic poetry (hammûst) were treated with special favour. Complaints about life and its misfortunes are liberally scattered in numerous poems of this period. This is not, strictly speaking, a poetry of asceticism but rather an absolute denunciation of life; it could be said that the texts delight in demonstrating the campaign of systematic annihilation conducted by life against the human being. Evoked here are the deterioration and subsequent death which accompany the process of life; also stressed is the absence of any metaphysical dimension and the desire merely to detach the man from the world below, a hunting-ground reserved for villains and sensualists. The ghabaw ‘î-zâmât is a poetry of setback and of impotence. More than this is the case with zuhd, it constitutes at the most a decidedly superficial poetry of edification. As for sexual perversion, the distinction is drawn between poems dedicated to the ephebe with the qawatî of Kufa, Abû Nuwâs, al-Husayn b. al-Dahhâk, Abû Mu‘âdh and Drk al-Djinn, versus phallic poems with Abu Hakima, Ibn al-Hajjâdjak and Ibn Sukkara, or the poems in praise of onanism by Abu ‘l-Anbas al-Saymarf. These poems, in which exacerbated emotional states are to be detected, seem to have expressed, at least initially, a rebellion against society and a refusal to subscribe to its values. Later, this poetry was to enjoy social indulgence, at least with the poetry dedicated to ephubes, and its usages became generalised even in the work of poets who did not practise perversions.

At the same time, a clear demarcation further widens the gulf between longer pieces and fragments, or if preferred, between set-piece and impromptu poetry. This distinction facilitates a more profound understanding of the evolution of poetry in the 2nd/8th century. Much is owed here to the specific contribution of Jâmele Benchekh. The impromptu, as Benchekh rightly declares, comprises several rhymed phrases, of great simplicity and with a single theme (Heinrichs, 36; describes these very short poems as spontaneous poetry; they address a single theme). What matters here is the rapidity of the response and its spiritual quality. It is therefore the nimbly-elevated impromptus which most delight the literary coteries. The themes of this elegant discourse are well known and were worn threadbare by long service; they are confined to love-sickness, invitations to trysts, excuses, reproaches, compliments or wise aphorisms. The ‘Abbâhid coterie preferred this supposedly “natural” poetry to the kasida with its immutable conventions. In fact, poets did not have a choice; in the mâyâs, they were under instructions to improvise forthwith or to reply in the course of a contest. This poetry, of rather lofty formal elegance, expressed stereotypes briskly in a minor tone, sometimes in fairly exaggerated style. In fact, this amounts to an exercise in re-use of the acquired skills of set-piece poetry rather than a creation at the level of composition (Benchekh, Poétique, 68-79). On the other hand, the long piece is a product of reflective creation and demands prolonged and laborious preparation, essential if the poet is to invent original hybrids, thus expressing new melâni and a large number of motifs (ibid., 80; 113; Mu‘aštâf Haddâra, Iltiﬁât al-qirîr al-‘arabî li ‘l-karn al-thdm al-ﬁlî, Cairo 1963, 148-9, 162).

This situation leads furthermore to the depreciation of poetry; it is considered an amusement or, at best, little more than pleasing discourse.
(2) Poetics. These centuries are the golden age of theoretical writing. Most striking is the profusion of poetic and theoretical treatment to be pragmatic rather than theoretical; it is appropriate to mention here one substantial exception, the writings of philosophers. The contribution of Von Grunebaum in this domain has been decisive.

A. The poets

Generally, but not always, they maintain their conception of the poetics of effort. In the works of Abu ʿ1-Amayyihal (d. in the 3rd/9th century) the same clichés are found, referring to the rectification of material which is naturally misshapen (ʿAll al-Djundil, op. cit., 115); to the weaver bent over his work in the writing of al-Sayyid al-Himyari (d. ca. 179/795, term ahk, ibid., 114); Ibn al-Rumili (d. 283/896) adds to the analogies of his two predecessors the well-known one of the tailor and his tailoring; in fact, the form of his work is the effort that he invests in embellishment and refinement (arahtahal and rakkakatubah, Dineen, Cairo 1953, 359-60, vv. 2-9). It is not until the second half of the 3rd/9th century that the term sanʿa in its poetic sense is attested in a poem among the works of al-Nāṣir al-Akkār (d. 293/906), in a verse praising his expertise and the harmony (al-ʿaṭīf) of his verses (Muḥammad Zaghlil al-Sallaam, Min tuwwīl al-nakd al-tanab, Abu ʿAll al-Akkār wa-khaliṣahu fi l-ʿaṭīf, in Muḥallat al-Qarayyil al-Qadīm, Dīlamat al-Qīdāl, v [1977-8], 179, v. 1). Furthermore, as a result of vitiation and corrective work (taḥdhib), his poem acquires an inimitable quality and, thereby, provokes embarrassment and surprise (yatāhsaya l-shaʿrātiyaʿa); in fact, the form (al-lafe) and the content (al-maʿnā) are integrated in absolute fashion (al-riaf mānuḥu yuṭāba laqṣahu) and its apparent facility conceals the inability of other poets to compose a comparable text. It is only at this price that the durability of poems can be assured (v. 7).

In the second long section of 18 verses devoted to poetic genres, the four opening verses provide a detailed survey of the content of this concept among poets and the various tasks which it entails. Sanʿa implies a rectification of the distortion of material (ṣawāṭiʿ), the consolidation of the texture of the poem (ṣawād al-maṭna ṣī l-ṣawāṭiʿ); the poet should plug the gaps in his discourse by means of profanity, assert the finest qualities by means of concision, impose harmony through the conciliation of opposites and clarity through the juxtaposition of analogous or similar maʿṣūr (ibid., 192). The poets of this period evince vigorous opposition to the poetics of facility; such a conception is quite rare in poetic compositions (see e.g. Shīrʿ Abī Hayya al-Numayri, Damascus 1975, 160, vv. 1-3). Sinʿa and qʿār were so closely linked that they have been used as synonyms in two instances in the writings of Abu ʿAṯārīya (wu-usaṣṣaʿaʿaʿa tāʾi l-ṣawāṭiʿi lamaʿa ṣī ṣawād al-maṭna ṣī l-ṣawāṭiʿi), “I returned to poetry when the Imām was seized by wrath following [my] abandonment of poetry”; the poet refers to his decision to relinquish poetry on account of his religious convictions, and to al-Rashid’s decision to imprison him in order to compel him to return to composition, al-ʿAḍhāl, iii, 160, l. 20; see also 149, l. 20.

B. The critics

(a) Sanʿa as opposed to ṣabʾ.

Numerous tendencies are in collision here, dictated by literary attitudes, but determined also by controversion unrelated to poetry. At a very early stage, from the 2nd/8th century onward, the poetics of effort are called into question as critics extol the virtues of natural talent, maʿṣūr. The factor giving rise to this attitude seems to have been the revival, after a temporary eclipse caused by the hostility of the new religion, of the theory of inspiration, deriving from occult and supernatural forces. Discourse placed in the mouth of the poet, which is a recepacle and nothing more, by its very nature requires no improvement. From another perspective, it seems that the Muʿtazili circles of Baṣra, including al-Djahlī, considered true eloquence to be that which is uttered spontaneously without the least effort; idealized discourse which could not escape the lawyer was appropriate to the Bedouin of the Δjahlīyya and their poets. The profession objected to this postulate, it being, according to the Baṣran thinker, the contrary of eloquence. Other scholars of the same city, in particular Ibn Sallām al-Djumāhī, al-ʿĀṣim, and his school, responsible for the constitution of the classical corpus, were of the same opinion. All of them must have been profoundly influenced by the improvised contests held in the Mirbād (ibid., 137).

One of the most ancient texts on poetics is the šuḥfi of Bishr b. al-Mutʿami. Here the author develops, in Heinrich’s words, a rudimentary theory of tabʿ (talent) and of ṣuḥfi (creative force) (Arabishe Dichtung, 286). The primary condition for being in a position to compose is, he asserts, the creative force; all depends on this and on its favourable disposition (iqāba). Once this has been acquired and beyond the obligation to adopt al-lafj al-šuḥfi (a noble poetic language) and al-maʿnā al-baḍd (the most original modalities of expression), Bishr advises the artist to avoid unduly laborious efforts which could result in affectness. On the contrary, he should opt for discourse which is fluent in terms of pronunciation, for easy and direct maʿṣūr. In parallel, he should set aside hermetic figures and complicated hybrids, since there is a risk that these will undermine the themes and neutralise the impact of the words. In common with the other classical critics, he takes great care to separate al-lafj from al-maʿnā. Four qualities are required for the language: softness, elegance, majesty and fluency. As for modalities (maʿāni), those chosen should be clear and immediately comprehensible (al-Djahlīz, Baytān, i, 135-6, 137).

Al-Djahlīz, too wise a connoisseur to fail to understand the importance of the sanʿa element, confines himself to recording his distaste for these over-finitical poets whom he calls ʿabdi al-šuḥfiʿa ("the slaves of poetry") and his objection to excessively polished poems, al-šuḥfiʿa al-haṭīl ("poems taking a year to compose"). However, it should be stressed that over-worked, i.e. excessively re-worked poetry was not considered bad poetry. The reverse was the case. Ibn Ḥutayba considers the poetry resulting from study an excellent discourse, solidly constructed (iqāya al-maṣḥūm). But the experts have no difficulty identifying the patterns, the prolonged reflection and the strained thought of the author; furthermore, the latter does not refrain from recourse to poetic licences (dararāt); connoisseurs can tell that he has omitted the modalities of expression which were necessary; on the other hand, he praises the facility of composition of the maʿṣūr and his total mastery of the material; immediately obvious are the splendour of his talent (raʿwa al-tabʿ) and the wealth of his temperamen; finally, he does not fail to admire the transparency of the maʿṣūr since, he says, the first hemistich prefigures the end of the verse and the beginning gives a clear impression of rhyming style.
The deliberations of Ibn Kutayba reveal the veritable point at issue. Among the poets of this school, imagery reigns to all phases of composition, the critics estimate that poetry was the most authentic ilm of the Bedouin of the Dāhiliyya (Ibn Sallām, i, 24, § 32; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 473); similar opinions are attributed to ʿAlī, to Ibn ʿAbbās, and to other major figures of Islam (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīhi, v, 247; Ibn Sallām, i, 10; Ibn Rāṣīq al-Kayrawānī, 30; al-Muzaffar al-ʿAlawī, Najdat al-ṣūr, 336-7; al-Zamakhsharl, v, 216, § 132). From the 3rd/9th century onward, works of criticism followed the same lines as Ibn Kutayba proposed; in this context that poetry is the mine of sciences of the ancient Arabs, the book of their wisdom, the archives of their history, the treasury of their great days (sc. battles) and the rampart which defends their glory (Uṣūn al-aḥḥār, Cairo 1925, ii, 185). Military, cultural, linguistic, literary and social history are found condensed in this discourse.

On the other hand, empirical observations of zoology, meteorology and botany accumulated in the same texts. Like any science, to be in a position to serve, it is essential that this poetry be authentic; otherwise, it has no utility. In effect, poetry of high quality is the proper means of inculcating the values of the Ancients, who were models of human behaviour. By means of the exalted maʿānī which it puts at the disposal of the cultivated man, it enables him to compose verses, adages and sentences which are so well cast that they appeal to the sympathies of audiences in all periods. ʿAbbāsīd critics considered pre-Islamic poetry as a great reservoir of quotations of considerable utility for talented folk of all periods. The purpose of every poem is to dispense wisdom; in this, they are removed from our current conceptions which are alone responsible for the aesthetic finality. In fact, these precious materials are in a sorry state on account of the considerable number of falsifications which have intruded (Ibn Sallām, iv, § 3, see ʿl-ṣūr, ʿalā ilāhamātum maṣwaḍāt kathirātīn "in poetry, a considerable portion is false, forged and counterfactual"). This defect results from the written tadāṣṣul (mode of transmission). In poetry, Ibn Sallām declares, it is necessary to set aside the gleanings of scriptory transmission (wa-laysa li-ahad mā yakbala mā an yakbala "one is not sure whether or not one should accept a poem deriving from a register; they should decline to repeat the transmission of a connoisseur [trained] in the registers", Ps.-al-Kalāḥī b. Ahmad, K. al-ʿArūs, 1967, iii, 120). Furthermore the term taʾṣīfī (q.v.) (forgery) was allegedly derived from sūfī (al-Dawḥarī, al-Sīḥah, Beirut 1979, vi, 1384, b., 1.1).

Beyond the willingness to create a new branch of poetics, that of taʾṣīfī, an attempt is observed on the part of Ibn Sallām to determine the identity of those entitled to transmit the classical heritage. It is from this perspective that it is appropriate to consider the charges against Ḥammād and members of his school. Was it his wish to entrust these tasks to scholars who worked according to the methods of the School of

(But despite of unqualified splendour (Asrār al-balaghā, 241-2, 244, 250, 315-16).

The poet-theoretician Ibn ʿṣāḥid (d. 426/1035 [q.v.]) anticipates in certain respects poet-Dāhiliyyan criticism and the approach which considers tabīb a spiritual force (masāʾilāt râḥiyya). On this basis of the principle, he reaches the conclusion that poetry is the fruit of imagination. His theory of beauty, a divine emanation, possesses strong neo-Platonic resonances, which are quite rare in classical poetry among the Arabs (Monroe, 140-2).

Poetry as an ilm. According to a tradition attributed to Ibn Sīrīn, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is supposed to have stated that poetry was the most authentic ilm of the Bedouin of the Dāhiliyya (recorded by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, pp. xxix-xxxi). Among the poets of this school, imagery reigns to all phases of composition, the critics estimate that poetry was the most authentic ilm of the Bedouin of the Dāhiliyya (Ibn Sallām, i, 24, § 32; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 473); similar opinions are attributed to ʿAlī, to Ibn ʿAbbās, and to other major figures of Islam (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīhi, v, 247; Ibn Sallām, i, 10; Ibn Rāṣīq al-Kayrawānī, 30; al-Muzaffar al-ʿAlawī, Najdat al-ṣūr, 336-7; al-Zamakhsharl, v, 216, § 132). From the 3rd/9th century onward, works of criticism followed the same lines as Ibn Kutayba proposed; in this context that poetry is the mine of sciences of the ancient Arabs, the book of their wisdom, the archives of their history, the treasury of their great days (sc. battles) and the rampart which defends their glory (Uṣūn al-aḥḥār, Cairo 1925, ii, 185). Military, cultural, linguistic, literary and social history are found condensed in this discourse.

On the other hand, empirical observations of zoology, meteorology and botany accumulated in the same texts. Like any science, to be in a position to serve, it is essential that this poetry be authentic; otherwise, it has no utility. In effect, poetry of high quality is the proper means of inculcating the values of the Ancients, who were models of human behaviour. By means of the exalted maʿānī which it puts at the disposal of the cultivated man, it enables him to compose verses, adages and sentences which are so well cast that they appeal to the sympathies of audiences in all periods. ʿAbbāsīd critics considered pre-Islamic poetry as a great reservoir of quotations of considerable utility for talented folk of all periods. The purpose of every poem is to dispense wisdom; in this, they are removed from our current conceptions which are alone responsible for the aesthetic finality. In fact, these precious materials are in a sorry state on account of the considerable number of falsifications which have intruded (Ibn Sallām, iv, § 3, see ʿl-ṣūr, ʿalā ilāhamātum maṣwaḍāt kathirātīn "in poetry, a considerable portion is false, forged and counterfactual"). This defect results from the written tadāṣṣul (mode of transmission). In poetry, Ibn Sallām declares, it is necessary to set aside the gleanings of scriptory transmission (wa-laysa li-ahad mā yakbala mā an yakbala "one is not sure whether or not one should accept a poem deriving from a register; they should decline to repeat the transmission of a connoisseur [trained] in the registers", Ps.-al-Kalāḥī b. Ahmad, K. al-ʿArūs, 1967, iii, 120). Furthermore the term taʾṣīfī (q.v.) (forgery) was allegedly derived from sūfī (al-Dawḥarī, al-Sīḥah, Beirut 1979, vi, 1384, b., 1.1).

Beyond the willingness to create a new branch of poetics, that of taʾṣīfī, an attempt is observed on the part of Ibn Sallām to determine the identity of those entitled to transmit the classical heritage. It is from this perspective that it is appropriate to consider the charges against Ḥammād and members of his school. Was it his wish to entrust these tasks to scholars who worked according to the methods of the School of...
 Başra and to shun the disciples of the School of Kufa? The stakes were high; if this principle were followed, Basran scholars would become the sole guardians of pre-Islamic poetry or, in other words, the sole guarantors of the Arabic poetical corpus.

This attempt seems to have been long-lasting since the works of Hamza al-Isfahānī and of Abū Hilāl al-‘Askari on ṭashīf contain an impressive list of Basran ṣulūm. There is nothing Saussurian about this hostility towards the scrip¬tory which emanates from conceptual intransigence. Writing, being by nature defective, did not permit an accurate and faithful transmis¬sion of texts. Words, in the context of poetry, are mantled, as are the hybrids and the inherited expressions; (ii) rhetorical embellishment is consciously pursued; sometimes this is taken to absurd lengths, as was the case with Abū Tammām (Heinrichs, 25). Flourishes are raised to the status of essential principle of composition; they no longer constitute a device for enhancing the beauty of the discourse. (iii) Henceforward, the image constitutes an end in itself. The poets of their era opted for antipoetry, to borrow an expression of Ibn al-Arābī (Risdlat al-talkhis li-wuajuh al-takhlis, Beirut 1981, iii, 163-4).

The poets also figure prominently in the classification of sciences established by leading scholars.

Examination of such a list would seem to be considerably more informative than recourse to always unreliable traditions, regarding a favourable attitude on the part of the Prophet, of Abū Shāsha, of one or other Companion or Successor (traditions compiled and annotated by Mustafā Ullayyān, Narrat nadāl islāmī fī rūyayat al-ṭṣīr wa-muḥādithi, ‘Ammān 1944; al-Nahhālī, ii, 391; Cantanno, 28-34), emphasise the negative attitude of these same figures with regard to poetry). In the course of time, the problem posed by these relationships ultimately loses all cultural or religious significance; it then recurs in ḍāqī‘a, pl. of ḍaqi‘, formally arranged in antithetical sections (‘Abd al-Ghanī b. ‘Ali al-Mu- khaddasī, ḍaqi‘ abdallāh al-ṭṣīr, Ṭāhirī, ‘Ammān 1989, 37-80), favourable traditions, 81-98, unfavourable point of view.

Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [q.v.]) places the ṭṣīr al-ṭṣīr immediately after the sciences of the Kurʾān, of language and of lexicography. Like his predecessors, he assigns to this ṭṣīr a double aim, moral and utilitarian, and distinguishes three branches: one which is illicit in the case where a man devotes himself to it entirely; a second which is licit but subject to numerous reservations; a third which is the most lucid part of his time; a third is strongly recommended, being the case in which the believer devotes to it a part of his time. Thus conceived, this science of poetry is of undoubtedly utility; it inculcates in the one who practises it wisdom (ḥikma) and a more profound understanding of Arabic grammar and language (Risālat al-talāṣī al-ṭṣīr al-talāṣī, in Risālat Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusi, Beirut 1981, i, 163-4).

The poets of bādī’ comprise the following elements: (i) the poeties of ḍāqī‘i’i or poetics according to Abu Tammām. The Authentic critics associate the appearance of bādī’ with the ‘Abbasid dynasty: the poets of their era opted for this poetic language because of their late arrival. For Ibn Ṣabī‘a, the poets of their era opted for antipoetry. Their poems are the fruit of a sustained effort, they are muṣafadīf in comparison with the natural fluidity of their predecessors (Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, 15). And then bādī’ appeared. The facts seem to confirm this analysis beyond all expectation. In fact, the first fruits are associated with Muslim b. al-Walīf (q.v.) al-Ṣā‘īr al-Ǧāwānī, Beirut 1981, 320-823). It is said that he attempted in his poems to convey the message in terms of its finest image. He is the first, according to Ibn Ḥazm, to have softened verse and rendered the sense subtle; he was also the source of inspiration of Abū Tammām (Ṣīrī, 528). Ibn Ḥazm’s remarks clearly show that Abū Tammām is considered the undisputed champion of this school.

Von Grunebaum sees in the appearance of this poetic school a reaction against the platitudes engendered by the conceptions of modernist poets, who expressed their thoughts in excessively limp language in short verses. The poetry of Abū Tammām constitutes an attempt to halt these modernists (Grunebaum, 132-3).

The poetics of bādī’ comprises the following elements: (i) the poetries of ḍāqī‘i’i or poetics according to Abu Tammām. The Authentic critics associate the appearance of bādī’ with the ‘Abbasid dynasty: the poets of their era opted for this poetic language because of their late arrival. For Ibn Ṣabī‘a, the poets of their era opted for antipoetry. Their poems are the fruit of a sustained effort, they are muṣafadīf in comparison with the natural fluidity of their predecessors (Ibn Ṣabī‘a, 528). Ibn Ḥazm’s remarks clearly show that Abū Tammām is considered the undisputed champion of this school.

Von Grunebaum sees in the appearance of this poetic school a reaction against the platitudes engendered by the conceptions of modernist poets, who expressed their thoughts in excessively limp language in short verses. The poetry of Abū Tammām constitutes an attempt to halt these modernists (Grunebaum, 132-3).

The poetries of bādī’ comprise the following elements: (i) the poetries of ḍāqī‘i’i or poetics according to Abu Tammām. The Authentic critics associate the appearance of bādī’ with the ‘Abbasid dynasty: the poets of their era opted for this poetic language because of their late arrival. For Ibn Ṣabī‘a, the poets of their era opted for antipoetry. Their poems are the fruit of a sustained effort, they are muṣafadīf in comparison with the natural fluidity of their predecessors (Ibn Ṣabī‘a, 528). Ibn Ḥazm’s remarks clearly show that Abū Tammām is considered the undisputed champion of this school.

Von Grunebaum sees in the appearance of this poetic school a reaction against the platitudes engendered by the conceptions of modernist poets, who expressed their thoughts in excessively limp language in short verses. The poetry of Abū Tammām constitutes an attempt to halt these modernists (Grunebaum, 132-3).

The poetries of bādī’ comprise the following elements: (i) the poetries of ḍāqī‘i’i or poetics according to Abu Tammām. The Authentic critics associate the appearance of bādī’ with the ‘Abbasid dynasty: the poets of their era opted for this poetic language because of their late arrival. For Ibn Ṣabī‘a, the poets of their era opted for antipoetry. Their poems are the fruit of a sustained effort, they are muṣafadīf in comparison with the natural fluidity of their predecessors (Ibn Ṣabī‘a, 528). Ibn Ḥazm’s remarks clearly show that Abū Tammām is considered the undisputed champion of this school.

Von Grunebaum sees in the appearance of this poetic school a reaction against the platitudes engendered by the conceptions of modernist poets, who expressed their thoughts in excessively limp language in short verses. The poetry of Abū Tammām constitutes an attempt to halt these modernists (Grunebaum, 132-3).
yubdina min 'ishkī 'l-rikabi in suhūla). (iv) An extensive and profound knowledge of the treasures of the language is required for the unfettered composition of hybrids or metaphors, without which the language could constitute an obstacle. (v) The faculty of inventing ma'amāt or that of forming new ones by means of derivation (waṭāṭ al-ma'amāt) is considered a necessity. In fact, what is involved is the thorough exploitation of one ma'amāt before moving on to another; this contributes to the cohesion and organic unity of the poem. By this procedure, the bātūt school is clearly distinguished from previous methods of poetry, content to put an end to the madhūb or to deal with it very briefly. (vi) Poetic creativity is turned further towards original discovery. (vii) Bātūt locates poetry in writing, all the more so since certain flourishes depend on a visual and graphic effect (cf. the very informative analysis by Adonis, Poétique, 50-5, 65-7).

This more reflective, more intellectualised poetry first astonished, then aroused strong reservations; (vi) Poetic creativity is turned further towards original discovery. In comparison between Abū 'l-Hadīl Abū Tammam and al-Buhturf, it is conventional to see in the former a thinker who speaks to the intellect and in the latter a singer who addresses the emotions. Furthermore, it perhaps facilitated the appearance of the theory of poetic obscurity.

(d) Limpidity as opposed to obscurity in poetry. In the 2nd/8th century, writing had not succeeded in suppressing the orality of poetry; writing served as an instrument of memory for poets, and their discourse did not experience notable changes, particularly the separation of poetry from thought. On the basis of this principle, al-Dijāzīh proceeded to promote a poetry which would be beyond any interpretation and understood without exertion of thought. For this, easy and supple speech was an essential condition; to this end, recourse to gharāt (rare terms) is denounced; on the other hand, the poet is encouraged to use words which are conventional, agreeable and easily heard, and thereby immediately grasped. In short, clarity is the supreme quality in poetry. More than any other, al-Dijāzīh advocated the poetics of waṭāṭ as opposed to obscurity. His conclusion does not fail to astonish, as it was in the natural order of things to establish, as well as by certain modern researchers, who have seen here a call for obscurantism in poetic language and that it consisted of an extension of Aristotelianism (Aesthétique, 326-9).

Unfortunately for Arabic poetry, the ideas of al-Sāfī were generally misunderstood by classical critics as well as by certain modern researchers, who have not the thing stated but the manner in which it is stated, it was in the natural order of things to establish a distinction between the two entities and to prefer lafz over ma'na. Furthermore, the confinement of the ma'ānī within a limited space, which was not to be overstepped, persuaded poets to concentrate all their efforts on finding the formal garment best suited to the allotted space, and it induced them to adopt the same attitude as that held by the critics. The poet exercises the highest degree of control over his material, which is language. An intangible sign of this
control is the concern which is strongly recommended. Al-Djahiz played an essential role in the constitution of this conception; he was followed enthusiastically by later scholars of poetry (al-Ḥay mar, iii. 131-2; al-‘Askari, Sinā’at al-faṣīh, 58; Von Grunebaum, Aesthetik, 327; Heinrichs, Arabische Dichtung, 286-7).

In the 5th/11th century, ‘Abd al-Kāhir al-Dūrdjānī was concerned to stress the negative nature of the Dājijānīan concept of ma’āntī. First of all, the separation of faṣīh and of ma’ānā seemed to him an aberration; it was hardly conceivable to separate the objective which is sought, i.e. the modalities of expression, from their projection into words. On the other hand, he challenged the notion that the literary merit of a poem emanates solely from the beauty of the terms used, conceived as preponderant units. A term cannot be faṣīh in itself, but only through its concurrence with the ma’āntī and the harmony which it establishes between the different elements of expression. If al-Djahiz is to be followed, thoughts and their modalities will come to be excluded from the domain of eloquence and poetry will be reduced to verbal juggling, banishing the beauty of the composition (al-nagm) and the quality of the texture of the poem (al-asbāf).

It is, however, appropriate to mention the existence, at a very early stage, of an approach opposed to the supremacy of formalism. According to a work by Ibn Abī Tāhir al-Ta‘īfī (d. 280/893) [q.v.], Abī Tahir Tayfur (d. 280/893), Ibn Ṣnānah, 175-90. Ibn Ṣnānah (d. 678/1280), according to Ibn ‘Abbas (d. 327) [q.v.], Ibn ‘Abbas, Nakād, 3-6), Ibn ‘Abbas, Aesthetik, 131-2; al-‘Askari, Sinā’at al-faṣīh, 58; Von Grunebaum, Aesthetik, 327; Heinrichs, Arabische Dichtung, 286-7).

The Seven long [poems] (al-sab‘ al-tuwdāl) possess in common a profusion of ma’āntī of unrivaled beauty: fa-män ‘l-dālī ‘l-ṣadiḥ lā maṣfula lahū al-kaṣīfū ‘l-sa‘ārī ‘l-tuwaqalī ‘l-ṣadiḥ kaddamīb ‘ulamā‘u ‘lāl sal ‘l-ṣadiḥ lā maṣfula lāh “in this poetry which has no equal, the Seven long [poems] which the scholars placed above all other poems; each in fact includes numerous ma’āntī, unique in their genre” (Beirut 1977, 21-2). If the poems of Imran al-Kaysī, of Zuhayr, of ‘Antara, of Labīd, of ‘Amr b. Kulthūm, of al-Ḥārīrī, ibn Ṣnānah and al-Nābihga al-Dījānī are counted among the rarest of Arabic poetry, it is because of the beauty of their motifs. The superiority of every poet depends on the range of the ma’āntī which he has enunciated, and the grading of poets according to categories (tabākāt) is done in accordance with these criteria. This conception developed by al-Hiraṁ (for, in the time of al-Raḥīd, 170-93/786-809, preceding al-Djahiz by a generation) was adopted by Ibn Ta‘īfī, Ibn Dījānī and al-Dūrdjānī, but remained a minority and somewhat marginal view.

C. The philosophers

The influence of Aristotelian ideas on the evolution of Arabic poetics has been decisive; these have been the ideas most systematically explored by the Muslim philosophers. Unlike the theoreticians, the philosophers were concerned to clarify a complete poetic art; they conceived poetry as a universal cultural phenomenon. Their speculations possess a hitherto unknown scientific rigour, since they considered poetic discourse as a subdivision of logic. They thus deny any role in poetry to the imagination and establish lish incompatibility between reason and poetry (Von Grunebaum, Aesthetik, 323).

These poetics of the philosophers do not derive from a more or less accurate paraphrase of the Poetics of Aristotle. It is rather a question of commentaries expressing the personal opinions of those philosophers who took inspiration from the notions expressed in al-Masā’ilī al-aswāqī. Three essential principles dominate the poetic art as viewed by the philosophers: truth (and falsehood), imitation and evocation.

(i) Aristotelian theory makes of poetical beauty an ornament and a generalisation of the truth. According to the philosophers, and more specifically Ibn Ṣnānah, the poet must seek the harmony which it establishes between the different elements of expression. If al-Djahiz is to be followed, thoughts and their modalities will come to be excluded from the domain of eloquence and poetry will be reduced to verbal juggling, banishing the beauty of the composition (al-nagm) and the quality of the texture of the poem (al-asbāf).

(ii) The influence of Aristotelian ideas on the evolution of Arabic poetics has been decisive; these have been the ideas most systematically explored by the Muslim philosophers. Unlike the theoreticians, the philosophers were concerned to clarify a complete poetic art; they conceived poetry as a universal cultural phenomenon. Their speculations possess a hitherto unknown scientific rigour, since they considered poetic discourse as a subdivision of logic. They thus deny any role in poetry to the imagination and establish incompatibility between reason and poetry (Von Grunebaum, Aesthetik, 323).

Three of these poets of the philosophers who took inspiration from the notions expressed in al-Masā’ilī al-aswāqī. Three essential principles dominate the poetic art as viewed by the philosophers: truth (and falsehood), imitation and evocation.

(i) Aristotelian theory makes of poetical beauty an ornament and a generalisation of the truth. According to the philosophers, and more specifically Ibn Ṣnānah, the poet must seek the harmony which it establishes between the different elements of expression. If al-Djahiz is to be followed, thoughts and their modalities will come to be excluded from the domain of eloquence and poetry will be reduced to verbal juggling, banishing the beauty of the composition (al-nagm) and the quality of the texture of the poem (al-asbāf).

(ii) The influence of Aristotelian ideas on the evolution of Arabic poetics has been decisive; these have been the ideas most systematically explored by the Muslim philosophers. Unlike the theoreticians, the philosophers were concerned to clarify a complete poetic art; they conceived poetry as a universal cultural phenomenon. Their speculations possess a hitherto unknown scientific rigour, since they considered poetic discourse as a subdivision of logic. They thus deny any role in poetry to the imagination and establish incompatibility between reason and poetry (Von Grunebaum, Aesthetik, 323).

These poetics of the philosophers do not derive from a more or less accurate paraphrase of the Poetics of Aristotle. It is rather a question of commentaries expressing the personal opinions of those philosophers who took inspiration from the notions expressed in al-Masā’ilī al-aswāqī. Three essential principles dominate the poetic art as viewed by the philosophers: truth (and falsehood), imitation and evocation.

(i) Aristotelian theory makes of poetical beauty an ornament and a generalisation of the truth. According to the philosophers, and more specifically Ibn Ṣnānah, the poet must seek the harmony which it establishes between the different elements of expression. If al-Djahiz is to be followed, thoughts and their modalities will come to be excluded from the domain of eloquence and poetry will be reduced to verbal juggling, banishing the beauty of the composition (al-nagm) and the quality of the texture of the poem (al-asbāf).

(iii) Dialogue and the harmony which it establishes between the different elements of expression. If al-Djahiz is to be followed, thoughts and their modalities will come to be excluded from the domain of eloquence and poetry will be reduced to verbal juggling, banishing the beauty of the composition (al-nagm) and the quality of the texture of the poem (al-asbāf).

These poetics of the philosophers do not derive from a more or less accurate paraphrase of the Poetics of Aristotle. It is rather a question of commentaries expressing the personal opinions of those philosophers who took inspiration from the notions expressed in al-Masā’ilī al-aswāqī. Three essential principles dominate the poetic art as viewed by the philosophers: truth (and falsehood), imitation and evocation.
The Islamic philosophers ranked it above the *kuwwa* or logical force, but made it subservient to the intellect (al-*aql*) on which it depends totally. The process of al-*bāhghyāl al-šīrī* appears to be a kind of emanation (al-*fārād* or of vague and insipid inspiration (ibid.). Such a conception confers on poetry a status resembling that of prophecy or something close to it; both are phenomena of conscious inspiration involving subjects endowed with natural dispositions. If poetry is part of logic, the fact remains that it lies in the eighth and last position according to the classification adopted by al-Kindî and, later, by al-Farâbî (al-Rūbî, 54-6).

All visions of *tājāfīl*, translated into language, are transformed into *mukhayāt* or *aṣʿāl* *mubāhāya*, i.e., symbols, mimeses and enigmas. Were it not for *muhākāt*, the human *muhākayalna* would be incapable of operating and would remain at the stage of virtuality.

(iii) Arts such as drawing and painting are based on *muhākāt* or imitation. Only poetry, among all the other arts, is a *mukhayāt* in the form of words. This faculty reconstructs the real into a better or worse dispositions. If poetry is part of logic, the fact remains that it lies in the eighth and last position according to the classification adopted by al-Kindî and, later, by al-Farâbî (al-Rūbî, 54-6).

...
what is involved here is an artificial creation, even a discourse full of affectation. There is nothing pejorative in this concept. Modern conceptions of aesthetics consider it as the contrary as an art form tending towards irrationalism, refined and sophisticated, drawn to fantasy and paradox and transcending affectation and oddity; the subjects here are unashamedly fantastic, even esoteric. This important process of evolution proceeded for several centuries. Beginning in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, it reached its zenith in the 6th-12th century. The centuries of affectation are characterised by an intense poetic activity directed entirely towards a single objective: what matters in poetry is literature, i.e. recourse to a formed and formalised language.

(1) The revival of established genres. The poets of these centuries are outstanding parents. In the Ayyübids and Mamlûk periods, descriptive poetry demonstrates an intense love of nature; the poets of Spain, of Syria and of Egypt celebrate it with enthusiasm. The countryside is transformed here into a cornucopia of colours and scents bathed in abundant water (Ibn Munîr al-Ṭarâbulusî, Dîwân, Beirut 1986, 149-50, 178, the perfumes of Damascus; human arrangements, shirdâs, places of libation (mâdâsî), wells, etc., are shown in the forefront of the scene (Ibn Munîr al-Ṭarâbulusî, 133, § 40, 134, § 42; al-Suyûtî, Ḥusn al-muhâdâra, Cairo 1967, 358-59). Similarly, rivers and lakes are very often celebrated (Umâyya b. 'Abd al-'Azîz, Dîwân, Beirut 1950, 81, 85, 133, 145; Muhammad Zaghîlî Sallâm, al-Adâb ﷺ al-mamlûkî, Cairo 1971, 115-16).

This attachment to nature remains a powerful influence under the Mamlûks and the Ottomans, and the tendency to sing the praises of its more enchanting aspects becomes a regular feature among the poets of the two periods: Ibn Zâhir al-Hâdîdî, Ibn Čâсим al-Ḥâmîwî (d. 542/1156), al-Shîhâb al-Shâhîrî (d. 615/1218), and for the Ottomans, Ibn al-Nâkîf (d. 1081/1670), Ibn al-Nâhjîs al-Halâbî (d. 1052/1642) and Abû Ma'lîq al-Misâwîrî (1087/1676) have evolved in numerous instances the beautiful scenes of Syria and, in the case of Egypt, the Nile and its verdant banks. At the same time, this taste for nature is revived by love of the soil, by literary reminiscences and the introduction of a new poetical form which wallows in fantastic, even esoteric. This important process of evolution under the Mamlûks and the Ottomans, and a reaction to the decline in status of the professional poet. Henceforward, their numbers were to be maintained until the Naḥdâ (q.v.).

Sûfî poetry experienced the most ostentatious period of its history. The works of Ibn al-Fâriqî (d. 632/1231) and of Muhîyî l-'dîn Ibn 'Arablî (d. 638/1240) gave the impetus to a trend which was to be maintained until the Naḥdâ (q.v.). Sharîf al-Dîn al-Anjârî (q.v. 1662/1264), al-Shâbî al-Zâhirî (d. 688/1293), 'Affî al-Dîn al-Tîrîbî (d. 690/1291), al-Zâhirî (q.v. d. 697/1302), Ibn al-Nâhjîs al-Halâbî (d. 1052/1642) and 'Abd al-Qânî al-Nâbulusîî (d. 1142/1731) are the loyal heirs of their illustrious predecessors. In the best examples, the discourse aspires to escape from the rational. The language is allegorical and the words take on a symbolic meaning which can be penetrated only by initiates. This essentially subjective poetry transcends semantics to express that which transcends words. Here, there is a deliberate effort according to the exigencies of a well-defined dogma. In a sense, the involvement here is with open texts, bearing multiple suggestions. Furthermore, the Sûfî poets of the period renew acquaintance with an ancestral tradition closely associated with the use of song among mystics (al-Âhwânî, Ibn Sânî al-Mulûk wa-muğhîlî al-tûm wa l-tîrikîr, Cairo 1962, 197). Furthermore, no doubt influenced by the mystical poems of the Persian sâkî-nâmâ, the Sûfî khamrâyya (q.v.) enjoys a certain vogue; numerous poems based on this pattern are attested from the 7th/13th to the 12th/18th century. Finally, it should not be forgotten that it is this period which sees the emergence and proliferation of the poems called al-mâdâdâ'î al-nâbahawyya or eulogies of the Prophet: generally long pieces, constructed on a binary base, the opening being reserved for the nasîb naba'î (a love-song addressed to the Prophet) which is combined with the na't al-na'tî (portrait of the Prophet), praises and accounts of his miracles, his virtues and his fine deeds (Zâki Mûhârak, al-Mâdâdâ'î al-nâbahawyya fi l-adâb al-târîbi, Cairo 1967, index). A woman, 'Âṭîsâ al-Bu'tânîyya (d. 922/1516), seems to have been particularly distinguished in this field: she devoted a special dîwân (dîwân musâkâlî) to this type of poem. Certain researchers see in this renewal of religious poetry an attempt to find a refuge from an unbearable reality and a reaction to the decline in status of the professional poet. Henceforward, their numbers were to contract and they were replaced by scholars, in particular, by kâdis possessing profound affinities with religious motifs (Muhammad Zaghîlî Sallâm, Adâb, 109).

Imitation and decline

During the five centuries from the 5th/10th/11th-16th, Arabic poetry ceased to be regarded exclusively as entertainment and regains a part of its ancient priority. Circumstances favoured this development. Various campaigns and victories over the Crusaders stirred up among contemporaries, poets in particular, a great wave of enthusiasm and optimism. The victories of Salah al-Dîn and those of al-Zâhirî Baybars inspired numerous poems on the part of the kâdî al-adîlî, al-Imâm al-Ishâhânî, Abu l-Faḍîl al-Dîlî, who were not lacking in epic spirit (Abû Shâmâ, al-Raṣâlatayn, Cairo 1956-62, ii, 102-18; Ibn Wâsîlî, Mu'ârîf al-târîh, Cairo 1953-60, 234 ff.; for the Baybars cycle and the 'Adâb of Tâhirî-bîrîdî, Nâqîm, Cairo 1929-36, xi, 322; Bîshâ, iii, 350-3).

This poetry is produced by epigones; the poets of
this period made imitation of the ancients and slavish adherence to established models into an institution.

New forms, the mu‘attarad [q.v.], the takhmis [q.v.] and the tasmi‘ [see MUSAMMAT], impose on the poet the need to introduce whole new rhythms, for the hemistich and the verse to the totality of the kāṣīda. The later poet becomes, at best, a commentator and his poem a continuation and elucidation of that of the model. The case of Sāfī al-Dīn al-Hillī seems typical in this respect: a considerable proportion of his poems are mu‘attaras of poems of al-Mutanabbi, or tasmi‘s of the kāṣīda of Kāṭārī b. al-Fuqā‘ī, of the lāmīya of al-Samaw’al and of the nāṣiyā of Ibn Zaydūn; another poem includes the Lāmīyāt al-Sarab of al-Shajfārān: verses by the sulṭān poet are cited textually (tadjīr), separated one from another by those of the Mamlūk poet. The same procedure is attested with the ṣūra‘a of Ibn Durrāy, two integral poems of al-Mutanabbi and of al-Ṭughrā‘ī and the second hemistiches of the Ḥamūsa of Abū Tammān. Originally, it is quite possible that the latter poets were induced to follow these procedures through their interest in a valued heritage, or as a means of protecting and conserving it. In this regard, under the Ottomans, the poets Ibn al-Nakīb and Amīn al-Di‘nî (d. 1257/1841) proceeded in an absolutely identical fashion. Furthermore, the former, no doubt with quotations from verses composed in earlier periods.

Admittedly, since the time of the Ayyubids there is a marked tendency among poets to engage in extravagant rhetorical games: the verses known as ṣu‘rat al-fasdha (tadjīr) are cited textually with quotations from verses composed in earlier periods (al-Muḥibbi, Khūlṣat al-aṭṭār fi ‘āyān al-kām al-bādī‘ asghār, Cairo 1383, ii, 396–7). On reading Mamlūk and Ottoman compositions, there is no justification for speaking of decadence or of lexicographical poetry. Admittedly, since the time of the Ayyubids there is a marked tendency among poets to engage in extravagant rhetorical games: the verses known as al-aḥyāt al-muḥādīḏūna, which can be read from beginning to end, but also from end to beginning, constitute, at best, a verbal prank and a tangible sign, perhaps the only one, of undeniable mastery of the language. Finally, poets were much fewer in number, as the culture itself had contracted and was upheld only in small and isolated enclaves. Looking to a past which it sought to safeguard and deprived of any regenerative element, it perpetuated a patently outdated discourse. At this time, poetry had lost its momentum and was evidently awaiting a change—which came with the Nahda [q.v.].

of the poem, in JAL, x (1979), 26-84; idem, The poet as body builder, in JAL, xii (1981), 1-29; Adonis, al-Qawwāl bi al-ʿabbād; on a passage from al-Hdtimi's Hilyat al-Shaykh al-ʿAbbās, in Leiden 1991; Abdulla el Tayib, Pre-Islamic poetry, in The Cambridge history of Arabic literature, i, Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period, Cambridge 1983, 27-38; Salma K. Jayyusi, Umayyad poetry, in ibid., 387-427; M. Ajami, The necks wors of winter; the controversy over natural and artificial poetry in medieval Arabic literary criticism, Leiden 1984; J.E. Montgomery, Dichotomy in JdhilT poetry, in JAL, xvii (1986), 1-29; Adonis, in: Arab wa 'l-Tandn, (b) The modern period. (A. ARAZI)

Poetry written in literary Arabic is considered among the Arabs as the most venerable and most sublime literary trend of Arabic literature. Hence colloquial poetry was excluded as a literary genre. Due to the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, under the impact of the West, some Arab poets tried to introduce new poetic diction, metaphors, themes and to find new forms and music which suited them, in order to be able to avoid what they considered the enslaving style, monomorphy and mononome, and the sonorous and declamatory tone of the classical Arab poetry.

Arab poets noticed that the most distinctive features in European poetry when compared with Arabic are the dramatic, narrative and epic poetry, which use stanzaic form and blank verse, while the most prominent trend in Arabic poetry is confined to the lyrical monomorphy ode (kaštīa [q.v.]). However, most of the Arab poets, mainly the neo-classicists of the second half of the 19th century, who were convinced of the richness of their language, agreed that rhyme is essential in Arabic poetry. It provides a musical effect and adds melody through the harmony of sound; it proves the ability of the poet and attracts attention; it adds dignity and helps in memorising the sequence of lines; it divides the poem into equal and parallel verses; it raises and satisfies the expectation of the listener; and it helps to make the verse more memorable and binds the lines together with one common bond.

The neo-classical trend emerged in an epoch when poets were still using the diction, style and poetic forms of the stagnation period in which the dominant social trend of poetry recorded happy and sad occasions, was composed with emphasis upon form and verbal play on words, spurious embellishment, paronomasia (tağnīs), plagiatism, alliterations, antithesis and different types of parallelism (synonymous, antithetical and climactic). Various types of pun were also used, with an emphasis upon form, such as verses in which all the words are without diacritical marks. Alternately, one word may bear the diacritical marks while the other words remain unmarked. It was also prevalent to use baghīr, i.e. to add to each verse of poetry and prose from the point of view of purity of language and rhetoric (Cheikho, ʿIm al-adab). The Arabic language is considered by the Arabs as the most "poetic language" (al-ṭūḥa al-ḥāṭima) created by God, a language admired by the Abrahamic monotheists, written in the Holy Qurʾān. Arabic acquired an aura of sanctity, stability and eternity. Thus the poetics of Arabic language should conform to the language of the Kurʾān and address itself to serious subjects. As such, a fundamental difference exists between Arabic and European poetics. The European understanding of poetics as a systematic science of literature, as art, as communication, as an expression of culture in history and as a personal creation, was a concept which was not rediscovered by Arab poets until the 20th century.

In fact, throughout the history of Arabic literature there are clear-cut definitions of poetry and prose, distinguishing one from the other, so as not to allow prose to be confused with poetry, though the former may have rhyme, rhythm, metaphor or any other poetical technical except metre and the intention to write poetry. The revolt against conventional Arabic metres reflects a problem within the process of development. Although poetry has in the recent years lost its prominence, nevertheless the problem of the rigid rules of Arabic metre which started at the beginning of the 20th century is still going on.

The science of literature (ʿilm al-adab) among the Arabs is defined as "the systematic science of literature that deals with language in the form of poetry and prose from the point of view of purity of language and rhetoric" (Cheikho, ʿIm al-adab). The Arabic language is considered by the Arabs as the most "poetic language" (al-ṭūḥa al-ḥāṭima) created by God, a language admired by the Abrahamic monotheists, written in the Holy Qurʾān. Arabic acquired an aura of sanctity, stability and eternity. Thus the poetics of Arabic language should conform to the language of the Kurʾān and address itself to serious subjects. As such, a fundamental difference exists between Arabic and European poetics. The European understanding of poetics as a systematic science of literature, as art, as communication, as an expression of culture in history and as a personal creation, was a concept which was not rediscovered by Arab poets until the 20th century.

In fact, throughout the history of Arabic literature there are clear-cut definitions of poetry and prose, distinguishing one from the other, so as not to allow prose to be confused with poetry, though the former may have rhyme, rhythm, metaphor or any other poetical technical except metre and the intention to write poetry. The revolt against conventional Arabic metres reflects a problem within the process of development. Although poetry has in the recent years lost its prominence, nevertheless the problem of the rigid rules of Arabic metre which started at the beginning of the 20th century is still going on.

The science of literature (ʿilm al-adab) among the Arabs is considered among the Arabs as the most venerable and most sublime literary trend of Arabic literature. Hence colloquial poetry was excluded as a literary genre. Due to the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, under the impact of the West, some Arab poets tried to introduce new poetic diction, metaphors, themes and to find new forms and music which suited them, in order to be able to avoid what they considered the enslaving style, monomorphy and mononome, and the sonorous and declamatory tone of the classical Arab poetry.

Arab poets noticed that the most distinctive features in European poetry when compared with Arabic are the dramatic, narrative and epic poetry, which use stanzaic form and blank verse, while the most prominent trend in Arabic poetry is confined to the lyrical monomorphy ode (kaštīa [q.v.]). However, most of the Arab poets, mainly the neo-classicists of the second half of the 19th century, who were convinced of the richness of their language, agreed that rhyme is essential in Arabic poetry. It provides a musical effect and adds melody through the harmony of sound; it proves the ability of the poet and attracts attention; it adds dignity and helps in memorising the sequence of lines; it divides the poem into equal and parallel verses; it raises and satisfies the expectation of the listener; and it helps to make the verse more memorable and binds the lines together with one common bond.

The neo-classical trend emerged in an epoch when poets were still using the diction, style and poetic forms of the stagnation period in which the dominant social trend of poetry recorded happy and sad occasions, was composed with emphasis upon form and verbal play on words, spurious embellishment, paronomasia (tağnīs), plagiatism, alliterations, antithesis and different types of parallelism (synonymous, antithetical and climactic). Various types of pun were also used, with an emphasis upon form, such as verses in which all the words are without diacritical marks. Alternately, one word may bear the diacritical marks while the other words remain unmarked. It was also prevalent to use baghīr, i.e. to add to each verse of
a well-known poem a second hemistich to its first hemistich and a first hemistich to the second one, padding its meaning and extending it. Many such poems end with a verse denoting the year of the event according to the numerical value (khāshā al-djumman [q.v.]) of the alphabetic letters of the last hemistich or verse. These forms in which the poet tries to show his wit and his ability to draw on the supply of classical methods stored in his memory, inventing new puns or tricks, transformed Arabic poetry into pseudo-classical poetry, into an intellectual game and an intelligent form of frivolous entertainment admired by the elite.

In the second half of the 19th century, a new generation of poets influenced by European poetry, strove to revive the classical kasta'da, its form, diction, metaphors and themes, after its decline to low levels of weak and pseudo-classical verse mentioned above. The revival of the conventional Arab ode by neo-classical poets began in Egypt and the Arab world when the revival of the Arab-Islamic heritage was considered the best response to the foreign, hostile and invading Christian European culture. The neo-classical trend began with Arab poets such as Nāṣīf al-Yāzdī (d. 1871 [q.v.]) in Lebanon and Māḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (d. 1914 [q.v.]) in Egypt. The form of the kasta'da ideally suited the poets who served the ruling courts, high government officials, influential families, the Arab national and social movements and the religious revival.

Although European literary critic theories began to show their initial influence, yet the conventional definition of poetry was the dominant one among Arab scholars and prosodists. Conservative poets and writers still dealt with the usual themes such as madīkh (panegyric), rīfā (legy), ghazal (erotic poetry), usāf (description), tahānī (congratulation) and served rulers and influential personalities. In this neo-classical Arab literature, Arab poets revived the rhetoric and declamatory style and the religious and fatalistic spirit of classical poetry. The new poets sought to emulate the conventions and the basic canons of poems through madīrada [q.v.] (imitation of an excellent classical poem using the same metre, rhyme and theme with the intention of surpassing it). This trend of platform poetry developed not only to serve rulers, religious and national revivals but also to emphasise national ideas by recalling the glorious and profound classical heritage.

When the Ottoman consul-general in Bordeaux, Rūḥī al-Khālidī [q.v.] compared the Ḳīn al-adāhab among the Arabs and the Europeans, he said in his monumental Ta'rīkh Ḳīn al-adāhab that European writers claim that Arab poets were interested in word-juggling and artificial embellishment with and without diacritical dots and in rhetorical devices, yet with no thought or fictional imagery. Moreover, these European writers say that the makānāt [q.v.] deal with deception, with erotic subjects directed towards males and with perverted love. To these accusations, they add that when great Arab poets and writers deal with the year of deep thoughts, they express them in an artificial and difficult language (2nd ed., 71-2).

Yet the neo-classical poets were proud to achieve the purity of diction, strength of texture, polished language, aristocratic tone, rhetorical devices considered as making up the only perfect and sublime poetry, expressive of the collective conscience and aesthetics of their religion and culture. Any other form or style was considered inferior or unsuitable for the "serious" subjects of traditional poetry. The neo-classical poets' identity and confidence in their culture were not shaken. They saw their achievement as a step toward the restoration of the magnificent Arabic heritage and its glorious past, and precisely for this reason, any attack upon neo-classical poetry by modernist Arab critics and poets was considered as an attack on Islam.

Modernist critics and poets sought to formulate new poetic theories by combining Arabic conventional poetic theories with modern European theories. Even in 1949, after the rise of three romantic schools in Arabic poetry, al-Rūbīta (1920-31) in the USA, al-Dhārūn (1921), and Apollio (1932-4) in Egypt and their new theories of poetic art, the Egyptian critic, Khālid al-Ghārī ("The poetic art") defined Arabic poetry as "speech versified according to the Arabic metres, with the intention of using metre, expressing sense and using rhyme". Earlier, numerous definitions were attempted, which the Lebanese-American romantic poet, writer and critic Mīkhā’il Nu‘aymā [q.v.] considered to be dull and inaccurate. Influenced by Russian poetics, especially by the critic V.G. Belinski (1811-60), he cautioned that, in addition to metre, rhyme, emotion and imagination, poetry should communicate pantheistic and metaphysical sensitivity. Such critics maintained that poetry, as established in classical Arabic literature, is the most artistic of all literary genres. Poetry employs language in a particular manner: it makes use of alliteration and onomatopoeia, and it is far more tolerant of metaphors and symbols than prose.

The new vision of the modernists rebelled against the neo-classical platform orator poets. In short, the elegant poet whose ambition was to become a laureate on the pay-roll of the ruler or of the Muslim religious endowments (a shalef). Modernists, in contrast, demanded from the poet independence in the humanist European tradition. The poet was now freed to depict his own life, emotions and thoughts as the subjects of his compositions. Unfortunately these poets and critics derived their deals haphazardly from heterogeneous European critical, scientific and philosophical theories, showing an indiscriminate fascination with all Western products in the context of their desperate quest for a theory of contemporary poetics that would explain the dichotomy between word and meaning, form and content.

The pioneer modernists calculated that, by adopting the forms and themes of Western poetry, a revolution in Arabic literature and a general change in the spirit of Arabic culture and poetry would ensue. Their objective was to attack the major neo-classical poets and establish their own new poetic movement. This struggle came to be known as the struggle between the old and the new (al-sīnī bayn al-ṣādiq wa l-ījījī). This resulted in the romantic trend in modern Arabic poetry, involving a vehement struggle on the part of the poet for freedom to express his own ideas and emotions and his own personal experience. In effect, the modernists denounced the neo-classical blind imitation of classical themes, such as the yearning for the place of the beloved, or the lamenting over the ruins of encampments, experiences which they had never themselves known.

Only during the second half of the 20th century, after the split in Arabic poetry into two distinct trends, have Arab poets and critics succeeded in formulating a completely new conception of Arabic poetic theories. Poetry is no longer defined in terms of its form, i.e. as speech in metre and rhyme. Rather, the evaluation is based on the poem's expressive value and its organic unity. The following themes have come to assume paramount
importance: humanistic trends, optimistic, psychological and rational undercurrents, and universal experience. The emphasis is now on thematic content; poetry becomes a vehicle for narrative, dramatic, epic and lyrical trends, and form is secondary. Form was liberated, into free verse (šīr hurr) in the sense of vers irregulier or the Cowleyan ode; blank verse (šīr mursal), employing conventional Arabic feet in unrhymed verses, or rhymeless verses of irregular number of feet; in poetic prose (šīr manžari), using the thought based upon repetition and parallelism; and even the prose poem (kālidat al-nahār) advocated by Adonis ('All Ahmad Sa'līd) in accordance with the French poème en prose.

For the Romantic Arab poets and critics, contrary to the classical view, the first criterion of poetic excellence is that poetry should contain human values and not only embellished language.

After the Second World War, the social-realistic trend in modern Arabic literature replaced the romantic trend. The poets of this trend acquired a common ideology and employed similar artistic techniques and diction, forming a literary school in the proper sense of the word. This school insisted on utilitarian values and practiced engaged or purposive literature. They formed an ideology consisting of a blend of socialism and existentialism, describing their new brand of literature as "realistic, optimistic and constructive literature". Committed literature was viewed by its practitioners as a revolt against romantic poetics, which they dismissed as emotional, metaphorical, pessimistic and destructive.

With the gradual decline of social, political, patriotic, national and descriptive trends in Arabic poetry during the mid-20th century and the success of the Romantic Arab poets in achieving harmony between form and content, a new trend arose. This was led by the Šīr's ("Poetry") magazine, established in Beirut in 1957 by Yāsīf al-Khāl and its theoretician the Syro-Lebanese poet Adonis. The group of poets who edited and supported the magazine dealt with the question of the dichotomy between the literary and colloquial Arabic, and gave it precedence over the question of words and meaning. They believed that language in poetry is not a means of expression but of creation. For the Šīr group, words were expected to suggest and inspire rather than express. In addition, the new poetry was to have a dominant metaphysical tendency; it should strive to go beneath the surface level to the deeper reality of the universe.

The argument of the new trend of post-modern poets is that political events cannot be the object of poetic interpretation but only of prosaic forms of literature. To love beauty teaches people to rebel against oppression; as such, didactic and socio-political poetry are superfluous. Poetry should reflect the personality, mentality and psychological mood of the poet, a particular self-image and a unique inner life. On the other hand, those who defend the obligation of the poet to his society are the proponents of a national literature which expresses itself in the social-realistic trend as well as by Western thinkers and critics from Plato and Aristotle to Rousseau, Darwin, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Renan, Sainte-Beuve, Auguste Comte, Bergson, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Sartr and Camus, as well as European and American poets from Shakespeare, Baudelaire, Eluard, Poe, Eliot, Blake, Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth and Whitman to Pasternak.

The influence of these thinkers and poets has gone beyond changing the form and content of modern Arabic poetry; they have also enabled Arabs to understand better their classical heritage. This point has been discussed by the defender of the poetics of Arab modernity, Adonis, who has admitted that "I did not discover this modernity in Arabic poetry from within the prevailing Arab cultural order and its systems of knowledge. It was reading Baudelaire which changed my understanding of Abu Nuwas and revealed his particular poetical quality and modernity, and [it was] Mallarme's work which explained to me the mysteries of Abû Tamâm's poetic language and the modern dimension in it. My reading of Rimbaud, Nerval and Breton led me to discover the poetry of the mystical writers in all its uniqueness and splendour, and the new French criticism gave me an indication of the newness of al-Juri'at's critical vision. I find no paradox in declaring that it was recent Western modernity which led me to discover our own, older, modernity outside our 'modern' politico-cultural system established on a Western model" (Adonis, An introduction to Arab poetics, 81).

As in the case with Western literature, modern Arabic poets use mythology, religious symbols, Greek and Eastern legends as well as Christian, Muslim and Hebraic symbols to communicate their new poetic vision. These symbols are employed even by practising Muslim poets and by formerly active Communists, who in this respect follow Boris Pasternak and other Russian poets. Eastern, and especially Syro-Phoenician, Babylonian and ancient Egyptian mythology and gods, have returned to the East through Western poetry.

These religious and mythological symbols are used in modern Arabic poetry not as expressions of religious experience, but in order to convey mental and physical states. Their main purpose is to communicate the psychological mood of the poet, who feels persecuted and alienated from his politically suppressive society. His efforts to reform his society and country are futile because of the military or semi-military regimes dominant in Arab countries. In this pessimistic context, most of the symbols used are tragic ones. Christ is the favourite symbol of the poet who sacrifices himself for his country and people. Other symbols connected with the Crucifixion are also used, such as Christ bearing the Cross, an image denoting
the long path of suffering through which the poet has to pass.

Already in 1965, these symbols provoked tremendous objections by official and the growing conservative circles in the Arab world who denounced that their duty was to guard the sacred and stable values of Muslim society. They argued that the destruction started by the new trends has encroached upon the Arabic language itself. Poetry, the art and glory of choice language, has a strong connection with the national spirit. Moreover, they have accused modern poets of allowing corrupting foreign elements to penetrate the Arab existence. Among these alien elements, they have warned, is the practice of incorporating ideas and symbols derived from non-Muslim religions. Some of these ideas had already been rejected by Islam, such as Original Sin, the Crucifixion and Redemption. Moreover, the poets have used the word ʾilāh “deity” in its original pagan sense. These attacks by official circles in the Arab world represent a serious blow and a severe setback to Arabic thought. These conservative arguments preceded the assassination of the Egyptian thinker Dr. Farag Fida, the attempt by Muslim fundamentalists in Egypt on the life of the Nobel Prize laureate of literature, Naguib Mahfuz in 1994, and the threat to assassinate the writer, thinker and philosopher Anis Mansur. On the other hand, poets such as Nizar Kabbani and Mahmud Darwish remained rather conservative in their political attitudes and in their use of metaphor and religious symbols.

Bibliography:

2. In Persian

In the introduction to Mārūn al-ṣūtan, a Persian textbook of prosody, is written in 649/1251-2, and ascribed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī, ʿdīr is said to be “imitative and measured speech” (kālm-i muḥkām-i muʿāzīn), according to the logicians, or speech “with measure and rhyme” (muʿāzīn-i muʿākāf) in popular usage. These definitions, which refer to the Aristotelian nāmsī as well as to the basic prosodical features, express a conformity to a concept of poetry commonly held in traditional Islamic civilization. This is rooted in the paradigmatic role assigned since early Islam to Arabic poetry and the formal rules governing that poetry. Persian classical poetry, the beginnings of which can be traced back to the 3rd/9th century, is the oldest example of the adaptation of an indigenous poetic tradition to the Arabic standards. Although several fragments of Persian poems, dating back as far as the 1st century A.H., are on record, until the 3rd century all lack the characteristics of metre and rhyme marking classical poems. They are remnants from the pre-Islamic poetry of Persia, which was already exclusively an oral art. The prosody of that tradition is still imperfectly understood, but it was undoubtedly very different from the classical standards, especially because of the absence of quantitative metres and regular rhyme. Persian critics of the Middle Ages refused to recognise anything as poetry that was not written according to these standards. ʾArūrī Kāys (q.v.) went as far as to state that prose was in all its aspects an invention of the Arabs to which the Persians had added nothing new (Mūdīlm, 68).

In modern times, the Indian scholar U.M. Daudpota still put much emphasis on the virtual identity of the two traditions. However, Hellmut Ritter, examining the aesthetic function of imagery in the poetry of Niẓāmī, found a fundamental difference in the prevalence of explicit poetic comparisons in Arabic poetry on the one hand, and a Persian preference for metaphorical expression on the other (Bildersprache, 13-21; see also Gehmässige, 16f). This immediate and flexible use of imagery provided Persian poetry with a maneristic idiom which for centuries dominated the literary language, both in poetry and in prose. Benedikt Reinert has clarified the complex relationship between Arabic and Persian poetry by pointing out that there was in fact an interplay of literary influences from both sides. The ʿIrākī phase in the history of Arabic poetry, when the muḥdātūn (q.v.) poets introduced rhetorical innovations and new genres into the tradition inherited from the Dābhīyya, was the immediate ancestor of Persian poetry, but was itself influenced by Middle Persian forms of poetry. Features favoured in particular by the Persian poets were, among others, the use of the rāḏī rhyme, a strict application of the quantitative principle in Persian metrics, a different structure of poetical comparisons, an excessive use of hyperbole, the introduction of the heroic and didactic genres and the description of nature as a theme for the rāḏī (Probeta, see esp. 72-82).
Writers on various aspects of literature have left statements about the values attached to poetry in Persian culture. Kay Kāwīs [q.v.], the author of the oldest Persian Mirror for Princes, classified poetry among the intellectual pursuits, warming at the same time against difficult poetry which would be in need of a commentary and could therefore fail to speak directly to those for whom it was written (Kalābī-nāma, 187). Being concerned in particular with the usefulness of poetry to a ruler, Niẓāmī Arfūtī [q.v.] pointed to the catharsis which could be effected by poetry, for instance in politics, as well as to the publicity value with which the poet situated himself. Niẓāmī used the mighty weapon of the tragic drama to carry his moral considerations to his readers. Thus he literally expanded poetry beyond its original verbal form and became the creator of the modern form of the Persian tragedy, the mathnawi. As an extension of the classical epic, the novel, it combined the prosody of the earlier forms with the novellistic form of the earlier oral traditions. Poetry was transformed into a medium for modern social and moral criticism by Parsīn Ptisamf (1906-41 [q.v.]). The impact of Western poetry, which has been a frequent subject of discussion, is the long and intricate introduction which Nizamf (1906-41 [q.v.]) provided one of the most important justifications for traditional court poetry. In rhetorical textbooks, the practical advantage of a critical knowledge of poetry was emphasised for any one who was concerned with composition, including especially official scribes, because the stylistic convention prescribed the embellishment of prose by means of poetic insertions.

More fundamental are the attempts to establish the metaphysical status of poetry by emphasising its connection with human speech and logic. Such considerations are to be found too in more or less obligatory introductions to anthologies, e.g. of 'Awhīt's Lūhāb al-albāh and Dawlatshāh's Tadhkirat al-sūkhāra'. Speech (makhfūn) constitutes God's special gift to mankind, by which the human species is distinguished from all other living beings. On account of its privileged relationship to the capacity of speech, the writing of poetry belongs to the highest pursuits of the soul. Poets also frequently express their views on this particular aspect of their art. Passages on the relationship between speech or logic, and poetry have found their place among the subjects treated in the introductions of mathnawī poems. A remarkable specimen is the long and intricate introduction which Niẓāmī Gandjāwī [q.v.] added to the dedication of his didactic poem Makhfūz al-asrār. Defending the originality of his work, he makes use of the allegory of a spiritual journey in search of the inspiration which only the poet's own heart can provide. Poetry is related to the logus but also to the Divine word of revelation; the latter association gives the poet a spiritual status close to that of the prophets. Niẓāmī also points out that poetry is an immaterial art, in spite of the fact that it uses all the elements of the cosmos as the raw material for its imagery (Makhfūz al-asrār, ed. A.A. Alizade, Baku 1960, sections xii-xviii).

Such a high opinion of poetry could not fail to lead to a discussion about the possibility of the "mercenary" panegyrics of the court poets. This question became particularly acute since the 6th/12th century, when Persian poetry came to be used more and more for religious purposes. Sanātī [q.v.] reduced the conflict between his calling as a homiletic poet and subsequently a preacher to the form of the "Law" (gharî) and "poetry" (šīr). Farīd al-Dīn Āṭār [q.v.], claiming the rightful use of poetry by the mystics, harmonised the opposition implied in Sanātī's word play by adding a third term, viz. "the (heavenly) throne" (farāh), symbolising the goal of the mystical search, which in his view sprang from the same source as literary art and the obedience to the Law of Islam, just as the three words shared the same letters (Masūbat-nāma, 46-7).

By then, poetry was firmly established as a medium for the expression of mystical experience and religious and ethical instruction. Remarkable for this development were the greater importance of the ghazal [q.v.], and of the didactical mathnawi [q.v.], which became enriched by the often intricate use of narrative elements. The scope for secular epics became restricted, except on the level of popular literature. The panegyrical khāida, as well as the stanzic poems, were used for other purposes, most particularly to religious interests such as didacticism, religious hymns and elegies on the Shi'i martyrs. The dichotomy between court and religion is only a simplified model of the actual situation. There was an exchange of motives and themes, going into both directions, which gave Persian poetry the ambiguity which became one of its most fascinating features.

According to many modern critics, Persian poetry reached its culmination point in the 8th/14th century, especially with Hāfīz, who then ceased to develop any further. During the Timūrid period, a decline already began, marked by the mere imitation of earlier poets and an empty display of rhetorical virtuosity. Under the Safawīs [see SAFAWĪS. III. Literature], there was a brief and limited revival of creativity, exemplified especially in the 16th century by the stylistic fashion of wadāt-šīrī, and subsequently by the rise of the sabk-i Hindī [q.v.]. In Persia, the Indian style was not long accepted as an avenue to escape from the impasse, though it produced at least one generally recognized master in the poet Șāhī [q.v.]. About the middle of the 18th century, a reaction to the Indian style, afterwards styled the "literary return" (bīzāq-e adāhī), took the form of a neoclassicism which continued to dominate poetry until the 20th century. This revival was founded on the early court poetry, which was admired for its harmony, natural grace and simplicity. Nearly all poetry written in the Kadżar period is at best a clever imitation of poetry produced at the courts of the Sāmānīs, Ghaznavīs and Salţānās.

In the first decade of this century, the Constitutional Revolution (inšāltk-i madżhrūta) again challenged the inventiveness of Persian poets. The novelty of the madżhrūta poetry consisted mainly in the introduction of new subjects, derived from current events, and in an attitude of engagement towards society, both of which had been virtually unknown to the classical tradition. Formal innovation was still only incidental to the main concern with contents, but a few experiments with prosody can be noticed, e.g. the choice of new rhyme schemes by Dibkhūdā (1879-1956) and Bahār's [q.v.] use of uncommon variations of the stanzaic poems, like the musātāzād, an extension of the classical masūbatnā. More interesting was the turn towards forms hitherto restricted to oral poetry: both 'Ārif [q.v., in Suppl.] and Bahār recognised the effectiveness of the tajṣīf, a ballad already in use for popular comments on political events, to reach mass audiences during public performances of poetry and music. The strength of the tradition showed itself not only in the overall tendency to stick to the timeworn vocabulary and imagery, but also in attempts to provide individual poems from the past with a topical meaning. A striking example is the treatment of Khaŋīnī's famous khāida on the ruins of the Sāmānī palace at Ctesiphon as a symbol of the modern longing for the rebirth of vanished greatness. Muḥammad Ridā 'Iākī [1893-1924 [q.v., in Suppl.] chose Ctesiphon as the setting for his poems Rastākhīz-i salātīn-i Irān and Kafān-i syāb, written in the novel form of musical drama. In an ode on the Communist Revolution, Lahūtī (1887-1957 [q.v.]) transferred this theme to the Kremlin. The form of the strophe poem (munāzara), used by Asādī (11th century), was transformed into a medium for modern social and moral criticism by Parvīn Pūšāmī (1906-41 [q.v.]).

The impact of Western poetry, which has been
instrumental in the process of literary modernisation in all non-Western cultures, made itself felt comparatively late in Persia. Debates between the proponents of change and the defenders of traditional poetry (arūd-i rana'ī) went on until after the Second World War, although the first signs of Western influence can already be noticed in the early 1920s. Among the first to turn to Western models were 'Abbās, with his musical dramas, and Idrād Mīrzā (1878-1942), whose Zahrā' u Manāşıh was an imitation of Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis. The allegorical narrative Afšāna (1922) is in retrospect seen as a landmark in the development of modern poetry, although the poet Nīmā Yū'hād (q.v.) did not yet depart much from traditional prosody. More important are the atmosphere, which reminds one of French romantic poetry of the 19th century, the realistic descriptions of nature and the reflections on the future of Persian poetry in the discussions of the poet and his muse. In the following decades, Nīmā began to question the principles of classical Persian verse. He rejected its isometric lines and tight rhyme schemes as unsuitable for contemporary poetry, because they forced the poet to use superfluous words in order to fill empty spaces in prescribed patterns and thereby limited his creative freedom. Instead, metre and rhyme should be subservient to poetic expression. In his "broken meters" (arūd-i ḥiḵasta), the ancient metrical feet can still be recognised, but their number in each line varies according to the expressive needs of the poet. Rhyme also was freed from its formal rigidity; this opened the possibility for various kinds of irregular rhymes as well as for blank verse. Even more radical were Nīmā's experiments with a new poetic imagery which equally inspired by modern literary trends in the West, notably by surrealism.

For a long time, Nīmā remained a more or less isolated and controversial pioneer. Only ca. 1950 did a number of young poets accept his ideas as the basis of a modern Persian poetry. Starting from the nucleus of his fundamental rules, they developed themselves into various directions. The most radical innovator among them was Ahmad Šāhīnī, who also broke through the barrier which had always divided the language of written poetry from spoken Persian. The debate between the modernists and the defenders of the tradition gradually lost most of its heat. Although prominent poets like Shahriyar (q.v.), did not yet depart much from traditional prosody, lost its frame of reference. The roots of a search for new forms and expressions, which could make a meaningful use of the ancient forms, by the 1960s the new poetry had become generally accepted.

The political events in Persia after 1941 affected poetry as much as the Constitutional Revolution had done this. Political and social engagement (wa'ahud) became again an avowed task of poetry, although political oppression and censure did not leave a very large scope for the expression thereof. External conditions often forced poets into opaque symbolism. However, the desire to be in line with international trends of modern poetry also gave much modern Persian poetry an obscurity which made it difficult to understand for readers who were still attached to the poetic idiom of the past.

The process of poetic modernisation fostered the rise of literary criticism on a scale which Persia had not known before. Nīmā's own theories were expounded in private letters and scattered articles which were only recently collected and published by Šīrūs Tāḥbāz. To most critics, they constitute the basics of their own evaluation of modern poetry.


3. In Turkish.

A. The pre-Ottoman period [see OTTOMANYI. III. (a); TURKS. Literature].

B. The Ottoman period [see OTTOMANYI. III. (a), (b), (c)].

C. The Republican period.

When the Ottoman Empire dissolved, the over-ornate Divān poetry of the élite, written in arūd [q.v.] using Ottoman Turkish, lost its frame of reference. Republican values envisaged that the literature should go to the people and reflect their lives and values using their language, i.e. spoken Turkish. Although the roots of a search for new forms and expressions for a wider audience go back to the Tanzamāt period (mid-19th century), it was during the War of Independence and after the declaration of the Republic (1923) that Turkish intellectuals moved outside Istanbul to acquire a first-hand experience of Turkey and its people. For the poets, the Anatolian village, the folk poetry in spirit and form (its traditional syllabic metre and various poetic forms) and the wealth of folk traditions which had been so far neglected, now became major sources of inspiration as well as providing vast amount of subject-matter. Divān poetry and arūd did not vanish immediately after the Republic; in fact, its influence can be traced even in contemporary poets in a synthesised form. Ahmet Haşim (1885-1933), Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936) and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884-1958) continued to write in arūd after the 20th. Atilla İhvan (1925-), Edip Cansever (1928-85), and Behçet Necatigil (1916-79) make use of the Divān style, but without arūd, in their works. Beginning with the Tanzamāt period, and during the early years of the Republic, it was the French poetic tradition which inspired the Turkish poets, e.g. Beyatlı was...
under the influence of the Parnassians, and Ahmet Haşim (1848-1933) of Symbolism. One way of looking at modern Turkish poetry is by decades, although the time span is short and the same poets will have continued to write in the next decade, possibly with a change in style.

a. 1923-38. This was the decade when excitement about the new state and the newly-discovered populism and nationalism was deeply felt. The poets of the old school, such as Abdullah Hamid Tarhan (1852-1937), Ahmet Haşim, Yahya Kemal Beyath, Celâl Sahîr Erozân (1883-1933), and Mehmet Akif Ersoy [see MEHMET AKIF] continued to write, usually with 'râ'îdî' but using a purer Turkish than before. Beyath lauded the magnificence of the Ottoman Empire and the pain of losing it, as expressed in "The Open Sea":

While my childhood passed in Balkan cities./There burned in me a longing like a flame./In my heart the melancholy that Byron knew./

Haşim, the Symbolist, talked of spiritual exile, and declared "We ignore the generation which has no sense of the ancestral; these new poets were to influence the coming generations more than any of the other poets of the era. Ersoy, writer of the lyrics of the Turkish national anthem, adapted 'râ'îdî' to spoken Turkish masterfully and his use of the style of the Islamic âyetula created a most original effect. His poetry was heroic, didactic, idealistic, preaching purity of the soul, and his elegy "For the Fallen at Gallipoli" is one of the most famous poems of the period:

Solder, you who have fallen for this earth/Your fathers may well lean down from heaven to kiss your brow./You are great, for your blood saves the True Faith./Only the heroes of Bâdîr are your equals in glory./

For the populist/nationalist poets of the period, inspired by folk poetry, Ziya Gûkalp (1876-1924) [see GOKALP, Ziya], and Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (1869-1941) [see MEHMET EMIN] are the best examples, didactic in tone and close to folk poetry in form. Faruk Nafiz Camlibel (1896-1973) [see CAMLIBEL, in Suppl.] wrote about Anatolia and its people with the eyes of an urban intellectual observing the rural scene for the first time. Halit Fahri Ozansoy (1891-1971), Orhan Seyfi Orhon (1890-1972) [see ORHAN SEYFI], Yusuf Ziya Ortaç (1913-1975) [see ORTAÇ, YUSUF DIVA], Enis Beliç Koryûrek (1891-1949) [see KORYUREK], Cahit Kûlebi (1917-) and Ceyhan Ûfûn Kansu (1919-78) began to write also during this period. Most of these poets were teacher-poets. Through the Halkiev or "People's House" [see KHALKEVI] and its publication, they were able to disseminate their ideas and poems, and an interest in folk culture became popular among the masses through them. A painter and a poet, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu (1913-75) [see EYYUBOGLU, in Suppl.], not only used the folk poetry tradition but also depicted the colours and the art of Anatolia using words. Some of these poems were more didactic than others; e.g. Beliç Kemal Çağlar (1908-69) dedicated his poetry to the love of Ataturk and the Republican ideals. The poets painfully observed the wretched economic and social condition of Anatolia, and some perceived the Russian Revolution as a new source of hope. This brings Nazım Hikmet (1902-63) [see NAZIM HIKMET] to mind. Under the influence of Mayakovski in his earlier poems, he launched his free verse and, although he also wrote sensitive and tender love poetry, he is better known by his poems of revolution. In the "Epic of Seyh Bedrettin"; using modern verse, he united, with great skill, the traditions of Divâne poetry and folk literature:

It was hot/very hot./The heat was a knife with a bloody handle/and a dull blade./It was hot./The clouds were loaded/ready to burst/to burst right away./Without moving, he looked down/from the rocks/hi eyes, like two eagles, descended on the plain./There/the softest and the hardest/the stignonst and the most generous/the most loving/the greatest and loveliest woman/the EARTH/was about to give birth/to give birth right away."

The era was not dominated only by Nazım Hikmet; there was also much diversity. While Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1905-83) used religious and mystical themes, a group of young poets believing in art for art's sake gathered their poems into a book called Yedi meşale "The Seven Torches" (1928). These were Muammer Lütfi (1903-47), Sabri Esat Siyavuşoğlu (1907-68), Yaşar Nâbiyar (1908-81), Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk (1907-61), Ceveddet Kudret Solok (1907-) and Ziya Osman Saba (1910-57). They asserted that they were tired of the current state of poetry and sought new ways, but on close reading, they are clearly under the influence of Parnassianism, and the movement was in any case short-lived. Their contemporaries were Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-62), Ahmet Muhihip Daras (1909-80), both students of Yahya Kemal, who wrote under the influence of Haşim and Valâry, whilst Ahmet Kutü Tecer (1901-67) wrote in traditional syllabic metre in stanzaic form expressing gentler sensibilities and Câhid Şeker Taşancı (1910-56) achieved popularity with his sincere love of humanity and celebration of life.

b. 1940-60. Politically, the early part of the period was marked by the move from a single-party system to pluralistic democracy and liberalisation, whereas the second part is marked by the crises of democracy and military intervention. In poetry, the 1940s bring to mind firstly the Garip "Strange" or Birinci Yeni "First New" movement. Orhan Veli Kanak (1914-50) [q.v.], Oktay Rifat Horozcu (1914-80) [see OKTAY, Rifat] and Melih Cevdet Anday (1915-) caused a literary upheaval when they published their poems in a book called Garip in 1941. In this they called for abandoning everything that Turkish literature had so far been teaching, including conventional rigid forms and metres. They asked for less rhyme and for a language reduced to a bare minimum, and an avoidance of metaphors and word plays; instead, their theme would be to celebrate the common man and their aim to write for him. Kanak's poem "Epitaph", which talks about the corns of Süleyman Efendi, is a good example. There was little room for sentimentality, but the love and joy of life were always there, mixed with a sinister sense of humour and poetic reality; his "For the Homeland", often recited even today, is one such poem:

All the things we did for our country/Some of us died/Some of us gave speeches./

Oktay Rifat caught the underlying political desperation of his contemporaries in his "Under-developed".

To fall behind; in science, in art, leafless/Unflowering in the spring; an aching star/Imprinted on the forehead.

But Kanak died young, and the other members of the group were to leave it in the 1950s. This latter decade in Turkey saw the liberalisation of political life. There was a growing middle class which did not care too much for poetry; the beginnings of industrialisation (with all its pain) and emigration to the
big cities caused complex socio-economic changes. The Garip movement in poetry had outlived its time, and its followers had by now turned to other more personal styles: Rifat took up Neo-Surrealism, and Anday began to write in an epic style, intellectually complex poetry. Some of the poets of the period grew tired of the “poetic realism” which had become fashionable with the Garip movement. Salah Birsel (1919-) wrote:

Take “Love for Mankind” as your topic/And free verse as your prosody./Relevant or not,/Whenever it occurs to you,/Insert the word “Hunger”/At a convenient spot./Near the end of the poem/Rhyme “Strife” with “the Right to Good life”/There, that’s the way to become A Great Poet.

More organised reaction to the Garip came in the form of the İlanca Teniler “Second New” movement (1955-65), which advocated “art for innovation’s sake”. In the 1960s, a monthly review called Papatris edited by Cemal Süreyya (1931-90) brought the proponents of this together; İlhan Berk (1916-), Cemal Süreyya, Turgut Uyar (1927-85) and Edip Cansever (1928-86) are the better-known poets of this movement. They tried their hands at new rhythms and more modern imagery, with distortion of language to the degree of meaninglessness as their mark. They tried to recover the poetic qualities banished by the Garip poets, but they were neither elitist nor anti-populist; on the contrary, they tried to depict the experiences of the individual in the city. They were esoteric, individualistic and metaphysical. Thus Cemal Süreyya is witty, subtle and full of clever imagery, with love, understanding, warmth and irony as the major features in his works:

The clock chimed like a Chinese jar./Bending my brim hat over my misery./Out of my white insomnia, L/Exiled to your face,/You woman,/You were in every secret corner,/Your shadow netted on the dark street,/(from “Country”)

Edip Cansever, influenced by T.S. Eliot, told of the alienated man in an urban setting; Ece Ayhan (1931-) was obscure in his prose poems about history and the beloved’s neglect of him, each poem consisting of two hemistiches of two lines each, with the same rhyme. The rhyme was also established in the first hemistich of the first verse. In some ghazals, the beloved might be God, whilst when this

During the 1950s, the proponents of classical Turkish poetry formed a circle around the journal Huar (ran until the 1980s), with such prominent names involved in it as Munis Faik Ozansoy (1911-75), Orhan Seyfi Orhon and Mehmet Çınar (1925-).

The forms and techniques of the poetry were based of two hemistiches [mi'raj], each second one having the same rhyme. The rhyme was also established in the first hemistich of the first verse. In some ghazals, the beloved might be God, whilst when this...
beloved was human, it might be masculine rather than feminine.

There were other forms of monorhyme poetry, the most important being kaṭda [q.v.] or eulogy, and satire or ḥaḍr [q.v.]. There were various types of stanzaic poetry, the simplest, used for longer narrative poems, being mahfasat [q.v.] in rhymed couples. Elegy (martiya [q.v.]) was at first in verses of four, then later six, hemistiches. In addition, mention should be made of short poems (ki’ta, pl. ki’tθ), consisting of as few as one or two verses. These might, for example, serve as chronograms, giving birth or death dates of famous men in Arabic letters instead of numbers.

Authoritative critical and analytical works about poetry in Urdu did not appear until the 19th century. By this time, the so-called Dihli school of Urdu poetry, which owed its origin to Wall, was on the decline. Political instability, due to Afghan and Maratha incursions, had made the capital of the Mughal Empire a difficult place of residence, and poets gravitated to Lucknow. India fell increasingly under the control of the British, through their East India Company. This control was strengthened by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Education followed British criteria. This affected the ‘Alligarh Movement led by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan [q.v.]. Among the major influences on Urdu poetry were loosening of the stranglehold of ghazal and of Persian influence, and the rise of literary criticism. As Muhammad Sadiq says (op. cit. in Bibl., 269 ff.), the Mukaddama-yi-ghar-i-gaθiri by Alaf Husayn Hali “Marks the dawn of historical and scientific criticism in Urdu ... it is the first formal treatise on poetry in Urdu.” Hali saw poetry as a civilising instrument instilling morality. Its degeneration in the East was due largely to political reasons. Despotism killed sincerity and encouraged exaggeration. To end this decadence, poetry should not only be subordinate to morality but should also eschew the supernatural and follow reality. Hali refers to English, Persian and Arabic as well as to Urdu poetry. He aimed to commend poetry to the parochial middle classes who were highly suspicious of it. He was himself a poet; he did not only live up to this, but in his Musaddas (a long poem subtitled “The flow and ebb of Islam”, in stanzas of six hemistiches) he found a theme worthy of his genius.

A second major study of Urdu poetry is Ab-i-ḥayāt, by Muhammad Husayn Azad (1830-1910) (see Sadiq, 288 ff.). But much of our information about Urdu poets comes from a literary form called tadhkira [q.v.]; that is, short notes on a number of poets illustrated by short quotations. In the earlier examples, the biographical information tended to be in Persian.

The popularity of poetry was both illustrated and stimulated by the social institution of the maḥfāṣa [q.v.]. This took the form of a meeting of poets who would recite their poems in rivalry—not unlike that of the mediaeval German Minnesingers. These played a major role in the emergence in Lucknow in the mid-19th century of the martiya of Anis and Dabir [q.v.] as rivals to ghazals in popularity.

This article is not intended to be a history of Urdu poetry. For this, reference should be made to the two general works by Muhammad Sadiq, and Ram Babu Śaksena in the Bibl., and to the individual articles on poetical forms and individual poets in this Encyclopaedia. As with modern Arabic poetry, one sees classical traditions modified by Western notions. Those notions in Urdu came largely from English, though occasionally from Russian and (in the case of Iḥbāl) German. Until the present century, it was quite common for poets to produce Persian divāns as well as Urdu ones—not infrequently as copious as or even more copious than their Urdu divāns. This applied to Ḥalil (1797-1919 [q.v.]), considered by many as the last of the great classical Urdu poets, but it also applies to Muhammad Iḥbāl (1873-1938 [q.v.]), the “national poet of Pakistan.”

Bibliography: Muhammad Sadiq, A History of Urdu literature, London 1964, is a mine of information on the subject, often unrivalled in the analysis and discussion of important aspects. Examples are his accounts of Wall, Hali and Azad. Particularly helpful are the numerous Urdu quotations, with English translations. Unfortunately, these are lacking in the other major study, Ram Babu Śaksena, A History of Urdu literature, Allahabad 1927. For a general account in Urdu, see ‘Ībadat Brelwī, Shā’irī awr ghar-i-tānkī. For the tadhkira, see Fārnām Fathpūrī, Urdu ḡafar-i-tadhkīrī awr tadhkīrī nigārī, Lahore 1972. Among the many editions of Hali’s Mukaddama-yi-ghar-i-gaθiri, one may mention that edited by Wajid Kūrštāh, Lahore 1953. Azad’s Ab-i-ḥayāṭ was first published in 1881, but made no mention of the important poet Muḥmān (1864-1947); consequently, a later edition should be used.

(J. A. HAYWOOD)

5. In Malay and in Indonesia [see Suppl.].
6. In Swahili [see swahlī 2. Literature].
7. In Hausa.

Hausa wakālī includes all forms of song, including a number of categories borrowed from Classical Arabic literature. The most important of these are: madahā (< madath, madath, or sometimes borenu snwahi, basically “pleading with the Prophet”; waθiz (< waθiθ “warning, admonition”), which dwells on the torments of Hell Fire for the wicked and the joys of Paradise for the believer; waθokīn tawṣu’i or waθokīn najmāni, astrological verse, dealing with the Zodiac and other astronomical and astrological matters; waθokīn tawhīl (< tawhīl), which sets out the essentials of Islamic theology; and waθokīn ḍūθ, dealing with Islamic law. These categories are, however, only approximate, and there is much overlapping; thus waθiz’i verse may include material pertaining to tawḥīl or even madahā.

For a fuller treatment, and for bibliography, see hausu. iii. Literature. (M. HISCKETT)

SHIRĀ’(‘), verbal noun of the root sh-r-y, a technical term of early Islamic religion and, more generally, of Islamic commercial practice and law. The word appears to be one of the addād [q.v.], words with opposing meanings, in this case, buying and selling; the basic meaning must be to exchange or barter goods.

Early theological usage was based on such Kur’ānic texts as II, 203/207, “Amongst the people is the one who sells (yashri’) himself, desiring God’s approval (or: to satisfy God)”; II, 15/16, “These are those who have purchased (ishara) error for right guidance/bartered guidance for error”; and XII, 20, “They sold him (yasmahan, sc. Joseph) for a low price”. The subhā of II, 203/207, is said by Ibn Kāğır (Tafīr, Bejrut 1987, i, 254), from Ibn ’Abbās, to have been when the Companion Šuhab al-Rūmī lost his wealth by making the ḥadhira to Medīna, and the Prophet told him that he had in fact gained a profit. Al-Ḥārīf (Maḥālīl al-ilmāmīyin, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929, i, 102) reports that the leader of the Haṣīfya sub-section of the Iḥbā’ī sect of the Kḥārījītes, Haṣī b. Abī Mūsalām (see ṭarīqyya, at vol. III, 660a), interpreted the verse as referring to the assassin of ’Alī, Ibn Muṣläm [q.v.].
Thus this concept became especially associated with the Kharidjites [q.v.], who interpreted the Kur'anic references as applying to the Kharidjite believers who sacrificed their lives in opposing an unjust ruler and thereby “purified” the world. According to the(context given in parentheses refers to the grazing of the new year (cf. van der Waerden, 11 ff.). In Hellenistic times there developed a genre of and the subject (mahall al-akhd) of both bay' and shira, is covered by the maxim that applies to all contracts of exchanges, i.e. what is prohibited to take is prohibited to give. shira appears to be discussed, as an identified issue, when it can lead to a prohibited transaction. To avoid it unless it is in the form of by the maxim that applies to all contracts of exchange. The origin and the meaning of the name are debated; while some scholars, less probably, assume a derivation of al-shir'a from the star’s Greek name Ie(pio<; it is well known that Sirius (“Sothis”) was of special importance in ancient Egypt; its heliacal rising indicated the rise of the Nile and determined the beginning of the new year (apparent magnitude -1.46). The rights of the murabaha appear to be well taken care of in Islamic law under the institution of hibah [q.v.]. However, it seems to be more protected by hibah before the contract than after it. If the item is purchased and then appears to be fraudulent, then the dispute can only be settled in court on the ground of ghair or ghishsh in the same way as any other contract.


[M.Y. IZDI DEEN]

—AL-SHFRA—

AL-SHIRÅ’ [fem., with alifs makhzoun], the old Arabic name for Sirius (a Canis Majoris), the brightest fixed star in the sky (apparent magnitude -1.46). Sirius as “he who buys”, whether with a designated buyer or without, since “any” buyer can fit the category. The rights of the mughāri appear to be well taken care of in Islamic law under the institution of hibah [q.v.]. However, it seems to be more protected by hibah before the contract than after it. If the item is purchased and then appears to be fraudulent, then the dispute can only be settled in court on the ground of ghair or ghishsh in the same way as any other contract.


[M.Y. IZDI DEEN]

AL-SHIRÅ’ [fem., with alifs makhzoun], the old Arabic name for Sirius (a Canis Majoris), the brightest fixed star in the sky (apparent magnitude -1.46).
astrological and astrometeorological literature describing weather prediction and other prophecies related to the heliacal rising of Sirius, partly in connection with observations of the Moon (cf. Gundel, index s.v. Sirius, Sothis). In the course of the transmission of the ancient sciences to the Arabs, texts of this kind also reached the Islamic world and are now found in numerous manuscripts, often ascribed to such authors-as hermes as Poitev in; one such treatise was also written by the famous Egyptian astronaut Ibn Yunus, d. 399/1009 (see Sezgin, G4, vii, 54, 67, 173, 199, 312, 317; Fahd, 488-9, 494; Ullmann, 284, 291). An index of the treatises is also found in the “awrâb” book of Ibn Masāwiyah, d. 243/857 (K. al-Azimin, ed. P. B. Smith, in BIE, xv (1933), 235 ff., esp. 254, ll. 3-8 + tr. G. Troupeau, in Arabic, xv (1968), 113 ff., esp. 122, on 19 July).


SHIRAWAYH, Abū Suna‘b  b. SHIRAWAYH b. Shahradār b. SHIRAWAYH b. Fannakhusru al-Daylam (b. Hamadhan 445/1053, d. 509/1115), traditionist and historian. His father, his son Shahradār and his grandson Abū ‘l-Qanā‘î  b. Shirawayh were all scholars and traditionists of great emi- tution (Subkt, Tabākit, vi, 193). Abū Shrubād  pursued his studies as a pupil of the greatest masters of the period, in particular: Abū ‘l-Faḍl Muhammad al-Kūmasan, Yusuf b. Muhammad al-Mustamī and Ahmad b. ‘Isa al-Dīnwarf. Having acquired a sound and thorough education, especially in jurisprudence (fiqh), in tradition (hadith) and in history, he devoted himself to teaching in the madrasa of Hamadhan. He was then tutor to numerous pupils, including his son Shahradār, Muhammad b. Abū ‘l-Faḍl al-Isfara‘īnī and Abū Mūsā al-Madlni who, in their turn, became eminent traditionists (Subkt, op. cit.). Shirawayh died on 9 Radjab 509/29 Novem- ber 1115 (op. cit.) at 64 years of age.

He composed numerous monographs, most of which no longer exist, such as his Ta‘rīkh Hamadhan ("History of Hamadhan") to which he owed his reputation among his contemporaries. Unfortunately, no information is currently available regarding this book. Fortunately, however, three other works of his, of hadith and of history, have been preserved; numerous manuscripts, as yet unedited, are kept in various libraries (see Brockelmann, 1, 419-20, S I, 586):

1. The Ferdows al-akhbār bi ma‘thir al-akhbār al-mukharrad min al-Firdaws, in four scripts of this work, which comprises 86 leaves, has been preserved. It is subdivided into chap- ters arranged in alphabetical order (Bāb al-‘ālîf, Bāb al-‘ālīf, Bāb al-‘ālīf, Bāb al-‘ālīf). Later tradition- ists followed his example; al-Suyūtī (d. 911/1505 [q.e.]), among others, adopted the same method of classification in his Dhīmī al-saghir (cf. Hadījī al-Khalīfa, Kushtī, ii, 1254). In numerous instances, the Ferdows of Abū Shrubād  has been annotated, supplemented or summar- ised. His son Shahradār (d. 558/1162) enriched it with a supplement, the Musnad al-Firdaws, in four volumes, where he assembled 558 chains of trans- mission (iṣnad) used by his father (Râmpür, no. 359). A certain ‘All b. Abī l-Kāsīm b. ‘All composed a summary of it entitled Bustân al-mustakhrajāt min al-Firdaws ("The Garden") extract from the Firdaws), containing himself with only 1,140 traditions. An abbreviated manuscript of this book is to be found in the Algiers Library (no. 496). Numerous manu- scripts of the Firdaws of Shirawayh are still preserved in several libraries, especially in Cairo, Râmpür, Berlin (cf. Brockelmann, loc. cit.). (2) Râyd al-dīn b. ‘l-‘alī b. ‘l-Makhluk al-Musnad al-Firdaws, in several libraries, especially in Cairo, Râmpür, Berlin. (3) Nazāt al-akhbār fi makārik al-akhbār ("Survey of ethics"). This also constitutes a small collection of tra- ditions. Like the Firdaws, it is subdivided into chapters arranged in alphabetical order; it seems that only one manuscript is still in existence.


SHIRAZ, which has the title dâr al-‘ilm, the capital of the province of Fârs, is an Islamic founda- tion, on a continually inhabited site, which may go back to Sâsâni, or possibly earlier, times. It was probably founded, or restored, by Muhammad the brother of Hadîjî al-Khalîfa, Yusuf, or by his cousin Muhammad b. Al-Kâsim, in 74/693 (A.J. Arberry, Shiraz, Persian city of saints and poets, Norman, Okla. 1960, 31). It is situated at 5,000 ft. above sea level in 29° 36' N. and 32° 32' E. at the western
end of a large basin some 80 miles long and up to 15 miles wide, though less in the vicinity of Shiraz. A river bed, which is dry for most of the year, bounds the northern part of the city and runs southeastwards towards Lake Māhalū (J.L. Clarke, The Iranian city of Shiraz, University of Durham, Department of Geography Research Papers series no. 7, 1963, 8).

According to Mustawfī, there were eighteen villages, irrigated by kanāts, in the surrounding district (baṣma) of Shirāz, which belonged to the city (Nāzhāt al-baltāb, ed. and tr. Le Strange, text, 116). A network of roads radiates from Shirāz (see Le Strange, Lands, 195-8). It is approached on the south from the Persian Gulf through high mountain passes, and on the north through a series of hills which separate it from the plain of Marvdasht. Its water supply comes mainly from kanāts, of which the most famous is that of Rūḵnābād (q.v.), made by Rūḵn al-Dawla b. Būya (Mustawfī, Nāzhāt, 115). July is the hottest month with a mean temperature of 85°, February the coldest with 47°. The annual rainfall is 384.6 mm (Camb. hist. of Iran, i, The land of Iran, ed. W.B. Fisher, Cambridge 1966, 249). There have been several major earthquakes; those of 1824 and 1853 caused heavy loss of life and destruction of property (Clarke, 11). Over the centuries, the city has also suffered from floods, famines and epidemics and sieges.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Shirāz was a centre of learning, where Islamic theology, mysticism and poetry flourished. Ibn Khāṣfī (d. 371/982 (q.v.), who founded a religious life which prevailed (see Ibn al-Balkhi, Fārs-nāma, ed. Le Strange, London 1921, 117-18, on the kāfīs of Shirāz; Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Širāzī-Dīn Zarkūb, Šīrāz-nāma, ed. Ismā'īl Wā'īz Dāwādī, Tehran AHS 1350/1971-2, on the 'ulāma'; and Dżu'nad, Shād al-azar, ed. Muḥammad Kazzwīnī and 'Abbās İbdāl, Tehran AHS 1327/1947-8 on the 'ulāmā'). Mustawfī mentions that the people of Shirāz were so attached to the idea of fārsī orthodoxy (Nāzhāt, 115, Fr. 113). Ibn Bāštāta also states that they were distinguished by piety, superior religion and purity of manners, especially the women (The travels of Ibn Bāštāta A.D. 1325-1354, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962, 300). The Dihahibiyya order, established in the early 11th/17th century had, and has, its centre in Shirāz (see R. Gramlich, Die Sichtlichen Beschieden Persiens, in Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. xxxvn. 1, 1965, Bd. i, 2-4, 1976, Bd. xv. 2, 1981; and see tarāka). The poet Hāfīz (q.v.), who lived in Shirāz under Shāh Šūdārī b. Muḥārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad (759-86/1357-84 (q.v.), is buried outside the city, as also is Sa'dī (q.v.), who flourished at the court of the Atabeg Abū Bakr b. Sa'd (623-59/1226-61).

In the early centuries, Shirāz was under caliphal governors. Al-Iṣṭahhrī mentions the tax rates prevailing in Shirāz (157). He states that the land in the bazaars belonged to the government (ullāb) and private persons paid ground rents (158). In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, Yaḵūb b. Layhī, the Saffārid (q.v.), having seized Fārs, made Shirāz his capital. His brother 'Amr b. Layhī (q.v.), who succeeded him, built a cathedral mosque on the site of which the present masjīd-i ḍāmān stands [see Fārs]. 'Alī b. Būya 'Īmād al-Dawla (q.v.) took Fārs in 321/933. He was succeeded by his nephew 'Aḍūd al-Dawla b. Rūḵn al-Dawla (q.v.), who ruled Fārs from 338/949 to 366/977 and 'Irāq and Fārs from 366/977 to 372/983. Under his rule, Shirāz became an important economic and cultural centre. The anonymous Ḥudūd al-ʿalām (written in 372/982-5) states that Shirāz was a large and flourishing town with two fire-temples (tr. Minor- ky, 126; see also Spuler, 191-2). 'Aḍūd al-Dawla built there a large library, a hospital, mosques, gardens, palaces, bazaars and caravanserais and a cantonment for his troops called Karī Fāna Khusrwā. This became a small town in which business flourished. It provided an annual revenue of 16,000 ʿdīnār. According to Ibn al-Balkhi, Shirāz and Karī Fāna Khusrwā together accounted for 316,000 ʿdīnār out of the total revenue of Fārs of over 2,150,000 ʿdīnār (Fārs-nāma, 132, 172). After the death of 'Aḍūd al-Dawla, Karī Fāna Khusrwā fell into decay and was nothing but a hamlet when Ibn al-Balkhi was writing. It was in the first decade of the 6th/12th century, and its estimated revenue ('ibrāt) was 250 ʿdīnār, though the sum collected was not more than 120 ʿdīnār (Fārs-nāma, 132-3). The hospital by this time was also in decay, but the library, which had been cared for by the family of the kāfī of Fārs, was still in good condition (q.v.).

Towards the end of the Būyid period, there was much disorder in the neighbourhood of Shirāz. Samsām al-Dawla Bā Kālidjār, fearing attacks, built a strong wall round the city (Ibn al-Balkhi, 133). According to al-Muḵaddasī, the city had eight gates (430), though some authorities mention eleven. The accounts of Fārs during the early years of Saljuḵ rule are somewhat confused. In 439/1047-8 Abū Kālidjār b. Sulṭān al-Dawla made peace with Toghrī Beg (Ibn al-Aṯfr, ed. Beirut, ix, 356) and governed Shirāz on his behalf. He was succeeded by his son Fuldān Sulṭān, who was overthrown in 454/1062 by Fadḥīyya, the Šabānkāra (q.v.) leader, who, in turn, defeated in the following year by an army from Kirmān under Kāwūr (q.v.). Shirāz was repeatedly plundered during these years (Ibn al-Balkhi, 133). After the death of Malik Šahr (485/1092), Saljuḵ control over Fārs weakened, but various of the Saljuḵ governors, in spite of frequent struggles between rival amirs for control of the province, appear to have established a degree of security and good government in Shirāz. Among them were Čawīlī Saḵaw, Karaḵa, Mengi-Bars, and Boz-Abā [see Boz-Abā]. The first-named was assigned Fārs by Muhammad b. Malik Šahr (q.v.) in 502/1108-9 or 503/1109-10, and he went there with Caghri, Muhammad's infant son, to whom he was atabeg (Ibn al-Aṯfr, x, 517; Ibn al-Balkhi, 141, 146-7). Karaḵa, who was atabeg to Saljuḵ Šahr b. Muhammad, built and endowed a madrasa in Shirāz, which was still one of the great madrasas in the city in the 8th/14th century (Zarkūb, Šīrāz-nāma, 64-5).

Mengi-Bars also built a madrasa in Shirāz, and during his government Abu Naṣr Lālā founded a madrasa near the Išākhrī Gate, which was in excellent condition when Zarkūb was writing (Šīrāz-nāma, 65). After the death of Mengi-Bars, Boz-Abā took possession of Fārs in 532/1137-8. He was turned out by Kara Sunḵur, but retook the province in 534/1139-40. He died in 542/1147. His wife Šāhīda Ḥaṭṭūn is reputed by Zarkūb to have governed Shirāz for twenty-one years (this must have been both during Boz-Abā's life-time, when he was presumably often absent from the city on campaigns, and thereafter). She built a magnificent madrasa in the city and constituted numerous askafī for it. Sixty fudkād received allowances daily and many pious and learned men dwelt there. It had
a high minaret but this, Zarkub states, was in ruins when he was writing (Shird^-ndma, 66-7).

The Salghurids [q.v.] established themselves in possession of Fars by the middle of the 12th/16th century. Under their rule, Shīrāz flourished. They and their successors maintained many charitable foundations and a high minaret but this, Zarkub states, was in ruins when he was writing (Shird^-ndma, 66-7).

The people of Shīrāz were still seeking fulfillment of their vows at the shrine of Ibn Khaff (ibid.; Mustawft, Tārīḫ-i guzdā, ed. Husayn Nawātī, Tehran AHS 1336-9/1958-61, 504). He also built a ribāṭ in Shīrāz (Zarkūb, 73). Amin al-Dīn Kāzūrūnī (d. 567/1171-2), who had emulated the type of ribāṭ built by the great Sufi saint Tāhirih at Ghüsād, built a madrasa close to the ‘Arṭik mosque and a ribāṭ (ibid., 72). After a period of internecine strife during which agriculture was ruined and famine and pestilence broke out (Mustawft, Guzdā, 504-5), Sa’d b. Zangī (591-623/1195-1226) established his supremacy, and prosperity was restored in the early years of the 7th/13th century. According to Waṣṣāf, Sa’d’s tax administration was lenient (Tārīḫ-i Waṣṣāf, ed. M.M. Isfahānī, Bombay 1269/1852-53, 161). He built a wall round the city, a splendid new qāmār and the Atabāk bazaar. In the fighting which ensued, Sa’d was wounded, but the people of Shīrāz let him into the city by night. He seized and imprisoned Abu Bakr Bakrī. However, on Sa’d’s death (d. 682/1283-4), his wife Abīsh was made governor of Shīrāz with orders to dismiss Bulughan, Abu Bakr’s baskak. Bulughan fled, and Fars submitted to Taḥo Mongke. When Taḥo Mongke returned to the sūdān in 682/1283-4, his wife Abīsh was made governor of Shīrāz by Tugder. Her appointment coincided with the outbreak of three years of drought and famine in 683-5/1284-7, during which, Waṣṣāf alleges, over 100,000 people died (Tārīḫ-i Waṣṣāf, 209; Lambton, op. cit., 272 ff.). After the death of Abīsh, her son Abu Bakr took orders in Shīrāz. Djoctī, who was sent by Arghun to restore order, made heavy exactions on the people (Waṣṣāf, 225).

During the Ilkhanate, repeated demands for alleged arrears of taxation by ilīs [see kāfī] and others were made on the province of Fars and there is no reason to suppose that Shīrāz was exempt from these demands (Lambton, Mongol fiscal administration in Persia, II, in SI, lxxv [1987], 104-15). The situation was further worsened by seed risings that failed again in 698/1299; pestilence broke out again in 700/1299 and an epidemic of measles (ar Hind) from which, Waṣṣāf alleges, 50,000 people died in Shīrāz and the surrounding districts (Tārīḫ-i, 359). Under Ghazān [q.v.] various steps were taken to reform the administration of the province, but according to Waṣṣāf these measures were not successful (ibid., 115-22). Mustawft mentions the absence of justice in Shīrāz in his time (Nuzhah, 115). He states that the taxes of Shīrāz were levied as tamgā and farmed for 450,000 dinārs (ibid., 116). There were 500 charitable foundations (bukā’ā) in Shīrāz, which had been made by wealthy people in the past and which had innumerable awkāf, but, he continues, “few of these reach their proper purpose: for the most part they are in the hands of those who devour them” (ibid., 115). He states that the city had 9 gates and 17 quarters (114). Ghazān made a dār al-siyāda in Shīrāz (Rashīd al-Dīn, Tārīḫ-i mubdrak-i ghazān, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 204) and in 702/1302-3, a yarīq was issued for a high wall and deep moat to be made round the city. Five tumans zar from the taxes, presumably of Shīrāz, for that year were allocated to this purpose, and when this proved insufficient, the order was given for the revenue for the whole year to be allocated (Waṣṣāf, 385). Whether the work was ever completed is not stated.

Kududji, the daughter of Abīsh Khatūn and the eldest of Taḥo Mongke’s many daughters, was given...
SHIRAZ

a permanent contract (mukātā'ī-ā'ī abādī) on the taxes of Fars by Abu Salād, the last of the Il-Khans, in 719/1319-20. Waṣṣāf praises his care for the people. He records that he paid particular attention to the upkeep of the buildings made by his forbears, including the 'Adud madrasa in Shiraz (1311/745). This madrasa was built by Tārkīn Khatūn, the wife of Salād b. Abī Bakr, and possibly named after her son Muḥammad, who had the 'Adud al-Dīn. Waṣṣāf states that the revenues of the 'aykāf of the madrasa amounted to over 200,000 dīnārās when he was writing (i.e. in 727/1326) and that Kūrduḏūn expended them on their proper purposes and increased them (ibid., 624-5; Lambton, Continuity and change, 275-6).

During the reign of Abī Salād, Māḥmūd Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh Injīdī, who had been sent to Fārs by Oldjevūt to administer the royal estates, succeeded in making himself practically independent in Shīrāz and Fārs (see Nūrūjī). He succeeded by his son Mādī, who surrendered Shīrāz to Ptū Ḥusayn, grandson of Čobān (see Čobānī), in 740/1340. He was driven out two years later by his nephew Malik Asḥraf. On the latter’s withdrawal in 744/1342-3, Abū Ṣaḥā, the youngest son of Māḥmūd Shāh, established his rule. It is during his reign that Ibn Bāṭūṭah visited Shīrāz for the second time in July 1347. In spite of the extortion and financial disorders in Shīrāz under the Ilkhanate described by Mustaṭfī and Waṣṣāf, there seems to have been a revival under the Injūdīs. Ibn Bāṭūṭah states that the revenue yield was high (Travels, tr. Gibb, ii, 1962, 307). He speaks highly of the bazaars of Shīrāz (ibid., 299). He describes how Abū Ṣaḥā conceived the ambition to build a vaulted palace like the ‘Aywān madrasa at Ctesiphon and in 745/1345 built the Khan Madrasa for Mulla Sadra (Shīrāz: 625). This madrasa was probably founded by Tārkīn Khatūn, the mother of Abū Ṣaḥā, who built a large college and hospice, in which food was provided at the alms distribution ceremony (ibid., 310). Among the sanctuaries of Shīrāz, Ibn Bāṭūṭah mentions especially that of Muḥammad b. Musā, which was highly venerated by the Shīrāzīs. Taḥṣīl Khatūn, the mother of Abū Ṣaḥā, built at his tomb a large college and hospice, in which food was provided to all comers and on the first three days of the month of Muharram large quantities of jewels, silks and spices were to be found there. The city had high mud walls, deep ditches and a number of excellent mosques and good houses. Security prevailed in the city (Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, London 1873, 74). Ludovico di Varthermo (who set out for the east in 1502) also states that large quantities of beads were found in Shīrāz (Travels ... A.D. 1503-1508, tr. J.W. Jones and ed. G.P. Badger, London 1863, p. iii).

In 909/1503 Shīrāz fell to the Safawids (K. Röhrborn, Persien auf dem Weg in der Neuzeit, 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1966, 10). Under the early Safawids, Shīrāz was ruled by Dhu ‘l-Kadr governors. However, ‘Abbas I appointed the kūlār ākāsī Allāhhīdī Khān (d. 1022/1613) governor in 1004/1595-6. He was succeeded by his son Imām Kūlt Khān. Under their rule Fārs enjoyed a considerable degree of independence, and Shīrāz prospered. Allāhhīdī Khān built the Khān Madrasa for Muḥammad Shādī (ibid., 313), who returned to Shīrāz and took the throne during the last thirty years of his life (Iskandar Beg and Muḥammad Yūsuf, Dīvān-i Taḥṣīl-i Ālamārā-yi ‘abāsī, ed. Suḥayl Khānsārī, Tehran AHS 1317/1938, 299). Imām Kūlt Khān built a palace in the maydān and walls round the city and planted cypress trees on both sides of the Isfahān road in imitation of the Čahār Bāgh of Isfahān (Lockhart, Persian cities, London 1960, 46). He entertained the English envoy Sir Dodmore Coton at Shīrāz in 1628. He was suspected by Abū Ṣaḥā because of his earlier acts of harbouring rebellious intentions, and was murdered on the latter’s orders in 1042/1632. The administration of Shīrāz was then placed under the control of the central diwan under a waqī, Mu‘in al-Dīn Muḥammad (Iskandar Beg and Muḥammad Yūsuf, op. cit., 295; Rōhrborn 37, 55).

Many European travellers passed through Shīrāz, which was on the direct line of communications from the Persian Gulf to Isfahān, the Safawī capital, and recorded their impressions of the city. Among them were Della Valle (1612-21), Thomas Herbert (1628), Tavernier (1632-68), Thévenot (1663), Chardin (1666-9, 1672-7), Fryer (1676-84), Kaempfer (1683), and Cornelius de Bruin (1702-4). When Herbert passed through the city, part of the old walls were still standing, but they had disappeared by the time Tavernier and Chardin visited the city. In 1617 the English East India Company set up a factory in Shīrāz, but by the middle of the century trade had been much reduced as a result of the rivalry of the Dutch East India Company. A Carmelite house was established in Shīrāz in 1623. It was temporarily closed in 1631 and reopened in 1634 (A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia, London 1939, i, 322, ii, 1056-7).

In 1630 and 1668 the city was partially destroyed by floods, which on the latter occasion were followed by pestilence, but when Fryer visited Shīrāz in 1676 the town had largely recovered (Lockhart, op. cit., 47). Several European visitors to Shīrāz mention ceramic
manufactures in the 11th/17th century. Some wine was exported to Portugal. It was made mainly by Jews, of whom there were some 600 families in Shiraz according to Tavernier (Voyages in Persia, repr. Geneva 1970, 309-10).

After the fall of the Safawids in 1722, Shiraz suffered in the fighting between the Ghaznavid Afghans [see GHALJZ] and Nādir Kuli (later Nādir Shāh [q.v.]). In 1723 an Afghan force marched on Shiraz. The governor refused to yield. The city held out for nine months before famine compelled its defenders to surrender in 1136/1723. Nearly 100,000 persons are said to have perished during the siege (Muhammad Shirazī, Rūz-nmda, ed. Ābbās Ībād, Tehran AHS 1723/1946, 3; Hasan b. Hasan Fāsā'ī, Fārs-nmāi-yi nāšīrī, ibid. Tehran 1313/1895-6, i, 161. See also Lockhart, The fall of the Safavid dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia, Cambridge 1958, 203).

In 1729 Nādir, who had driven the Afghans out of Isfahān, defeated an Afghan force near Shiraz, which then fell into his hands. He gave orders for the city to be restored, part of the city and practically all of the gardens having been destroyed in the course of the final struggle with the Afghans. He contributed 1,500 toman for the restoration of the Shāh Ğurāgh mosque (Lockhart, Nadīr Shāh, London 1938, 46). In 1733-4 Muḥammad Kān Ballūc rebelled in Fārs, declaring in favour of the Safawī pretender Tahmāsp. He was defeated by Nādir and escaped to Shiraz and thence to Kāys Island (ibid., 72-8). Nādir reoccupied Shiraz and appointed Mīrzā Ṭakī Kān, and Ḥāḍījī Muḥammad, mustawfī of Shiraz, as deputy governor of Fārs. His family had held in their possession from generation to generation the office of mustawfī of Kermān and Shiraz (ibid., 80, and see Fāsā’ī, Fārs-nmāi-yi nāšīrī, ii, 74-5). In January 1744 Ṭakī Kān rebelled. A force sent by Nādir laid siege to Shiraz, which fell after four months. The city was then sacked and many of the population put to the sword. Two towers of human heads were erected and the gardens round the town devastated. Plague broke out after the siege and allegedly carried off 1,400 people of Kermān and Shiraz (ibid., op. cit., 241-2).

Nādir died in Shiraz 1747. Before his death and the rise of Karīm Kān Zānd [q.v.], Shiraz was repeatedly plundered by the contending parties. By 1179/1765 Karīm Kān had emerged as the undisputed ruler of Persia apart from Khurasan (see J.R. Perry, 1180/1766-7 he made Shirāz his capital, which thus became the capital not simply of a province but of the kingdom, a position which it had not held since the death of Aḥmad al-Dawla. Under Karīm Kān’s rule, security, by all accounts, prevailed in Shirāz. The city was repopulated and prosperity returned. Commerce and foreign trade were encouraged (A chronicle of the Carmelites, i, 665). Customs dues were paid on all goods coming into the city (Francklin, Observations made on a tour from Bengal to Persia in the years 1786-7, London 1790, 148-9). Provisions were cheap and their price regulated by the darūghā [q.v.] (ibid., 146). Glass was made in Shirāz and great quantities exported to other parts of Persia (ibid., 147-8). Wine was also made, chiefly by Jews and Armenians, and exported to the Persian Gulf for the Indian market (ibid., 143).

Prosperity was temporarily interrupted by famine which affected southern Persia in 1775 (Perry, op. cit., 241), and after Karīm Kān’s death decay set in (Francklin, 147). According to Muḥammad Ḥāḏījī Rustam al-Hukmā’ī, the price of wheat bread in Shirāz rose during the famine to 250 dinārs per Tabrīz man. The state granaries were not opened in Shirāz because it was thought wise to keep the stores for the army, but grain was brought to Shirāz from drying granaries elsewhere. Although the cost of this is alleged by Rustam al-Hukmā’ī to have worked out at 1,400 dinārs per Tabrīz man, Karīm ordered the whole to be sold for 200 dinārs per Tabrīz man and bartered for 100 dinārs. All livestock were sent to Ray, Kāzvin and Āḏābarbāyjān because of lack of fodder (Rustam al-tawārīḵā, ed. Muḥammad Muṣḥīrī, Tehran AHS 1348/1969, 421-2).

Karīm Kān undertook a massive building programme in his capital, to take part in which craftsmen and workmen came from all over Persia (ibid., 414). He built a new wall and a dry ditch round the city. William Francklin, who was in Shirāz in 1786-7, shortly after Karīm Kān’s death, states that the wall was 25 ft. high and 10 ft. thick with round towers at a distance of 80 paces from each other and that there were six gates (op. cit., 52-3). According to Rustam al-Hukmā’ī, 12,000 labourers were employed in digging the ditch (op. cit., 420). Karīm Kān also built, or repaired, the fortress (kalāt) of the city and built a citadel (arg, in which his successor Dāḏar Kān resided (Francklin, 54-5; Fāsā’ī, i, 216), a dāmān-khana, artillery park (dāmān-khana) and a magnificent brick-built covered bazaar, known as the Wakīl Bazaar, the shops of which were rented to merchants by the Kān at a monthly rent (Francklin, 56-9). The foundations for a splendid mosque and associated buildings were laid but not finished before Karīm Kān died (ibid., 64-4). Karīm Kān also built several thousand houses for the Lurs and Laks who belonged to his army (Fāsā’ī, i, 216). The city had eleven quarters, five of which were Haydari and five Aḏarbāyjāni, being required to deal with disorders by the Yamūt kadkhār (ibid., ii, 47). The eleventh quarter was inhabited by the Jews, who had in good number. The Armenians, who were mainly engaged in the wine trade, had also increased in number (Perry, 240).

On the death of Karīm Kān, Āḏār Muḥammad Kān Kāḏār [q.v.], who had been held hostage in Shirāz, escaped. In 1205/1789-90 he made an expedition to the southern quarters of Kāḏār [q.v.], which had succeeded Dāḏar Kān. In 1205/1789-90 he went to Shirāz, where he was besieged. After three months, Āḏār Muḥammad Kān raised the siege, his attention being required to deal with disorders by the Yāmūt and Goklān Turkmen. In 1205/1791 Ḥutf ‘Alī Kān made an abortive attempt to recover Isfahān, leaving Ḥāḏījī Ibrāhīm, the kalīntar, in charge of Shirāz. During Ḥutf ‘Alī Kān’s absence, Ḥāḏījī Ibrāhīm seized the city and entered into negotiations with Āḏār Muḥammad Kān to surrender the city to the Persians.

The government of Fārs under the Kāḏārs, as that of other major provinces, was for much of the time in the hands of Kāḏār princes. Shirāz remained the provincial capital, but the governors were frequently absent on military expeditions or visits to the court.

The administration was largely in the hands of the vaṣīrīs of Fārs (see appendix in H. Busse, History of Persia under Qajar rule translated from the Persian of Hasan-e Fāsā’ī’s Fārsnāme-ye Nāserī, New York 1972, 422-3 for a list of governors and vaṣīrīs of the province of Fārs under the Kāḏārs). The distance from Tehran made control by the central government precarious and intermittent. In Djumādāʾ II 1209/December 1794-5, Fatḥ ‘Alī Mirzā (Bābā Kān) [see FATḤ ‘ALĪ SULṬĀN] was appointed governor of Fārs, Kirmān and Yazd by Āḏār Muḥammad Kān. He proceeded to Shirāz. On the murder of Āḏār Muḥammad Kān in 1797, he returned to Tehran. Having established himself as šah, he appointed his brother Husayn
Kuli Mirza governor of Fars. The latter arrived in Shiraz in Rabīʿ I 1212/September 1797. In the following year he rebelled, but submitted almost immediately. The governorship of Fars was then conferred upon Muhammad 'Alī Khan Kādgīr Koyunlu. He was succeeded in 1214/1709 by Fath 'Ali Shah's son Kawam. He was made for the coppersmiths' bazaar and the shops near the Isfahan gate to the Wakil Bazaar. He undertook responsibility for six of these himself and prepared a number of workhouses (gaddkhāna) in Shiraz, each with a capacity of 50-60 persons. He undertook responsibility for six of these himself and made several others the responsibility of the great men of Shiraz (Fasaṭ, i, 331).

Farhād Mirzā Muḥammad Khān, who was appointed governor of Fars for the second time in 1293/1876, made an attempt to regulate the building trade in Shiraz. At the beginning of the year the brick-makers, stucco workers and cement workers were assembled, and the number of bricks, their cost and the amount of cement needed, and the due of the master bricklayer (ustād), were fixed (Fasaṭ, i, 33). In 1299/1881-2, on the orders of Fath 'Alī Shāh Diwān, waṣāfī, of the streets, the cities were stone-paved, and on the orders of Kawām al-Mulk a brick roof was made for the coppersmiths' bazaar and the shops from the Isfahān gate to the Wakil Bazaar. The most important work was produced in Shiraz and continued until 1871-2 (see C. J. Waring, The land of the Lion and the Sun, or Modern Persia, London 1893, 251-5). On this occasion, Muhammad Kāsim Khan, who was appointed governor of Fars in 1289/1871, passed through the city in a tumultuous way. The price of bread was low, and outbreaks of cholera were frequent. In 1247/1822, and Fasaṭ alleges that, in the space of five or six days, 6,000 people died in Shiraz (ibid., i, 368). Severe famine again set in 1860 (ibid., i, 369). Outbreaks of cholera were frequent. In 1247/1822, and Fasaṭ alleges that, in the space of five or six days, 6,000 people died in Shiraz (ibid., i, 368). Severe famine again set in 1860 (ibid., i, 369). Outbreaks of cholera were frequent.

During the 19th century, there were frequent outbreaks of disorder in Shiraz. An insurrection, provoked in part by the conduct of the Agharbārdūngūnī Turkish soldiers in Shiraz and fomented by Shaykh Aḥmad Ibrāhīm, took place in 1254-5/1839 and led to the dismissal of Firaqdīn Mirzā Fārābīn-Fārābīn, who had been appointed governor in 1252/1836 (Fasaṭ, i, 296. See also Great Britain. Public Record Office. F. O. 60: 74. Sheil to Palmerston, no. 42. Erzerum, 24 August 1840 and enclosures). In 1261/1845 Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad declared himself to be the Bāb. He was arrested and expelled from the city [see Bāb]. Consul Abbott remarks on the unruly nature of the population of Shiraz, and states that during the government of Bahārān Mirzā (1264-5/1848-9) the city was often the scene of riot and bloodshed. He also notes that the Haydārīs and Niʿmatūsind indulged in frequent factional strife (Cities and trade: Consul Abbott on the economy and society of Iran 1847-1866, 88, 175-6; see also Benning, op. cit., i. 273 ff.). In 1853 there were reports that the venality and oppression of the local authorities were alienating the sympathy of the people from the shāh and his government (F. O. 60: 180. Thompson to Clarendon, no. 63. Camp nr. Tehran, 13 July 1853). Communications with the capital were
improved when the Indo-European telegraph line from Tehran to Bushire, which passed through Shiraz, became operational in March 1865 (W.K. Dickson, The life of Major-General Sir Robert Murdoch Smith, London 1846, 101, 225).

Zill al-Sultan, who had been made governor of Isfahān in 1874, was given the government of Fārs in 1881 also, and until he was deprived of all his governments except Isfahān in 1887, most of southern Persia, including Fārs, was virtually independent of the central government. He continued to have his seat in Isfahān and governed Fārs and Shirāz through subordinate officials. According to the census made in 1301/1883-4, there were 6,327 houses in Shirāz, and the population of the eleven quarters numbered 25,284 men and boys and 28,323 women and girls (Fasā'ī, ii, 22-3). In 1891, at the time of the Tobacco Regie, there was violent opposition to the Regie in Shirāz (see Lambton, The Tobacco Regie, a preamble to revolution, in SI, xxii [1965], 127, 131-2, also in eadem, Qajar Persia, London 1987, 230-1, 234).


SHIRAZ, the nisba of the Sultans of Kilwa [q.v.], in frequent use by Africans and Europeans to perpetuate a myth of a “Shīrāz” period of history and of “migration” into East Africa.

The nisba is first recorded in Barros’ translation of a dynastic history of Kilwa of ca. 1506, and in the independent Arabic Kībūt al-Sulṭān fī aḥkām al-Kilwā (ca. 1550; B.L. Or. ms. 2666); and on two seals, in a treaty between the Sultan of Kilwa and a French slave-trader, 4 November 1776. Various Swahili histories collected in the 19th century and after, on the coast and as far as the Comoro Islands, repeat it. These all claim that the Kilwa dynasty originated from Shīrāz in Persia, albeit they situate Shiraz on the coast between Fundi Island, Kenya, and Tanga, in Tanzania, a distinct tribe on fishermen and mangrove cutters emerged at an unknown time. Among recent historians, Tringham used the term for the 13th to 17th centuries, and Pouwels for the tenth to 16th centuries. Other than legitimately as a nisba, it may be disputed whether the term has any value at all or ever did.


SHIRAZ, the nisba of a family of prominent Shī‘ī ‘ulama’ active in Persia and ‘Irāq over the last centuries, 2. Half.


Born in Shīrāz, he studied in Iṣfahān and ‘Nadjaf, and after Murtaḍā Ansārī’s [q.v. in Suppl.] death in 1281/1864, became the leading Shī‘ī scholar and sole maqāla‘-al-takhlīd [q.v.]. He is best known for his opposition to the Tobacco Rejē in Persia (1891) [see NĀṢĪR AL-DĪN ǦĀNĀR], and it seems that his famous fatwa was in part provoked by Ǧīmāl al-Dīn al-Ǧāḥfī’s [q.v.] letters to him against the Persian government’s policy over concessions. Mirzā Ḥasan’s intervention began with a telegram to the Shāh in July 1981 protesting against disrespect shown to another scholar, Sayyid ‘Afi Akbar, expelled to ‘Nadjāf after voicing opposition to the Rejē. Shīhrāz tried to prove that the concession of any monopoly to foreigners was against God’s command. In December, a nation-wide protest culminated in a boycott of tobacco, with a fatwa attributed to Shīhrāz against the use of tobacco in any form. He had already shown hostility to the Kājdrās, having refused to receive the Shāh when he visited the Holy Shrines in ‘Irāq in 1870. Only in January 1892, when the concession had perforce to be abandoned, was the ban on tobacco lifted by Shīhrāz.

He was also important for having organised the teaching of fātūḥ on lines which have continued till today, founding his own school at Sāmarrā’ and making it a major centre of Shī‘ī learning. He was also active there in social and charitable activities, acting as a mediator in sectarian conflicts and appealing for Islamic unity under the banner of the Ottomans, despite religious differences. He wrote no book of note, but was the teacher of the most prominent scholars of the next generation, such as Akhund Khurāsānī (d. 1911), fervent supporter of the Constitutional Movement of 1905-11, and several others. He died at Sāmarrā’.

Bibliography: Hamid Algar, Religion and state in...

Bibliography: Amîn, 262; Tihrânî, i/1, 156-6; Hîr al-Dîn, i, 109; Râzî, i, 277 ff., v, 424-5; al-Shâ'darâya al-tayyiba, 53.

3. Mîrzâ 'Ali Aghâ (1287-1315/1870-1936). Son of no. 1, went about 25 years after his father's death, to Kâzîmân and finally, to Nâdirî. After the death of Muhammad Tâkî (no. 6), he became marjâ'. His son Muhammad Hasan is one of the contemporary 'ulamâ' of Nâdirî.

Bibliography: Amîn, 264; Hîr al-Dîn, ii, 138-40; Râzî, v, 434; al-Shâ'darâya al-tayyiba, 54.

4. Mahdî b. al-Sayyid Hâbîb Allâh al-Husâyînî (1904-80/1897-1960). Related by birth and by marriage to several other leaders of Islam, he was born and died in Karbâlî, and was educated there and at Sâmârât and Kâzîmân. His elder sons Muhammad (see below) and Hasan (no. 7) played a leading role in the Shî'î opposition to Sâddâm Husayn's régime, and his two younger sons Sâdîq and Muḍjtabâ are active today in Karbâlî. He is particularly associated with the struggle against the British occupation of Irâk [see 'IRAK, at vol. III, 1284a]. In 1914 he had issued a fatâwa calling for lâshd against the British, and in 1918 he issued his fâshd calling for lâshd against the British, and in 1918 moved to Karbâlî and became involved in setting up an anti-British secret society, the lâmîn wa-sawtanyî lâmînî. After the war he returned to Persia and eventually announced his readiness to be considered as marjâ' al-takhtâd. He was prominent in the Shî'î campaign against Kâsîm and the l'mâ'î Communist Party, and visits to Persia multiplied his following there. After the death of Kârdîjîî in 1961, he inherited a considerable number of his followers and was already seen as his successor, but died shortly afterwards. His three sons, as well as sons-in-law, are all religious scholars in Nâdirî, Tehran or Kum. His writings include several fâshd treatises as well as some poems in both Arabic and Persian.

Bibliography: Amînî, 265; Tihrânî, i/3, 1250-5; Elâr, ar. s.v. (H. Algar); Hîr al-Dîn, ii, 77-81; Kâhîhâla, Muṣâ'ifîn, Beirut 1985, 444; Momen, 248; Râzî, i, 276, v, 432-3, vi, 271; al-Shâ'darâya al-tayyiba, 58.

5. Muhammad Tâkî b. Muḥâbb b. Ḥâtaîrî, called Muḥâbb al-Shirzâzi-yi kâdhî and Za'im al-šâhrwâ na-liškâyîya (1269/1885-1930). Distantly related to nos. 1 and 4, he was born in Šîrzâz and studied at Karbâlî and Sâmârât, where he became marjâ'. He is particularly associated with the struggle against the British occupation of Irâk [see 'IRAK, at vol. III, 1258a]. In 1914 he had issued a fatâwa calling for lâshd against the British, and in 1918 moved to Karbâlî and became involved in setting up an anti-British secret society, the lâmîn wa-sawtanyî lâmînî. His fatâwa became popular internationally and certainly precipitated the 1920 revolt against the British Mandate. One in 1919 proclaimed that "no Muslim should elect or choose any non-Muslim as his ruler", and its wide circulation made it difficult for the occupying power to use a plebiscite for installing a British governor in Irâk. It enhanced Šîrzâz's prestige and led to his official recognition as marjâ' al-takhtî after Yazdî's death in 1919. In 1919 he endeavoured to gather all the leaders of the Shî'î anti-British movement, such as Muhammad Hâdî Hasan and his son Muhammad Hasan, and eventually announced his readiness to be considered as marjâ' al-takhtî. He was prominent in the Shî'î campaign against Kâsîm and the l'mâ'î Communist Party, and visits to Persia multiplied his following there. After the death of Kârdîjîî in 1961, he inherited a considerable number of his followers and was already seen as his successor, but died shortly afterwards. His three sons, as well as sons-in-law, are all religious scholars in Nâdirî, Tehran or Kum. His writings include several fâshd treatises as well as some poems in both Arabic and Persian.
As the younger brother of Muhammad b. al-Mahdi (see no. 4, at end), he was also an opponent of the da'wa, publishing house, Dar al-Sadik, to propagate Ayatullah Bakir al-Sadr and his sister. Muhammad, mathematician, who flourished about the middle of the 6th/12th century. He studied Greek mathematics and astronomy. In his time, there was already available a good Arabic version of the Conics of Apollonius by Hilal b. Abf (Kiel 1669). There is also attributed to him a translation of the lost Greek original in the version of Ptolemy, (Mukhtasar) of the Banu Musa, (wa-huwa an shaykh Abu Ishak sabab fi gunuki islahat wa kalbi), the renowned author of the eight book of the xiv (Ar. Muharradiyya), has already disappeared from knowledge by the time of the Arab translators.

In 428/1036, al-Shirazi's long career in teaching began: first in various masjids of Baghdad and subsequently, from 459/1066 onward, in the prestigious Nizamun in its golden age, in part as a result of his efforts, for these sciences. Al-Shirazi's youthful intervention was decisive in the accession to the caliphate of al-Muktad bi-Amr Allah (r. 467-87/1075-94) (see-khana al-shaykh Abu Iskak sabab fi gunuki islahat fatfat: al-Sufk, Tabakat al-shaykhiyya al-kubra, Cairo n.d. iv, 223). As a general rule, the Shaykh biographers firmly insist on the legitimism of al-Shirazi (wa-huwa khattam min khuddum al-shaykh Abi l-Duwa) and, like the director of a madrasa in Baghdad, he undertook a highly successful journey to Khurasan, negotiating on the caliph's behalf with the Seldjuk authorities. This was an opportunity for Shaykh Abu Iskak to assess his popularity among the common people and in Sufi circles, and his influence with the intellectual elite. At Nizamun, he was to encounter his colleague Abu l-Ma'ali al-Dujwayni (d. 478/1085 [q.v.]), the other great Shaykh biographer of the period, and likewise the director of a madrasa in his honour by Nizam al-Mulk, with whom he conducted several sessions of judicial controversy (these disputes are preserved in al-Subki, iv, 256).

In Baghdad, al-Shirazi maintained cordial links with numerous scholars of enduring renown, such as the Hanbali jurist Abu 'l-Wafa' Ibn 'Aki (d. 513/1119 [q.v.]) and the Shaykh biographer in his honour by Nizam al-Mulk (d. 463/1071 [q.v.]). The number of his disciples and pupils was immense (the most important are listed in M.H. Hiltu, al-Imam al-Shaykh Abi l-Duwa) in the al-Imam al-Shaykh Abi l-Duwa), a life of asceticism, a personality which did not prevent him, in 469/1077, from demonstrating great firmness of character, doubtless with the aid of his political supporters, against the Hanbalsi under the leadership of the Shafi'i Abi l-Duwa (d. 470/1080), a cousin of the caliph, at the time of the episode involving Abi Nayar al-Kushayri (the son of Abu l-Kasim al-Kushayri [q.v.], the renowned author of al-Rasul al-kushayriyya).

The Hanbalsi of Baghdad attempted forcibly to prevent al-Kushayri, passing through Baghad and a guest of al-Shirazi at the Nizamiyya, from publicly maintaining the Ash'afi doctrines, and violent riots ensued. At the end of his life, al-Shirazi gained the upper hand by means of the restrained support of Nizam al-Mulk to whom he had complained, with other scholars of Baghdad, about the fanaticism of the Ash'afis.

Although principally of sedentary habits (according to the biographers, he lacked the means to make the Pilgrimage), towards the end of his life al-Shirazi undertook a highly successful journey to Khurasan, negotiating on the caliph's behalf with the Seldjuk authorities. This was an opportunity for Shaykh Abu Iskak to assess his popularity among the common people and in Sufi circles, and his influence with the intellectual elite. At Nizamun, he was to encounter his colleague Abu l-Ma'ali al-Dujwayni (d. 478/1085 [q.v.]), the other great Shaykh biographer of the period, and likewise the director of a madrasa in his honour by Nizam al-Mulk, with whom he conducted several sessions of judicial controversy (these disputes are preserved in al-Subki, iv, 256-257).

In Baghdad, al-Shirazi maintained cordial links with numerous scholars of enduring renown, such as the Hanbali jurist Abu 'l-Wafa' Ibn 'Aki (d. 513/1119 [q.v.]) and the Shaykh biographer in his honour by Nizam al-Mulk (d. 463/1071 [q.v.]). The number of his disciples and pupils was immense (the most important are listed in M.H. Hiltu, al-Imam al-Shaykh Abi l-Duwa, al-Imam al-Shaykh Abi l-Duwa), a life of asceticism, a personality which did not prevent him, in 469/1077, from demonstrating great firmness of character, doubtless with the aid of his political supporters, against the Hanbalsi under the leadership of the Shafi'i Abi l-Duwa (d. 470/1080), a cousin of the caliph, at the time of the episode involving Abi Nayar al-Kushayri (the son of Abu l-Kasim al-Kushayri [q.v.], the renowned author of al-Rasul al-kushayriyya).

The Hanbalsi of Baghdad attempted forcibly to prevent al-Kushayri, passing through Baghad and a guest of al-Shirazi at the Nizamiyya, from publicly maintaining the Ash'afi doctrines, and violent riots ensued. At the end of his life, al-Shirazi gained the upper hand by means of the restrained support of Nizam al-Mulk to whom he had complained, with other scholars of Baghdad, about the fanaticism of the Ash'afis.
works all belong to the realm of judicial controversy envisaged from a point of view which is either practical (al-ghālīf), or theoretical (al-ḍaḍād and shāfi‘ī in matters relating to usūl al-fīkh). One should not be too surprised at the extent to which the pedagogy of the time accorded an essential role to controversy in the training of tyro jurists and, according to the biographers, al-Shirāzī showed particular brilliance in this field (al-Subkī relates that he was “a lion of the disputed”; ṣadāqanfār fi ‘l-manāẓarā). These youthful texts, composed between ca. 425/1034 and ca. 450/1058 are: (1) The K. fi Mu’tal al-khālid fi ‘l-fā‘ūrī (ms. copied during the author’s lifetime, in 466/1073, preserved in Istanbul under the title: ṣafīd al-fakāhāt); the section of this text devoted to transactions (al-mu‘āmalāt [q.v.]) has been the subject of an unpublished thesis by al-Msīr; (2) al-Mulakhkhas fi ‘l-ḍaḍād (ms., apparently edited by Niyāzī but not published, dated 590/1194, Istanbul); (3) The K. al-Ma‘īma fi ‘l-ḍaḍād (ed. ‘A.-M. Turkī, Beirut 1988) is a summary of the preceding, possibly composed after 450/1058; (4) The K. al-ḍa‘Īf (lost) is not mentioned by the biographers, but al-Shirāzī refers to it several times in al-Mulakhkhas; and (5) al-Tahsīrī fi ‘l-ḥakīid (ed. under the title: Tahsīrī fi ‘l-ṣūfī) by M.H. Ḥintī, Damascus 1982 is the first work of usūl al-fīkh composed by al-Shirāzī. It approaches only the controversial aspects of this science.

The works of al-Shirāzī’s mature period testify to a change in direction: the brilliant controversialist is replaced by a genuine muṣafahān anxious to establish his own doctrine. It was principally the works of this period, and more specifically his two treatises on practical law (fīkh) which, were to confer upon him the prestigious status within the Šī‘ī school which he still enjoys today. These two treatises on fīkh are: (1) The K. al-Ṭanbīh fi ‘l-fīkh (Cairo 1929; French tr. G.H. Bouquis, Le Léger de l’Admonition, i-v, Algiers n.d.), a summary composed between 452/1060 and 453/1061 which has been the object of more than seventy commentaries (see Ḥintī, op. cit., 105-77); and (2) al-Muḥadditha (2 vols. Beirut n.d.), written between 453/1053 and 463/1076, which may be considered as al-Shirāzī’s crowning achievement and which has, like the aforementioned, been the object of a vast amount of critical apparatus (including the Maṣda‘ī fi ẓarr al-muḥadditha of al-Nawawī, 18 vols. Cairo n.d.). These two texts belong to a group of key works of reference of the Šī‘ī maṣda‘ī al-Nawawī, 18 vols. Cairo n.d.). These two texts belong to a group of key works of reference of the Šī‘ī maṣda‘ī al-Nawawī, 18 vols. Cairo n.d. (d. 676/1277 [q.v.], Tabākāt al-asrīm wa ‘l-tahdīd, Beirut n.d., i, 3).

In terms of legal theory usūl al-fīkh, the influence of al-Shirāzī was no less important, principally on account of his summary al-Lumā’ī fi usūl al-fīkh composed ca. 450/1058 (numerous editions since Cairo 1908; critical ed. and French tr. E. Chaumont forthcoming) and his own commentary on it (ed. by ‘A.-M. Turkī, partially under the title al-Wasīl ilā mas‘īl al-usūl, Šī‘ī, 1979, and entirely, ẓarr al-lumā‘, 2 vols. Beirut 1983).

The Index of jurists (Tabākāt al-fakāhāt), composed ca. 452/1060, is one of the oldest examples of its genre which has been preserved. It is interesting in that it is also the last work which fulfills the original function of this literature: recording the totality of jurist-muṣafahāhs, irrespective of schools, whose advice should be sought for the purpose of constituting a unanimous agreement (ṣī‘a) [q.v.], the third source of fīkh (see Tabākāt al-fakāhāt, 13). Subsequently, the literature of Tabākāt, within each maṣda‘ī, would be confined to the evolution of jurists of one and the same allegiance (a sure sign of serious malfunction, predictable and long foreseen by Mu‘tazālī scholars, in the exercise of ẓī‘ma as theoretically defined).

Furthermore, al-Shirāzī is also the presumed author (the ms. attribute them to him formally) of two small texts of usūl al-dīr: the K. al-Ṭaṣāwī ila maṣda‘ī al-ḥakīk and the ẓarr al-laṣalaf (ed. M. Bernand, La Profession de foi d’Abū Iṣbāḥ al-Shirāzī, IFAO, Cairo 1987; ed. ‘A.-M. Turkī in respectively ẓarr al-lumā‘, op. cit., 91-116; incomplete text) and K. al-Ma‘īma, op. cit., 91-102). The question of al-Shirāzī’s theological opinions has always posed problems—was he an Ash‘arī or closer to the creed of the Ḥanbalīs?—among mediæval Muslim writers as well as his modern interpreters; the latest, according to the biographers and his Ash‘arīsm confirmed, with the appearance of these two texts, if they are authentic (not one of the biographers mentions them, but even Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 511/1175) who was determined to prove the Ash‘arīsm of al-Shirāzī, see Tābi‘in khāṣṣ al-muṣafīrī, Beirut 1979; on this question, see Cl. Gilliot, Deux professions de foi..., in Ş, lxviii [1988], 170-86, and, in response to the latter, Chaumont, Encore au sujet..., in Ş, lxix [1991], 168-77).

Other minor texts are attributed to al-Shirāzī, including an Epistle on ethics (Risdīl al-Shirāzī fi ẓīr al-akhirāt, Cairo 1901; possibly the Advice to the scholars (Nūh aḥī al-ām) which is attributed to him by al-Subkī, op. cit., 215, and Ibn ‘Asākir, op. cit.), al-Nakāt, a list of 555 points of divergence between Abu Ḥanīfa and al-Shirāzī (probably a summary of the K. fi mas‘īl al-khālid fi ‘l-fā‘ūrī [see above], the Book of Definitions (K. al-Wahid, lost) and the Mulakhkhas fi ‘l-ḥakīid (ms. B.N., Paris) which is of very dubious authenticity.

Fundamentally, the legal thinking of al-Shirāzī expresses a radical insistence on the autonomy of the sphere of the legal sciences in relation to theology. In his treatises on usūl al-fīkh (and has to be assumed a priori that his writings on fīkh represent the practical interpretation of its principles), al-Shirāzī demonstrates unusual rigour in recognising the precise nature of the revelation of the Law as legal discourse (the Kur‘ān, ultimate expression of the Šī‘ī ẓarr, is in fact a text). Furthermore, this discourse needs to be envisaged, according to the Kur‘ān itself (logically, al-Shirāzī invokes verses XII, 2, and XXI, 44), as a common discourse, in other words one that was immediately comprehensible to Arabic speakers at the time of the revelation (who, according to al-Shirāzī, had perfect knowledge of their language and its nuances but were not born to be theologians). Thus the science of the basic comprehension of the Law borrows in its writing the form of a strict “grammar” of legal discourse, always attentive to the modes of the “speech of the Arabs” and consciously indifferent to the “thinking of the theologians” who, according to all indications, were at this time only too eager to intervene in debates belonging to the domain of the legal sciences (on this point, see G. Makdisī, The juridical theology..., Ş, [1984], 5-47 and, in a different perspective, Chaumont, Biqā‘illāh..., in Ş, lxix [1994], 79-102).

Bibliography: The long article devoted to al-Shirāzī by al-Subkī in his Tabākāt constitutes the principal source of information regarding his life and work. The book by M.H. Ḥintī (al-Imām al-Shirāzī..., op. cit.), is a compilation of everything which ancient literature has to say about al-Shirāzī, and a study of the evolution of his legal doctrine. Al-Shirāzī’s milieu is studied by Makdisī in Ibn Ḥādīl and la résurgence de l’islam traditionniste au XIe siècle, Damascus 1965, but too much credence is given
here to Hanafi sources. Al-Shirazi's theory of jihat is tackled in Chaumont, La theorie...centre. In the Cretan outbreak of 1866-9, Syros sheltered Cretan refugees, and a naval engagement was fought off its coast.

**Shire**, a native of Shiraz, he travelled to India as a merchant, and from the age of twenty served Sultan 'Abd al-Shah, and later Sultan Ibrahim, in various capacities, including ambassador to Ahmad-nagar [q.v.], the capital of the Nizam Shahis [q.v.], governor of the Bdjipur fort, and treasurer. While he wrote abridgements of Mir Khayyam's Raudat al-safar, Khayyam's Hujjat al-siyar, and a Fakhran-nama, he is best known for his Tadhkhirat al-mulk, a history of the 'Ajl Shih dynasty and contemporary Indian and Persian regimes, begun in 1017/1608-9 and completed three years later [for ms., see Storey, i, 743, to which add Sâlar Djang, i, 406, no. 362 [Hist. 142] and Asa’ifya, handlist 5280. The Tadhkhirat al-mulk is divided into an introduction and ten faisls (expanded to twelve in some mss.), with a supplement [Hist. 142] and Asa’ifya, handlist 5280). The work is in two parts. The first abounds in folk poetry and at pretentious poets of the past. It parodies with verve classical commentaries, and is entirely to a fictitious peasant poet, Abu Shaduf, and he summarises the customs and ways of the peasants of the region. Raff [Hist. 142] and Asa’ifya, handlist 5280). The Tadhkhirat al-mulk by Rafiuddin Ibrahim Shirazi as a source on the commerce based on its cotton, figs and wine. There are lithographed editions (Cairo n.d. and 1882). The author mentions another work of his on peasant weddings. Manuscripts attributed to him (Brockelmann, S II, 987) appear to be of a single moralistic text. **Bibliography:** K. Vollaars, in ZDMG (1887), xlii, 370 ff; C.A. Nallino, L’Arabo parlato in Egitto, Milan 1913, 482; Brockelmann, S II, 387; Zirikli, A’lam, ix, 333; Khâljâla, Mu’alifin, xiii, 329.

**Shire**, the Turkish form of the Greek island of Syros, vernacular Syra, Ar. Shira, an important island of the Cyclades lying south of Andros/Andire and northwest of Paros. It was under Byzantine control, it was captured by the Venetians after the Fourth Crusade and became part of the Archipelago Duchy after 1207. Renamed Lasodhu (la Sousta), it experienced a long Latin period, and over the centuries, the majority of the population became Latin Catholics (see G. Hoffmann, Storj vescovadi [Hyderabad] iii/9, Suppl. viii/3 [1921], 194-200). Throughout, the peasant is depicted as irredeemably backward, in the 1821-9 Greek War of Independence, but the island received a favourable 'abd-nâmé or treaty of dependence from the Ottoman government, renewed in 1580 and 1648, giving the local Greek authorities self-government; this last maintained representatives in Istanbul, the Syriot kapudânyas, 31 of whom are extant, giving valuable information on contemporary administrative and economic issues. On Nasi's death, Shire, with Andros, Nakshe, or "Frankish Syriots", became a bastion of Catholicism in the Aegean. Sultan Mehemmed I in 1419 recognised it as a Venetian possession, but in the 16th century, Shire suffered both Ottoman Turkish and Italian corsair raids, including those in 1515 by Kurtoghlu and in 1537 by Khayr al-Din Barbarossa [q.v.] (cf. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı tarihi, ii, 375, 479, iii/2 101-2). These caused depopulation and famine, and only under Joseph Nasi's rule [1566-79] [see NARSHE, PARA] was there relative prosperity. In 1566 the island received a favourable 'abd-nâmé or treaty of dependence from the Ottoman government, renewed in 1580 and 1648, giving the local Greek authorities self-government; these last maintained representatives in Istanbul, the Syriot kapudânyas, 31 of whose letters are extant, giving valuable information on contemporary administrative and economic issues. On Nasi's death, Shire, with Andros, Nakshe, Para, Santorin and Melos were leased by the Porte to Suleymân Beg [1579-82] and later, to the Greek Comnenos-Choniates (1598-1601). But corsair raids continued, and in 1617 the Kapudan Pasha 'Ali Celebi hanged the Latin bishop and abducted 300 captives. After that, the Syriots and Melioi paid khâldyâf to Istanbul. Roman Catholicism grew in importance after the 1630s, with the arrival of Jesuit missionaries, and in 1700 the French traveller Tournefort mentions a Latin bishop and fourty priests, but only a few Turks with their kadi. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-74, Shire was occupied by the Russian fleet, but in 1774 sultan 'Abd al-Hamid I had the local Beg beheaded and granted the island to Sultan III's sister Şihât Sultan. By the end of the 18th century, the island's population had reached 5,000, with a commerce based on its cotton, figs and wine.

Because of the prominence of Roman Catholicism, neither Shire nor Nakshe were fervent participants in the 1821-9 Greek War of Independence, but the modern capital of Syros, Ermoupolis, was founded by refugees from Sakiz/Chios and Psara at this time, becoming subsequently a major trading centre. In the Cretan outbreak of 1866-9, Syros sheltered Cretan refugees, and a naval engagement was fought off its
port between the Greek battleship Enosis and a Turkish squadron under the English admiral Hobart Pasha; it was in Ermoupolis harbour, too, that the Turkish cruiser Hamilidsye sank the Greek battleship Macedon during the First Balkan War of 1912. The population of Syros in 1981 was 19,794.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see the Bibli. to näkkh, para, and santorin; also Pitcher, Hist. geogr. of the Ottoman empire, map XIV. On the Turkish and Latin corsairs, see A. Krantonelle, History of piracy, i-ii, Athens 1985-91, index.

SHIRIN [see farhad wa-shirin]. SHIRIN MAGHRIBI, MUHAMMAD, celebrated Persian Sufi poet. His full name is given by Hāfiz Hasun Karkabālī Tabrīzī (Rasātid al-jinnān wa jinnāt al-dāna), ed. Dājārī Ṣulṭān al-Kurrātā, Tehran 1344/1965, i, 367, 566, as Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Izz al-Dīn b. 'Abdīl b. Yūsūf Tabrīzī. In literary and Sufī circles, however, he is better known as Mulla Muhammad Shīrīn Maghrībī.

According to Dāmī (Nafahdt al-uns, ed. M. Tawhindī, Tehran 1356/1957, 613), he was born in the village of Ammand near Lake Urmīyā and died aged 60 in 809/1406-7. But a chronogram composed by 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khalwātī (d. 859/1454; "Mashrīkh"), which Ibn Karbālīt (Rasātit, i, 73-5), comments that Maghrībī died as 810/1407-8, and this is probably more correct.

Maghrībī should be accounted as the most important Persian Sufī poet—after Irākhī (d. 688/1290), Kāsīmī-Anwār (d. 837/1432 [q.v.]), and Muḥammad Shīrāzī (d. 740/1340), the latter author quoting extensively through his famous Diwan of the greatest Sufī poets of the 8th/14th century, sc. Kamāl Khūndānī (d. 803/1400), Kāsīmī-Anwār, and Muḥammad Asghar Tabrīzī (d. 792-3/1390-1). Sīstī was a Kubrawī shaykh, having been a disciple, either directly or indirectly, of 'Alī al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1336).

Maghrībī was said to have experienced an illumination during an arba'in held under Sīstī's direction, and recorded his enlightenment in a ghazal (on which see Lewisohn, A critical edition of the Diwan of Maghrībī: with an introduction into his life, literary school and mystical poetry, diss., London 1986, i, 60-83), who counted amongst his protégés and disciples three of the greatest Sufī poets of the 8th/14th century, sc. Kāmil Khūndānī (d. 803/1400), Kāsīmī-Anwār, and Muḥammad Asghar Tabrīzī (d. 792-3/1390-1). Sīstī's other important disciples include Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī (d. 838/1435), whose connection with Maghrībī is discussed by H.T. Norris, The Mirāt al-tālībīn of Ūn al-Dīn Khwāfī of Kāshān and Herat, in BSOAS, li (1990), 57-63; and Lewisohn, A critical edition, 75-9.

As a poet of the Akbarian school, Maghrībī follows very closely the imagery and thought of Shabistārī in his style, for instance, can be found scattered throughout his poetry, for instance, in Sīndī, Shams al-Dīn. Many of the images and expressions of Maghrībī's poetry have become proverbs in Persian (cf. 'A. A. Dīkhūdā, Amīlāt wa hikam, Tehran 1984, iii, 1242, 1319, 1343, 1347), and his influence can be seen in the writings of many of the Persian Lāhrī philosophers up to the present day. Quotations from his poetry, for instance, can be found scattered throughout the writings of the 19th-century hikam Mullā Hādi Sabzawārī (d. 1289/1873).

Bibliography: In addition to references already given; M.D. Maghrībī, Tābīrī Tabrīzī tā ḍayn-e karn-i naum-i hāji, Tehran 1352/1973, 756 ff.; 'Azīz Dowlātābādī, Sukhanawar-ād Æarbāryādīn, Tabriz 1357/1978, ii, 217-19; Browne, LHP, iii, 330-44. For fuller details, and a fuller discussion of the problems involved, including analysis of the historical and literary evidence, see L. Lewisohn, A critical edition ...
presence at His side of other divinities; it may be translated either literally, by associationism or, in more explicit fashion, by polytheism. In numerous instances in the Qur'ān there is criticism of the "associators" (shirkā, 42 occurrences; also encountered nine times is the phrase lahd un shirkā), defined as those who invoke (yadīna), adopt (yawakkabahīna) and worship (yadnūdha), besides God (min dilī `llah), other gods (`ālika), give Him "associates" (dī`ulā lī ʿllāh shurākā) and equals (andād).

It may be noted that the actual word shirk features seldom in the Qur'ān (five occurrences in all), and that in fact it is used only twice in this sense of "associationism" (XXXI, 13, XXXV, 14). Originally, shirk signifies "association" in the passive, not the factitive sense of the term. It is this sense which it has in XXXIV, 22; XXXV, 40; XLVI, 4, where it is denied that false gods would have been associated with [the true God] (lahum shirk) in the creation of the heavens and of the earth. The proper term for "associationism" would normally be ishrāk, corresponding to the diverse forms of the verb asghara which are extensively used in this associationism term. Clearly, it is hadīth which has imposed the usage of shirk in the factitive (and religious) sense of the term: certain practices [for example sorcery, ornithomancy] are denounced here as shirk; there is reference to the ahl al-shirka (as opposed to the ahl al-īslām), to the ard al-shirka, etc. (cf. Wensinck, Concordance, iii, 114-16).

Furthermore, in hadīth itself, certain uses of the word in its primary signification, i.e. as an equivalent of gharaka or gharika, "association," also encountered numerically with reference to the common ownership of land (cf. Muslim, muskät 135), of a slave (Bahkuri, sharīka 14; Muslim, `4t 47-48), or even to participation in a sacrifice (shirka fi dam, al-Bahkuri, hadīj 102).

To return to the Qur'ān, it is quite dangerous to claim to determine, even approximately—as was attempted by Björkman in his article for EI—at what point in time words from the root š-r-k first entered the text. If Björkman is to be believed, they do not appear in "the most ancient sûras". But which are the most ancient sûras? In verse LXVIII, 41, the text reads: "Do they have associates (gharākā)? Then let them come with their associates, if they are truthful!" Now, according to the chronology traditionally accepted in Islam, sûra LXVIII would be the second in the order of revelation (and v. 41 would not be among the Medinan additions). Without going so far as this, Weil and Nöldeke likewise dated this sûra in the "early Meccan period". It is true that, in the verse in question, the identity of the said "associates" is controversial (cf. al-Râzî’s commentary). But there is also LII, 43, which is considerably more explicit and where it is said, in conformity with numerous other passages in the Qur'ān, subhāna ʿllāh `anmā muṣyrikun "how God is above that which they associate [with Him]!" Now, while the traditional chronology places this other sûra among the last revealed at Mecca, Blachère, Weil and Nöldeke agree in locating it on the contrary in the "early Meccan period"! All that can be said with certainty in this context is that in fact, in those sûras unanimously accepted as the earliest, the terms in question do not feature, and that those where they appear most often are, in descending order, VI (28 instances), IX (12) and XVI (11).

Who precisely are these "associators" of whom the Qur'ān speaks? It would normally be anticipated that they would include all those who, in one way or another, accept the existence of gods other than the one God. It would therefore be logical to expect to find the Christians described as such, seeing that, according to the Qur'ān, the Christians make of God "the third of three" (V, 73), they defy Christ (V, 72), and "take for gods beside God that which He has forbidden" (LXXIV, 12) Jesus and his mother (V, 116). However, this is not the case. The Christians belong to the "People of the Book" (ahl al-kitāb), and the Qur'ān takes care to distinguish—even if they are considered comparable to disbelievers (kafirun)—between "associators" and the people of the Book (or "those to whom the Book has been given"), cf. in particular, II, 105; III, 186; V, 82; XXII, 17 (with reference not only to Jews and Christians, but also "Sabains" and Mazdeans); XCIII, 1, 6. The same distinction, as al-Râzî points out (on Qur'ān IX, 29), is drawn implicitly in the first quarter of sûra IX. God first prescribes the treatment to be applied to "associators" (IX, 5), then that to be applied to "those to whom the Book has been given" (IX, 29). In other words, the Qur'ānic term muṣyrikun does not in fact denote all those who, in some manner, practise a form of associationism, but only a minority among them—those among whom he uses the term "associators" (yattakhidhun), i.e. idol worshippers of the time of Abraham (the words Sibt, ed. Tehran n.d., xvi, 33). And on XCIII, 1, al-Tabârî mentions an exegesis according to which "associators" and "People of the Book" are indistinguishable (cf. moreover, al-Tabari himself on XCIII, 5).

For the Qur'ān, in any case, it is evident, in view of the clear distinction indicated above, that the "associators" represent a category of disbelievers other than that of the "People of the Book", i.e. the category of committed polytheists, these polytheists being identified at the time with idolators. Of the pseudo-divinities which they worship, it is said in fact, in numerous instances, that they do not hear, that they do not answer (VII, 194; XIII, 14; XXXV, 14, etc.), that they are incapable of inflicting harm or of being useful (V, 76; VI, 71; X, 18; etc.). In the time of the Prophet, the "associators" are those who, at Mecca or elsewhere, worship al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt (in sûra IX, which is historically dated, the muṣyrikun evidently denote the Meccan polytheists, recently vanquished). In the past, they were predominantly the idol worshippers of the time of Abraham (the words anīm, unīnā, often familiar being designedly used, cf. VI, 74; XIV, 35; XXI, 32, 57; XXIX, 17, 25); Abraham of whom it is said that he was not, for his part, counted among the associators (mā kāna min al-muṣyrikūn, cf. ii, 135; III, 67, 95; VI, 79, 161; etc.).

Shirk is the worst form of disbelief. The treatment to be applied in this world to the "associator" that is prescribed in IX, 5 (the "verse of the sword", ʿayat al-saif): death; at least if they do not become Muslims (whereas the "People of the Book" are, for their part, allowed to maintain their religion, so long as they pay the jīzaa, IX, 29). In the next world, they will be assuredly consigned to damnation; the Qur'ān
states in fact, twice, that God can pardon all sins save one, that of associationism (inna 'lldha 'lldh. It is said and repeated, lā 'lldhā lillā 'lldh. In the formula of the tal-ḥiya ([q.v.]) recited particularly during the Pilgrimage, it is said and repeated, lā ẓahrā laka “You have no associate.”

In theological polemic, accusations of āyīk are rife. With regard in particular to the status of the voluntary human act, the Sunnis theologians charge their Mu'tazilite adversaries with associationism, on the grounds that the latter attribute to man a creative power comparable to that of God (cf. al-Bākhīlī, Tamhīd, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, §§ 523, 540; D. Gimaret, Histoire du droit humain et thologie musul- mane, Paris 1980, 297-8); the Mu'tazilis, for their part, level the same accusation at the Sunnis, on the grounds that, for the latter, the voluntary human act would result from an association between God, who creates it, and man, who “acquires” it (cf. Gimaret, op. cit., 292).


SHIRKUH, ABU 'L-HARITH B. SĀJĀD, ASAD AL-DīN AL-MALIK AL-MASNĀR, one of Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd's ([q.v.]) generals and statesmen, and the penultimate vizier of Fātimid Egypt.

His family was Kūrīsh (of the Rawādiyya clan) from Dvin in Armenia, where Shādī, his father, had served the Shaddādī dynasty ([q.v.]). Later “noble” genealogies are fanciful. Ibn Abī Tayīl says, “None of the Ayyūbid family knows any ancestor beyond Shādī” (quoted in Rau'd, ii, 535-4). Shīrkūh served in the Sājdīk state, where his elder brother Ayyūb was governor of Takrīt. Because of assistance given to Bihruz, the shāh of Ḩirūz, the qā'im of Ḥirūz, the brothers fled to Mawsil, where Shādī gave them qīādī's in his Mesopotamian lands, and Shīrkūh fought in Zangl's Syrian campaigns.

After Zangl's death, Shīrkūh and his brother served Nūr al-Dīn. Shīrkūh became commander of his armies and held Hims and Raḥbā as qīādī's. Ibn al-Kalānisī documents Shīrkūh's military activities in Syria on behalf of Nūr al-Dīn in the years 549-54/1154-9. In 556/1161 Shīrkūh performed the hajj in great magnificence.

In Dhu 'l-Ka'āda 558/November 1063 the ousted Fātimid vizier Shāwār ([q.v.]) came to Damascus seeking aid towards his restoration and promising a third of the resources of Egypt to help the ghulād in Syria. Shīrkūh was appointed commander of the Syrian force by Nūr al-Dīn (in various accounts each had doubts about the undertaking), and he set out in Dju'mādā I 559/April 1164 on the first of three expeditions. Shāwār was restored as vizier (Rājāb/May) but refused to fulfil his promises and turned for support to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which was already receiving annual tribute from Cairo, and now embarked on a period of direct intervention in Egyptian affairs. Shīrkūh chose Bilbays as a defensive base and after a siege of several months he agreed on 15 Dhu 'l-Hijjāj/3 November to a settlement and the withdrawal of both external parties, being ignorant of Frankish anxiety at Nūr al-Dīn's successes in Syria.

Now convinced of the opportunities offered in Egypt, Shīrkūh persuaded Nūr al-Dīn of a second expedition, which set out in Rabī'I 562/January 1167. Shāwār again sought aid from the Franks. Shīrkūh crossed the Nile at Asīfī and spent 50 days or so at Gīza, facing the combined enemy, before they effected a river crossing and pursued Shīrkūh south as far as Ashmūnān. At a place called al-Bābyan, Shīrkūh won a hard-fought victory on 23 Dju'mādā l/10 March. He returned north and left his nephew Sālah ad-Dīn [q.v.] and part of the army in Alexandria, with the Sunnī notables of which he had already made contact. Shīrkūh kept his mobility and ranged widely in Upper Egypt, while Saladin sustained a siege of four months. Eventually a new settlement was reached in Shāwārīl/August, which allowed for an indemnity of 50,000 dinārs for the Syrian force and, in principle, the withdrawal of both armies. By Dhu 'l-Ka'āda/September Shīrkūh was back in Damascus.

About a year later, the Franks made another attack on Egypt, prompted by exiled enemies of Shāwār and hoping to exploit Nūr al-Dīn's absence in northern Syria. besieged in Cairo, Shāwār appealed again to Nūr al-Dīn for assistance. Unwilling to abandon Egypt to the Franks, Nūr al-Dīn and Shīrkūh responded energetically. By Safar 564/December 1168 a force of 5,000 had been enlisted and reviewed near Damascus. Nūr al-Dīn added 2,000 of his own troops with several of his amīrs. By Rabī'I 2/January 1169 Shīrkūh was at Cairo and the Frankish invaders had fled back to Palestine without a battle.

According to some versions, Shīrkūh established good relations with Shāwār, but on the other hand there are hints of secret negotiations with the caliph al-'Adīd li-Dīn Allāh ([q.v.]) to remove Shāwār, who had certainly shown himself unreliable enough in the past. Shīrkūh, however, is even said to have warned Shāwār of plots against him by the Syrian officers. 'Izz al-Dīn Jurīdhī, one of Nūr al-Dīn's mamālīks, played a leading part in the coup, although later ideas of what was fitting also assigned a major role to Saladin. At all events, Shīrkūh was led into a trap and assassinated on Saturday 17 Rabī'I 564/18 January 1169. The caliph “by the custom of the Egyptians” demanded his head and issued a document a decree dated Dju'mādā II 564/March 1169 said to have been issued by Shīrkūh, see S.M. Stern, Fatimid decrees, London 1964, 80-4). However, he did not long enjoy this new responsibility. He died suddenly on Sunday 22 Dju'mādā II 564/23 March 1169. He was buried in Hims. Foundations attributed to Shīrkūh include a madrasa at Aleppo, a madrasa at Raḥbā, a madrasa for the Shāfī's and Hanafīs outside Damas-
SHIRWAN, Shirwan or Shirwan, a region of eastern Caucasus, known by this name in both mediaeval Islamic and modern times. Shirwan proper comprises the easternmost spurs of the Caucasian range and the lands which sloped down from these mountains to the banks of the Kur river [q.v.]. But its rulers strove continuously to control also the western shores of the Caspian Sea from Kuba (the modern town of Kuba) in the district of Maskat (*Maskut, Mashkut, to be connected with the ancient Caucasian steppe people of the Massagetes) in the north, to Baku [q.v.] (modern Baku) in the south. To the north of all these lands lay Bâb al-Abwâb or Derbend [q.v.], and to the west, beyond the modern Gök Çay, the region of Şakkti [q.v.]. In mediaeval Islamic times, and apparently in pre-Islamic Sasanian ones also, Shirwan included the district of Layzân, which probably corresponds to modern Lahimd (the name Shîrvân was now limited to the territory of Shemakha); from 1859, after the destruction of Shemakha by one of the earthquakes frequent there, the government of Shemakha; from 1846, the "governorship of the Khan of Shirwan" was united with the territory of the Khan of Shemakha; from 1812 the "governorship of Shemakha" was united with the territory of the Khan of Shirwan. The Shi'î dynasty, and thus the 'Abbasid caliphate, was overthrown by the Seljuq Turks in the middle of the 12th century. Shirwan and Daghistan were taken by the Turks in 1037, and to the east, beyond the modern Caspian Sea, and rival Muslim powers like the Alans and the Hashimids had long since given as a separate principality to the Kayâk, who had migrated southwards. In 1722 the Khan of Kubâ, Hüsseyn 'Ali, submitted to Peter the Great and was confirmed in his dignity. By the treaty between Russia and Turkey of the year 1724, the coast territory with Baku, now occupied by the Russians, was for the first time politically separated from the rest of Shirwan, which was left to the Turks with Shemakha as capital. This division was retained as regards administration even after both parts were reunited to Persia. By the treaties of 1732, the coast lands north of Kura still remained to the Russians and the other parts of Shirwan and Daghistan to the Turks; it was only after Nâdir Shâh [q.v.] had taken their conquests from the Turks by force of arms (capture of Shemakha, 22 October 1734) that the coast lands were ceded to him voluntarily by the Russians (treaty of Gandja, 10/21 March 1735). After the death of Nâdir Shâh, Persian rule could no longer be enforced in these regions; several independent principalities arose; the name Shirwan was now limited to the territory of the Khan of Shemakha, which was later under Russian rule divided into three administrative districts (Shemakha, Gekkay and Djâwâd). Fath 'Ali Khan of Kubâ (1758-89) succeeded in bringing Derbend as well as Shemakha under his sway, so that, as Dorn observed, "a true Shirwan Shâh arose in him". During the last years of his reign, Fath 'Ali flattered himself with the idea of bringing Persia itself under his sway and ascending the throne of the rulers of Persia. When the Kâjârs had succeeded in restoring the unity of Persia, the sons of the Khan were no more able to maintain their independence than the other Caucasian chiefs and had to choose between Russia and Persia. General Zubov, who had been despatched by Catherine II, had already reached the Kura below Djâwâd (1796) when he and his army were recalled by the Emperor Paul. The Khan of Shirwan (Shemakha), Mustâfa, who had already entered into negotiations with Zubov, submitted to the Russians in 1805, who occupied Derbend and Baku next year (1806), but soon afterwards he made overtures to the Persians and sought help from them. By the peace of Gulistân (12/24 October 1813), Persia gave up all claim to Derbend, Kubâ, Shirwan and Baku. Nevertheless, Mustâfa continued to have secret dealings with Persia. It was not till 1820 that his territory was occupied by Russian troops; the Khan fled to Persia and Shirwan was incorporated in Russian territory. The outbreak of hostilities again in 1826 was taken advantage of by Mustâfa and by an earlier Khan of Baku, Husayn, for an attempt to stir up their subjects against Persia, but without success. After 1840 the former territory of the Khan of Shirwan was united with Kubâ and Baku to form one administrative area (at first the "Caspian territory"; from 1846 the "government of Shemakha"; from 1859, after the destruction of Shemakha by one of the earthquakes frequent there, the "government of Baku"). The old capital of Shirwan, as late as the middle of the 19th century, had a larger population than Baku; according to Ritter's Geograph-
SHIRWAN — SHIRWAN SHAH

statistisches Lexicon*, 1864-5, Shemakha had 21,550 and Baku 10,600 inhabitants. In the 1880s, the relationship was reversed (E. Weidenbaum, Puteodietel po Kaspian, Tiflis 1888, 342-396: Baku 45,879, Shemakha 28,545).

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the consequent upheavals in the Caucasian region, the old Shirwan and Shemakha fell within the Azerbaijan S.S.R., and Shemakha (lat. 40° 38' N., long. 48° 37' E.) became the chef-lieu of a rayon or district. It is now (1994) within the independent Azerbaijan Republic. It is also a significant processing centre for local fruit and agricultural produce, including the making of wine. Numerous Islamic buildings, including mosques and mausolea, remain, though damaged by the earthquakes endemic to the region. In 1970 Shemakha had an estimated population of 17,900, still well below the 19th century level.

The older name of the district gives its name to the locally-woven Shirwan woollen rugs, similar to the Daghistan ones produced to the north of the Caucasus but slightly coarser in texture and with a longer pile.

The title Shirwan Shah was given to a Nasbí from the family of the Shirwan, beginning a line of Yazídí or Mazzúdís, who had been known as one of the local rulers who received his title from the Sassanid emperor Ardashír. Al-Baladhurí mentions the Shirwan Shah, together with an adjacent potentate, the Layzán Shah, as amongst those encountered by the first Arab raiders into the region; he further records that Shirwan and other principalities of the eastern Caucasian submitted during 'Uthmán's caliphate to the commander Salán b. Rahlí b. Al-Bálíhi (Futúkh, 196, 203-4).

Yazíd b. Usáyí b. Sulamí, governor of the northwestern Persian lands of the caliphate for al-Manṣúr, took possession of the naphtha wells (malákhá) and salt workings (malákhá) of Shirwan; the eastern part of the land was therefore at that date of greater importance than the western part, as the situation of the ancient capital, Shábárán, in the eastern part and north of the southeastern-most spur of the Caucasus, implies (cf. what is said concerning it in Shirwán). From the end of the 2nd/8th century, Shirwán was ruled by members of the Arab family of Yazíd b. Mázýad al-Sháybaní (d. 185/801) as part of his vast governorship of Ádharbaydjan, Arrán, Armenia and the eastern Caucasian region. His great-grandson Haygám b. Muhammad is said to have assumed, during the troubled times in Trák consequent on the murder of al-Mutawakkíl in 247/861, the ancient title of Shirwan Shah, beginning a line of Yazídí or Mazyadí Shahs which lasted up to Timúrid times.

For the earlier history of this dynasty, we have the anonymous Taríkh Báb al-Awdáb, preserved in the late Ottoman historian Múnedjídím Baghí (q.v.), the last date of which concerning the Shahs is 468/1075. We know from this that the history of the Shahs was closely bound up with that of the Ḥişmíds in Báb al-Awdáb or Derbend (q.v.), with intermarriage between the two Arab families and with Yazídís often ruling for various periods in the latter town. By the end of the 12th century the name of the anonymous Húdúd al-ʿAlám (372-982), the Shirwan Shahs, from their capital of Yazídíyya (very probably the later Šamárka), had absorbed neighbouring petty principalities north of the Kur river and thus acquired the additional titles of Layzán Shah and Khúsár Shah (tr. Minorsky, 144, comm. 403 ff).

We can also discern the progressive Persarianisation of this originally Arab family (a process parallel to and contemporary with that of the Kurdization of the Khanówáddís [q.v.] in Aḏharbaydjan). After the Shah Yazíd b. Ḥáyín (381-418/991-1028), Arab names give way to Persian ones like Mánúčír, Kúbád, Farídún, etc., very likely as a reflection of marriage links with local families, and possibly with that of the ancient rulers in Shábárán, the former capital, and the Yazídís now began to claim a nasab going back to Bahrum ʿGúr or to Khusrow Anšáš Shardín.

These Shahs buttressed their power, like other Eastern Islamic dynasties of the time, with professional slave troops (gülâmín [q.v.]), for it was necessary for them, after ala, to maintain an army to ward off incursions by non-Muslim peoples like the Alans and Georgians. Fear of the Oghuz [see Güzz] led the Shah Kúbád b. Yazíd in 437/1045 to build a stone wall with iron gates round Yazídíyya and to fortify other towns; by 458/1066, Faríburz b. Sallár (454-ca. 487/1063-ca. 1094) had to pay an indemnity to deter the Turkmens under Karátíng, who devastated the regions of Maskat and Bákú. In 459/1067 Faríburz submitted to the Salúdí sultan Alp Arslán, undertaking to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 dinárs, eventually reduced to 40,000; coins later issued by Faríburz acknowledge Malik Shah as well as the 'Abbásid caliph.

Faríburz's diplomatic and military abilities enabled the Yazídís to survive in Shirwán. Under sultan Maḥmúd b. Mútabarrád (512-25/1118-31 [q.v.]), Shirwán was occupied by Sálídí troops. The sultan was invited by local leaders to come there himself; after his arrival, the Shah (probably Manúčír III b. Farídún) went to him to obtain justice, but was imprisoned. The people of Shirwán, with whom the prince was very popular, tried to procure his release, but without success. This state of affairs encouraged the Georgians to invade Shirwán, but they were driven out by Maḥmúd. The population suffered very much from the occupation of their country and these events became known as the "devastation" (ṣāfārí) of Shirwán. The campaign took place in the first and last years of office of the vizier Šáhms al-Mulk, who was put to death by the sultan's orders in Rabí I 517/May 1123 in Baylákán (probably on the way back from Persia to Shirwán).

The same campaign appears in quite another light in Ibn al-ʿAṣhr, x, 433-4. The campaign is said to have been caused by the invasions of the Georgians and the complaints of the people, especially of the town of Derbend. Soon after the arrival of the sultan in Šamárka, a large Georgian army appeared before the town, which terrified the sultan; soon afterwards, however, a quarrel broke out between the Georgians and their allies the Kıpčák Turks, as a result of which the enemy had to retire "as if defeated" (ṣāfārí al-munḥázímm; they had therefore not actually been defeated). The sultan remained for some time in Shirwán and returned in Djmádád II 517/August 1125 to Hamádán.
The middle years of the 6th/12th century were flourishing ones for the Yazldids, although the succession and genealogy of the Shâhs from this time onwards becomes somewhat confused and uncertain. Munâcîrî b. Arslân Farîdûn I (whom he calls Manučîr b. Kasrân; the name of Kasrânîs now appears in some sources for the subsequent Shâhs) onwards (translated by Minorsky, A history of Sharrân and Derbend, 129-38, including a commentary which brings in the information from recent numismatic work). Manučîr III not only used the title of Shîrwân Shâh but also assumed that of Khâkânâ-ı Kabîr ("Great Khâkân"), from which was taken the taqaddus or pen-name of the Persian poet Khâkânî [q.v.], a native of Shîrwân and the Shâh's eulogist in the earlier part of his life. During these decades, the Shâhs appear on their coins simply as vassals of the Great Sâljuks, and only after the death of the last of that dynasty, Toghrîl III b. Arslân (590/1194) does the name of the "Abâsid caliph as overlord re-appear on their coins.

Shîrwân at that time was actually completely dependent on the Georgian kings, who took the title Shîrwân Shâh themselves. Matrimonial alliances were several times concluded between the Kasrânîs and the Georgian royal house. The son and successor of Manuçîr III, Aksîstân I (ca. 544-ca. 575/575-ca. 1179), no doubt owed to his powerful relative, ally and suzerain, king George III, his victory over a Russian fleet at Bâkî and the reconquest of Shîrwân and Derbend. On the other hand, the lands of Shâki, Kabala and Mûkân were later taken from the Shîrwân Shâh by the Georgians (al-Nasawî, Strat Sultan Djalîl al-Dîn, ed. Houdas, 146, 174). Political conditions in the first half of the 7th/13th century are not quite clear; neither the Shîrwân Shâh Râqîdî mentioned by Ibn al-Asîr under the year 619 (xii, 264-5) nor the Shîrwân Shâh Farîdûn b. Farîburz mentioned by al-Nasawî (175) under 622 A.H. are known from coins; in place of these we find on coins as contemporary of the caliph al-Nâşr (575-622/1180-1225) Farîburz II b. Farîdûn II b. Manuçîr, and following him under the same caliph, Farrukhzâd b. Manuçîr II and Gârgâshî I b. Farrukhzâd I. In contradiction to the above accounts, al-Nasawî says that the Shîrwân Shâh had paid sultan Malik Shâh a tribute of 100,000 dinârîs; the Khârâzam Shâh Djalîl al-Dîn therefore demanded the same sum from the Shîrwân Shâh when he appeared in Ardâbar-bâyân. According to al-Nasawî, the reply given him was that conditions were no longer the same as before, as a large part of the country was now in the possession of the Georgians. It was agreed to pay 50,000 dinârîs, but even of this 20,000 were remitted. Shortly before this time, the Khârâzam Shâh had driven the officers of the Shîrwân Shâh out of the land of Gûshâp at the junction of the Kura and Aras and forced out this territory for 200,000 dinârîs; on the other hand, he restored to prince Sultan Shâh, Mûkân [q.v.], which had been ceded by his father to the Georgians (on the occasion of the marriage of the prince with a Georgian princess, daughter of Queen Rusudân, 1223-47). After the subjection of Shîrwân by the Mongols, coins were struck in the name of the Mongol Great Khân; the name of the Shîrwân Shâh also appears, but without a title. Under the rule of the Ilkhanîs, no coins were struck in Shîrwân; the country belonged sometimes to their empire and sometimes to that of the Golden Horde. As a province in the empire of the Ilkhanîs Shîrwân brought the state treasury 11 tumam (the tumam was 10,000 dinârîs) and 3,000 dinârîs (the dinâr was not now a gold coin, but a silver coin of 3, later 2 mîqâlîs; cf. W. Barthold, Persiâskaya nauka na styume Anisîy munfîhî melkî, St. Petersburg 1905, 165. Cfr. J. Som-Nægø, i. Morph. 1906, 313-38). Gushâpîsht had remained separate and paid 118,500 dinârîs. The Kasrânî dynasty remained in existence; under the successors of the Ilkhanîs, the Shîrwân Shâh Kay Kubbân and his son Kâwîs were again able to play the part of independent rulers (their coins were anonymous, like the coins of several dynasties of this period; but soon afterwards, Kâwîs had to submit to the Djalîyirds [q.v.] and strike coins in their name. Kâwîs is said to have died, according to Faṣî (in Dorb. 560) in 774/1372-3; his Hûshang was murdered by his subjects after reigning ten years, and with his death the dynasty of the Yazîdîs/Kasrânîs came to its end.

Control of Shîrwân passed to a remote connection of the Yazîdîs/Kasrânîs, Shâykh İbrahim of Derbend (784-820/1382-1417), at first ruling as a vassal of Timûr and then, after the latter's death in 807/1404, as an independent prince. The long reigns of his successors Khalîf Allah I (820-66/1417-62) and Farrukh Yasar (866-900/1462-1510) were decades of peace and prosperity for Shîrwân, with many fine buildings erected in Shamakhi and Bâkû. The history of the last Shîrwân Shâhs now becomes entwined with that of the Shâhs and then Shâhs of the Safawî family. The head of the Şafaviyya order Dînymî b. İbrahimî [q.v.] was killed in 864/1460 during a raid on Shîrwân from Aghâbar-bâyân. His son Haydar [q.v.] was likewise killed in 893/1488 at Tabarsân to the southwest of Derbend by a coalition of Farrukh Yasar and the Ak Koyunlu sultan Ya'kub b. Uzun Hasan, who was apprehensive at the growing power of the Şafawîs. After his seizure of power over Persia, Şâh İsmâîl I Şafawî avenged these killings by an invasion of Shîrwân in 906/1500-1, when he killed Farrukh Yasar and made Shîrwân a Şafawî dependency (see Camb. hist. of Iran, vi, 209-9, 211-12). Further Şafawîs, descendants of Farrukh Yasar, continued in Shîrwân for nearly 40 years until the Şafawî Shâh Tahmâsî I in 945/1538 incorporated Shîrwân fully into the Şafawî kingdom, reducing it to a governorship. A son of one of the last Shîrwân Shâhs, Bûrîhân 'Ali Sultan b. Khalîf Allah II, and his son Âbû Bâkî attempted with Ottoman help to regain their former kingdom, but without lasting success.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see B. Dorn, Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Länder und Völker aus morgenländischen Quellen, i. Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschachen, in Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, St. Petersburg, ser. VI, Section de sciences politiques, etc., iv, 523-602; V. Minorsky, A history of Sharrân and Derbend in the 10th-11th centuries, Cambridge 1958; Sheila S. Blair, The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana, Leiden 1992, 155-7; C.E. Bosworth, The New Islamic dynasties, Edinburgh 1996, no. 67 (for the chronology and genealogy of the Yazîdîs/Kasrânîs). See also al-Sarîk.

(W. Barthold-C.E. Bosworth)
of Abel. When Adam died, he made him his heir and executor of his will. He taught him the hours and to himself (numbering fifty) and regulated his conduct by them; and that he built the Ka'ba of stone and clay. On his death, he left as his successor his son Aništ (Enoch); he was buried beside his parents in the cavern of Mount Abū Kabays; he had attained the age of 912 years. According to Ibn Ishāk, he married his sister Hazira.

Latter traditions. Adam having fallen ill, desired to have olives and oil from Paradise; he sent Shīth to Mount Sinai to ask God for them, and God told him to hold out his wooden bowl; it was filled in a moment, with what his father had asked for, and he rubbed his body with the oil, ate a few olives and was cured. Adam was beardless; Shīth was the first

above all, Shīth is described as the one who fought

his brother Cain, as the murderer of Abel [see HABIL WAKABIL]. He defeated Cain in battle, delivered him in fetters to the avenging angels and enslaved all his

people of Shīz to continue their dancing and other festivities. It seems doubtful, however, whether it was

always associated with Adam by the Druzes (P. Wolff, 'Ara'is al-mawṣal, 326, the caliph Umar agreed with the

of Adharbaydjan to

the name of a very old Persian fire-
temple, a place or district to the south-east of Lake Urmia in Adharbaydjan, said to be the native place of Zechariah. According to A.V.W. Jackson, the name is said to be derived from the Avestan name of Lake Urmia, Čaččasta; according to Yākūt, it is an Arabic corruption of ʾDaṣq or ʾGazn, i.e. ʾAnzakula or Gazaca of the classical writers or Gandjak of the Pahlavi texts.

The older geographers correctly consider the two places and names to be distinct. The Arab traveller Abū Dulaf (q.v.) visited Shīz en route for Daylam and then Adharbaydjan and Arrān in the mid-4th/10th century. According to him, the town lay among hills in which gold, quicksilver, lead, silver, arsenic and amethyst were found. Within the walled town was a pond of unfathomable depth, the water of which turned everything to stone. There was also a large ancient fire-temple there, which was held in great honour and from which all the sacred fires in Persia were lit. The fire had already burned 700 years without leaving ashes. The Persian kings used to bestow gifts on the temple, so that it collected vast treasures. Abū Dulaf went there specially to find hidden treasure. Sir Henry Rawlinson’s photographs of Taht-i Sulaymān show the pond in the centre of the walls and the ruins of the temple.

Taht-i Sulaymān lies some 140 km/80 miles from the southeastern corner of Lake Urmia, whereas the great Greek city of Ganzaca, where the fire temple originally stood, is only about 14 km/9 miles from this corner of the lake. What seems to have occurred is that the Sāsadī emperor Khusrav Anūgwīrân (531-79 [q.v.]) transferred the sacred fire and the temple treasures from Ganzaca near Lake Urmia to a more inaccessible place in the mountains of southern Adharbaydjan in order to protect it from Byzantine attack (Ganzaca was in fact twice occupied by Heraclius, on the second occasion in 628; see the detailed discussion in V. Minorsky, Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Iran, in BSOAS, xi [1944], 249-53, 256-60).

The fire temple at Shīz continued to be important for the local Zoroastrians during early Islamic times. According to al-Baladhurī, Futāb, 326, the caliph 'Umar agreed with the marzbān of Adharbaydjan to leave the fire temple undisturbed and to allow the people of Shīz to continue their dancing and other festivities. It seems doubtful, however, whether it was still functioning in Abū Dulaf’s time, three centuries later, for his account did not convince his contemporaries.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādbih, 119; Ibn al-Faḍl, 286; Mas‘ūdī, Maruḏ, iv, 74; Yākūt, Buldān, ed. Beirut, iii, 383-4; Kazwīnī, 'Aḏīḏ ib al-majālībī, et. Wüstenfeld, ii, 267; Noldeke-Tabarbī, Geschicht der Perser und Araber, 102; Sir Henry Rawlinson, Notes on a journey from Tabriz, ... in JRGIS, x (184), 1-158; A.V. Williams Jackson, Zoroaster, 195 ff.; idem, Persia past and present, 126-43; G.H. Sadighī, Les monuments religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècles de l’Hégire, Paris 1938, 77; A. Godard, Les monuments du feu, in A Ṣahār-e Īrān, iii (1938), 45-9 and figs. 25-7, 71; B.M. Tirmidhī, Zoroastrians and their fire temples in Iran and adjoining countries, ... in IG, xxiv (1950), 272-3, 275, 278.

(Č. Huart-[C.E. Bosworth])
its administrative centre, in the western Deccan of India. In British Indian times, these fell within the Bombay Presidency; within the Indian Union, they are now on the southeastern fringe of Maharashtra State.

The town (lat. 17° 43' long. 75° 56' E.) was an early centre of the Marathas [q.v.]. In 718/1318 it was conquered from the Peshwa and later from the Nizams of Hyderabadd, it passed towards the end of the 18th century to the Marathas, but was conquered from the Peshwa [q.v.] by General Munro in May 1818. The town still has some of its walls, which had eight gates, and still has an impressive fortress within their perimeter, begun in the late 8th/14th century by the Bahmanis, but now dilapidated. In the early 20th century, the population of Sholapur town was roughly one-third Muslim and two-thirds Hindu; according to the 1971 census, the total population of the town was 398,361, but it is unclear what proportion of these were Muslims.


SHU'AYB, a prophet mentioned in the Kur'ân, who, on the basis of XI, 91, was understood to have come after Hud, Salih and Lot [Lût] [q.v.]. According to XXVI, 176-91, Shu'ayb was sent to the "People of the Thicket", ashab al-ayka, a group who, on the basis of XI, 91, was understood to be the "People of the Town", ashab al-dil [q.v.]. The former term is also mentioned in XV, 78, XXXVIII, 13, and L, 14. Furthermore, Shu'ayb is spoken of as sent to Madyan in VII, 85, XI, 84, 94-5, and XXIX, 36. This location is also mentioned in IX, 70, XX, 40, XXII, 44, and XVIII, 22-3, 45. On the historical and geographic identity of these people and places, see MADAYAN SHU'AYB. As a result of the mention of Madyan in the context of Mose in Kur'ân, XX, 40, and especially XXVIII, 22-8, the explanation that the story is told in Islamic narratives (see al-Tabarî, i, 365, and later exegetes) that Shu'ayb should be identified with (or be seen as the uncle of) Jethro (Yithrun, Yathrâ), the father-in-law of Moses mentioned in the Bible (Exod. iii, i, iv, xvii, 1-12) and referred to, but unnamed, in the Kur'ân.

The story of Shu'ayb, especially as told in Kur'ân, VII, 85-93, XI, 84-95, and XXVI, 176-91, follows the standard Kur'ânic narrative outline of prophetic history (see the analysis of the three versions in J. Wansbrough, Qur'anic studies: sources and methods of being governed from Deoglri or Dawlatabad [9.0.], early centre of the Marathas. In 718/1318 it was conquered from the Peshwa, then under the Bahmanis, then oscillating between the end of the 18th century to the Marathas, but was conquered from the Peshwa [q.v.], to the court of the local kâdhî. It is a curious paradox that arguably the most famous tradition, which according to Muslim mediæval scholarship deserves the qualification mutawaddîn [q.v.] (i.e. broadly authenticated), is in all likelihood due to Shu'ba: man kadhaba 'alayya mut'ammadîn 'al-
yatabawwa ma'adahu min al-ndr (i.e. “he who deliberately puts false statements into my mouth must occupy a place in Hell”). In the few isnād bundles which support (version of) this allegedly prophetic saying (see Buhārī), the testimony of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mu‘āwī is the oldest and at the same time best-attested common link. He is in fact what hadith scholars have come to define as a sālik [g.v.] transmitter. His saying reflects eloquently a general perception among 2nd/8th-century traditionists, namely that proliferating traditions whose moral or legal contents and/or underlying messages gain acceptance or popularity as from the time they emerge, as was the case with the max Kadhib, which may be considered as a cornerstone in the early theorising of the ahl al-sunnah: man sannafi ‘l-islām sunnat an dahu (i.e. “he who introduces into Islam a good custom/norm will be given the balance”, a term that developed two distinct technical meanings. The list of traditions in whose isnād bundles he is the undeniable common link, and thus responsible for (part of) the wording of the texts, is huge; in many chapters of the Six Books there are sayings attributed to the Prophet that are definitely his. Among these there are several crucial ones such as the statement which may be considered as a cornerstone in the early theorising of the ahl al-sunnah: man sannafi ‘l-islām sunnat an dahu (i.e. “he who introduces into Islam a good custom/norm will be given the balance”, a term that developed two distinct technical meanings.

In theology and philosophy, a shubha is a false or specious argument which “resembles” a valid one. In later scholastic treatises, positive arguments for a given view are often followed by a series of shubhas, counter-arguments by opponents, and their refutations (see e.g. al-Amīdī, Ghyāt al-mardūm fī ‘ilm al-kalām, ed. H.M. ‘Abd al-Latff, Cairo 1971, 265-74, and idem, Shu’ba b. al-Hajjdij [d. 160/776] and his role in hadith proliferation in Bāṣra, forthcoming in Le Muséon.

(Stephen E.褐色)
rance of the law is essential for suspension of the penalty. 3. Shubhat al-atk, resulting from an invalid marriage contract, such as intercourse with a foster relative. 2. Shubhat al-tank, as when another woman is substituted for the bride on the wedding night. 3. Shubhat al-tart, or al-dhika, in cases where the schools disagree, such as Shih'i mut'a [q.v.] marriage or Hanafi marriage by an adult woman without a guardian (wal'id). With less systemisation, Malikis and Hanbalis, as well as Imami Shi'is, generally accord shubha status to the same situations as the Shiah's. Some other cases of illicit intercourse not subject to the hadd penalty, such as intercourse with one's wife during her menses and intercourse under coercion, are sometimes also labelled shubha.

years with those attributable to al-Yusufi in al-Maknzi's and al-Ayun's histories shows that the pattern of al-Shudja'i's indebtedness to al-Yusufi (d. 759/1358) is compellingly consistent up to the annal for 741, when the evidence is not as forthcoming as for the previous years. However, even then and thereafter, the textual evidence suggests that al-Shudja'i was heavily indebted to another source, probably al-Yusufi. Unfortunately, references in the Tarikh of Ibn Kadi Shulba, the only historian to cite al-Shudja'i by name, are not helpful in this regard. But whether or not al-Shudja'i continued to borrow from al-Yusufi consistently is not so important as the undisputed fact that the Tarikh contains many details, especially for the years 741-5, which cannot be found in other extant sources and is therefore of considerable importance for this period.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(D.P. LITTLE)

AL-SHUF, a district of Mount Lebanon, generally denoting the current districts of its southern part, the Beirut-Damascus road. However, names of geographical areas often follow political, demographical or administrative changes. From the early Islamic period until the end of the Crusades, "Mount Lebanon" (Djabal Lubnan) was applied only to the northern districts of Djibbat Bgharri, Batrun and Djabayl, the original homeland of the Maronites, while the southern districts were known as Djabal al-Shuf, which at times also included Djabal Kisrawan. The Mamluks [q.v.], who ruled Syria from 659/1261 till 921/1516, divided the entire region according to three administrative units: Tripoli—Djabal Lubnan; Damascus—Djabal Kisrawan, al-Man, and al-Gharb; and Sidon—al-Shuf. However, in local usage, al-Shuf denoted, as it does today, al-Shuf proper, Iklm al-Shuf (a restricted area around Dayr al-Kamar) and, surrounding it, the Greater Shuf, the homeland of the Druses [see AL-DURUZ] from at least the 7th/13th century.

During the latter part of the Mamluk era and at the beginning of the Ottoman period, Iklm al-Shuf was ruled by Druse amirs of the Ma'n family—chroniclers of the 10th/16th century accordingly called it al-Shuf al-Ma'n. The Druze chronicler Hamza b. Sibat (d. 926/1520) speaks of al-Ashwaf (pl. of al-Shuf), referring probably to the internal subdivision of Iklm al-Shuf as known to the locales: al-Shuf al-Suyjdan, al-Shuf al-Hayt, and al-Shuf al-Bayadi.

In their efforts to bring the Druses under their control the Ottomans launched a number of expeditions against al-Shuf al-Ma'n, where Druze resistance was strongest. When these proved too expensive, they arrived in 1001/1593 at a compromise with the local chief, Fakhir al-Din al-Ma'n [q.v.], II, whom they appointed amir al-mawdud of the Saydah [q.v.]. Soon Fakhir al-Din controlled not only the Greater Shuf, nor often called Djabal al-Duruz, but also the Bika' valley, the coastal area between Sidon and Tripoli, northern Palestine and areas in Transjordan. When, inspired by Druze-Maronite unity and a period of economic prosperity, Fakhir al-Din tried to establish political autonomy, the Ottomans put an end to his rule in 1042/1633, and his successors controlled only a small part of al-Shuf.

In 1108/1697 the only candidate of the Ma'n family for the imara of al-Shuf preferred to serve in the Porte's bureaucracy, upon which, in order to maintain the political regime of the imara, the Druze chiefs invited the Sunni Shihab family to rule as amirs. Though the area continued to be called Djabal al-Duruz until the beginning of the 19th century, successive waves of immigrants from the north since the time of Fakhri al-Din II transformed the demography of al-Shuf, so that by 1800 Christians made up the majority of the population. The conversion in the 1750s to Christianity of one of the Sharibis and the Abu 'l-Lamis, the Druze rulers of al-Man, and al-Shuf al-Bayadi, meant the end of Druze supremacy and the rise of the star of the Maronites.

When, at the beginning of the 19th century amir Bashir Shihab [q.v.] expanded his rule to Kisrawan, Djabayl, Batrun and Djabbat Bgharri, the amir of al-Shuf came to be called amir Djabal Lubnan, i.e. amir of the whole of Mount Lebanon. No longer the promus inter partes of the mukattadins [see MUKATA'A] of al-Shuf, Bashir took advantage of their factionalism in order to consolidate his own power. Demographic changes, Druze factionalism, increasing European trade with Mount Lebanon, a strengthening of the political position of the Maronite Church, and Djaizari's and Ibrahim Pasha's [q.v.] support for Bashir are all factors which introduced a shift in al-Shuf's balance of power. In 1914, following the Egyptian withdrawal, sectarian strife broke out between the two communities—the Druze bent on regaining their former position of power, the Maronites seeking to maintain and even reinforce their new-found prosperity. In an effort to solve the conflict, the European Powers and the Ottomans imposed on Mount Lebanon a settlement based on the double a'ta'immanauyya [see a'TA'IM-MAKAM], whereby the districts north of the Beirut-Damascus road came under Christian, and those to the south, i.e. al-Shuf, under Druze administration. However, this settlement proved too fragile and recurring incidents set off a civil war in 1860. Though at first victorious, the Druzes were ultimately defeated because of French intervention—the Druzes left al-Shuf in large numbers to settle as immigrants in Djabal Hawran, soon called Djabal al-Duruz. No longer a centre of political power, al-Shuf soon became integrated into the mutasarrifiyat [see MUTASARRIF] (1861-1918) and, subsequently, the state of Lebanon.

As a result of the civil war which broke out in 1975, by 1983 virtually the entire Christian population had fled from al-Shuf. Again a predominantly Druze area, al-Shuf has become a focal point in the efforts to resettle the refugees from the different regions and thus to find an overall solution for the Lebanese conflicts.


(Kais M. Firro)

SHUFA (Ar.), lit. "pre-emption", the right of the co-owner to buy out his partner's share which is for sale. Should the property be sold without his approval to a third party, the partner has the privilege to purchase the property, even against the will of the new owner, who should be reimbursed with the price paid. Both Kur'an and hadith are cited by books of fikr in support of the concept, though the former seems to provide only indirect reference. The Hanafi grant this privilege to the owners of adjacent properties and make it valid not only to non-fungible properties but also to appendages of the property, such as access and water rights. The Madhhab definition (art. 950) gives the term the power of "pos-
SHUFA — SHUGHNAN

SHUFA, according to the four schools, is restricted to non-fungible property. The Zahiris extend shuf'a to fungible property, including animals, on the basis of the prophetic tradition that shuf'a is in "everything" (hakk sabab). Shuf'a, according to the four schools, is refuted in the Maghrib, where it is interpreted to mean only what cannot be divided, and he deprived both the dhimmis and the Rāfdi Shi'a from the right to shuf'a, unlike al-Shaf'i and some other scholars, who see the right as general and not affected by faith.

Muhammad b. Ya'kūb al-Asamm (d. 957/347) completely rejected shuf'a on the grounds that it clashes with the individual's freedom to sell. This could result in the landowner's loss, since no-one would buy knowing that he might lose what he has purchased. Although al-Asamm's view is refuted in the Maghrib, his view would be better understood if the term were made to mean only what cannot be divided, and he deprived both the dhimmis and the Rāfdi Shi'a from the right to shuf'a, unlike al-Shaf'i and some other scholars, who see the right as general and not affected by faith.

shuf'a was retained in many secular laws introduced to Muslim countries, such as the Egyptian, French-based law of 1883. There has been a long-standing legal controversy over whether shuf'a is a personal (hakak) or real right (hakak shafchsi). Al-Sanā'ī in seeking to resolve the controversy maintained that it is not a right at all, but a cause (sabab). He placed shuf'a as a right-making "cause", on a parallel with other causes that create rights, like contracts and inheritance. Although al-Sanā'ī conveyed no opinion as to whether this cause creates a personal or real right, it is evident that Islamic law views shuf'a as both a personal and real right, if inheritance is used as a guide. Al-Zahāf, referring to the Hanafi school, maintained that the cause (sabab) for shuf'a as "right" is the "adjacency" of the two properties. This adjacency would appear to be only a cause leading to shuf'a, which is the actual legal designation (sabah) for the right of ownership.


SHUFURWA OR SHAWARWA, BAND, conventional readings for the name of a family of Hanafi clerics and men of letters in Isfahān during the 6th/12th century. The name has not been explained and should perhaps be read rather as (Persian) Shaf-rū "black-face". Although several members of the family are listed in biographical works, the only one about whom we have precise knowledge is Shara Tishūn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Hībat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Hībat Allāh b. Ḥamza al-ma'rūf bi-Shawarwa, a religious scholar who spent time in Damascus and Cairo (where he met Ẓalḥ al-Dīn) before returning, in 570/1175, to his native Isfahān. Al-Safādī quotes a few of his Arabic verses. His name appears as that of the author in at least some of the manuscripts of Aḥbāb al-ḏarāb, a little moralising tract in Arabic, a poor imitation of al-Zamakhsarī's Aḥbāb al-ḏarāb (printed Būlāk 1864 and often; tr. O. Rescher, in his Beiträge zur Maqāmī-Literatur, vii, 1914).

This Arabic writer is perhaps identical with Sheraf al-Dīn Shufurwa, the author of an extant, but unpublished, poetical dīwān in Persian, consisting largely of panegyrics to the atabeg Dāhān-Pahlavān Muḥammad b. Ẓāfūgūz, the de facto ruler of the Sādγūk empire 571-82/1175-86 [see Ẓāfūgūz]; he also praises the Sādγūk Amir Dīn b. 'Afdālī (556-71). The Persian anthologists from the time of Dādjarīmī onwards give his personal name as 'Abd al-Mu'min, evidently identifying him with the above-mentioned cleric, but our earliest authority, Muḥammad 'Awfī, calls him Sharaf al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn Muḥammad Shufurwa, implying that he was in fact a different member of the same family. The same author quotes a few poems by his cousin Zahir al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Shufurwa. The 7th/12th-century anthology compiled by Ẓamaku al-Dīn Shufurwa quotes a number of ṭab'iṣ by Shara al-Dīn, Zahir al-Dīn and 'Izz al-Dīn Shufurwa; the last mention is also by al-Kawānī.


SHUGHNAN, a district on the upper Oxus, known as the Pandj River, extending over both banks from where the river leaves the district of Waḥān [q.v.] and turns directly northwards before flowing westwards again. The left bank part of Shughnān now falls within the Afghan province of Badakhshān [q.v.] and the right bank one within the Pamir region of the former USSR, a division likewise reflected in the districts of Ghārān immediately to the north of Shughnān and Rawshān to its south. The whole district is extremely mountainous, with the lowest parts, the valley bottoms, at an altitude of 1,828 m/6,000 feet, and with the pass over the Shughnān range of mountains in the Pamir, which separates the Ghund (Russ. Gunt) valley on its northern edges from the Shakhara (Russ. Shahdarinsk) range (which rises to 6,726 m/22,060 feet) being at 4,267 m/14,000 feet. The Tajik population is very sparse and confined to the valley bottoms.

The name of the region has various spellings in the medieval Islamic geographers, including Shik'i (nān), Shik'i (nān), Shīkān, Shīkīnā. The form Shik'in, "a large village" of the Hudūd al-ṣām, tr. Minoroky, 112, perhaps points to Shākīnā, which the translator thought was probably the later Ishqāqīmī [see below]. In the travel account of the Buddhist monk Huen-tsang (early 7th century A.D.) and in the Tang dynastic annals, Shughnān appears as Shi-k'i; nī (E. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kioue occidentaux, St. Petersburg 1903, 152); in 646, envoy from Shughnān visited the Imperial court. In the period shortly afterwards of the Arab conquest of Central Asia, its ruler was a vassal of the Yabghu who ruled the whole upper Oxus region. The Arab geographers attach it administratively to Badakhshān or Tukhrāshtān [q.v.], and al-Ya'kūbī, Buldān, 292, tr. Wiet, 109, speaks of the local ruler as (K) Mār Beq (cf. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 65; Marquart, Erdnahr, 223,
In the late 13th century, Marco Polo mentions the mining of “Balas” rubies in the mountains of Shughnan, although it is actually in the adjacent district of Ghuristan that the abandoned mines can be seen (Yule-Cordier, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, London 1902, i, 157).

Al-Ya`qubi also mentions, 304, tr. 133, that the Barmakī al-Fadīl b. Yahyā conquered Shughnan in the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, but it is dubious whether Islam was permanently introduced there at this time. This seems more likely to have been the work of Nizārī Ismā`īlī dī`is or propagandists, sent to Badakhshān by the Grand Masters in Alamūt, amongst whom is mentioned a boydī Shīh Malān of Khorāsān and, in the 7th/13th century, the Husaynī Sayyid Shīh Khāmūsh Shāhī. This brought about the permanent presence of Khojdā Ismā`īlīsm in the upper Oxus region, and in Shughnan, Ismā`īlī pirs and mīrs ruled hereditarily till the 19th century (see Farhad Daftary, The Ismā`īlīs: their history and doctrines, Cambridge 1990, 27, 441, 467-8, noting also the preservation there of Ismā`īlī works in manuscript, some of them written back to Dī`iis eschatological theology and history of the Ishaqīs with the expedition to the region in 1959-63). The Amīrs of Kābul Shīr `Alī Khān and `Abd al-Rahmān Khān endeavoured to bring Shughnan under their sway, so that towards the end of the 19th century the local people appealed to the Amīr of Būkhārā and to the Russian Governor-General of Turkestan. In March 1895, after diplomatic negotiations in London involving Russia and Great Britain, the Afghāns agreed to evacuate the right bank of the Pandj river, whilst the Amīr of Būkhārā relinquished his possessions in Darwaz on the left bank to the north of Shughnan.

Russian authority in the district was exercised from 1895 onwards from Khorag (Russ. Khorog) where the Ghund and Shākh-dara rivers join the Pandj, but the shock waves of the Bolshevik Revolution were felt even in Shughnan, and Bolshevik forces took over the Pamir region in November 1920. Right-bank Shughnān eventually became part of the Gorno-Badakhshān Autonomous Oblast in the eastern part of the Tadzhik SSR (now the Tadzhikistan Republic), whilst left-bank Shughnan remained part of the Afghān tevriyat or province of Badakhshān. Afghān Shughnān contains the settlement of Jāḥkhām, on the left bank of the Pandj and commanding the only winter route between Badakhshān and the trans-Oxus districts of Shughnan and Wakhan; it was here that the English traveller John Wood crossed the Oxus ice in 1837 (a journey to the source of the River Oxus, London 1872, 204-6; see also C.E. Bosworth, Ele art. Eldjat(em).

Finally, one should note the presence in Shughnān of speakers of the Modern East Iranian Pamir language, Shughni, with its component dialects of Shughnī, Bajui, Khufi, Roshani, Bartangi, Oroshori and Sarikol (see G. Morgenstierne, Etymological vocabulary of the Shughnī group, Wiesbaden 1976; J.R. Payne, Pamir languages, in R. Schmitt (ed.), Compendium lingvarum orientarum, Wiesbaden 1989, 417-44; IRAN. iii, Languages, in Suppl. 3).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see especially Haddīd al-`islām, tr. 71, 112 comm. 349-51; A.A. Semenov, Istoriya Shughnana, Tashkent 1916; W. Holzwarth, Segregation and Statebildung in Afghanistan. Traditionelle sozial-politische Organisation in Badakhshan, Wakhan und Shughnan, in K. Gressy and J.-H. Greverney (eds.), Revolution in Iran and Afghanistan, Frankfurt 1980, 177-235. For older bibl, see Minorsky’s El art. See also Arvad, Badakhshān; Pamirs; Wakhan.

SHUKR (A.), thankfulness, gratitude; acknowledgment (pl. shukr); it also has the meaning of praise, which is gratefulness with the tongue.

1. As a religious and mystical concept.

A Šufi term for an internal state and its external expression, shukr is a station (mādām) of the wayfarer (sālik) and has all the above meanings when referring to human beings.

However, shukr on the part of God signifies the “requiting and commending [a person]” or the “forgiving” or the “regarding” him “with content, satisfaction, good will”, or “favour”: and hence, necessarily, the “recompensing”, or “rewarding”, him. The saying shukara iltu su`aynu signifies “May God recompense, or reward, his word or labour” (Lane).

In the Kur`ūn, God is al-shukr (II, 158; IV, 147) and al-shukr (XXXV, 29-30; XXXV, 34; XLIII, 23; LXIV, 17) the latter also being one of His Most
Beautiful Names, meaning “He who approves, or rewards, or forgives, much, or largely; He who gives large reward for small, or few works; He in whose estimation small, or few, works performed by His servants increase, and who multiplies His rewards to them” (Lane). God is al-Shukr 497 “in the sense of widely extending His favours, not (thankful) in a literal sense”, giving thankfulness for thankfulness, “just as He has stated, ‘The recompense for an offence is one equal thereto’ (XLII, 40)” (al-Kushayrī, 384, tr. Von Schlegell, 132); “Only God ... is absolutely grateful, because His multiplication of the reward is unrestricted and unlimited, for there is no end to the happiness of paradise” (see LXIX, 24) (al-Ghazālī, tr. of al-Makład, 101) “The one who rewards a good deed manifolds is said to be grateful for that deed, while whoever commends the one who does a good deed is also said to be grateful” (ibid.). So God’s reward, His praise for a good deed is praise for His own work, “for their works are His creation” (ibid.).

As for human beings, whose qualities are derived from the divine qualities “the thankful one (al-shakur) is he who is thankful for what is, and the very thankful one (al-shukr) is he who is thankful for what is not” (al-Kushayrī, 385, tr. Von Schlegell, 134).

The importance of shukr is clearly expressed in XIV, 7: “And when your Lord proclaimed: ‘If you are thankful, surely I will increase you, but if you are thankless, my chastisement is surely terrible’. It is called the key to Paradise on the basis of XXXIX, 74: “And they shall say: ‘Praise belongs to God, who has been true in His promise unto us, and has bequeathed upon us the earth, for us to make our dwelling wherever we will in Paradise! How excellent is the song of those that labour!’”

Al-Ghazālī in his Ḣayā' has a comprehensive chapter on sabr [q.v.] and shukr, which are characterised as the two parts of imān (which equals yakīn, see al-Makkī, 421) which support and complement each other, sabr being the precondition for shukr. Since these are divine qualities and yield two of God’s Most Beautiful Names (al-Sabūr, al-Shukr), ignoring them means ignoring not only imān but also the qualities of God.

Since al-Ghazālī uses the material of the important Sūfī compendiums (mainly al-Kushayrī and al-Makkī; see Gramlich, Stufen zur Gotteslchief, 4 ff.), structuring it in a clear, logical order with many additions and clarifying similes of his own, this comprehensive chapter will be used here as a basis.

Although mentioned in different ways before, it was one of al-Ghazālī’s most important original ideas to give a clear exposition of the three parts of shukr: (1) 'ilm “knowledge”, (2) kāl “(the right) state” and (3) 'umāl “acting”, and their interrelation with each other.

(1) Knowledge is the real understanding that nothing except God has existence in itself, that the whole universe exists through Him and that everything that happens to a person (including afflictions) is a benevolence from Him. This leads to knowledge of God and His acts, taubhāt [q.v.], and the ability to thank Him which also is a divine benevolence requiring gratitude. Constant awareness of this connects the term with invocation (ḍūk), and those who have gratitude in every situation are those who give praise (ḥamdūllah). Shukr as knowledge of the impossibly real thanking God is expressed in the words of Moses: “O Lord, how can I thank you while being unable to thank you except with a second benefaction from you?” God’s answer is: “If you know this, you have already thanked me” (Ḥayā’, iv, 83, l. 16) Whoever has this knowledge in its absoluteness is a pure ḥumdīn.

(2) Deriving from this knowledge is the second part of shukr, the state of joy in the benefactor (not in the benefaction or the act of grace), with the attitude of ḥumdīn “humility and taubhāt “modesty” Joy in the benefactor for his own self but for the care that prompted Him to give is the state of the saḥlīn [q.v.] who are grateful for fear of punishment and hope for reward. The highest degree of the state of joy lies in using the benefaction as a means to reach God’s presence and gaze at His face eternally (al-Shībīl: “Shukr means vision (māya) of the benefactor, not vision of the benefaction” [Ḥayā’, iv, 81, l. 23]). Thus shukr is connected to shukr, the only healthy state of the heart (sūra II, 152; Therefore remember Me, I will remember you, give thanks to Me and reject Me not).

(3) The action in accordance with the state of joy deriving from complete knowledge of the benefactor has three aspects: the (hidden) action of the heart which is intending the good; the (manifest) action of the tongue which is praise of God; and the action of the members of the body, which is using them in obedience for Him and as a means against disobedience as expressed in ḥumdīn “complaint”, which is thereby diametrically opposed to shukr.

Ignorance of the real meaning of shukr as explained above, and thus neglect and misuse of God’s benefactions, is kuf. The increasing proximity to God through shukr and the increasing distance from God through kuf is expressed in sūra XCV, 4-6: “We indeed created man of the finest stature. Then We restored him to the lowest of the low—save those who believe, and do righteous deeds; they shall have a vane unfeeling.”

Understanding of the difference between shukr and kuf, which, ultimately, has to be an understanding with the heart, is based on knowledge of all the principles of the religious law brought about by hearing the verses/signs of God and relying on them, which cannot be done without the prophets sent by God. Through this, God’s wisdom in all existing things and the true meaning of His benefaction and its different kinds can be understood, which leads to seeing with the eye of certainty.

proclaiming (šakirān) his benefaction (li-nimātihi...)
(Cairo 1389/1970, xvii, 266 11. 4 ff.)". Here and else-
where (e.g. Nak'ī of Qurān uṣ-'l-Farazādak, ed. Bevan, 671-2, 740, 1063) this complex of ideas suggests that
sparing life, particularly, evoked a public declaration of
grateful, the benefactor; the relationship thus acquired required some sort of acknowledgment or repayment so that the benefactor was contented. Refusing to acknowledge this benefaction, in this context, was called kafir.

In the principles of jurisprudence (wāyat al-fikhr), the concept of thanking the benefactor (šukr al-mun'am) was an occasion for controversy: those who believed that the intellect (ʿāql) contains certain sorts of natural moral knowledge considered "thanking the benefac-
tor" one of the indubitable items of ʿāql knowledge—
like the value of equity (al-insaf) or the reprehensibility
(Hanballs, and, even, later Hanafis. Ashʿaris and later tazila, some early ShafiʿIs, the view of the Muʿtazila) was called kujr.

It was also an important
as a piece of natural knowledge, all conceded
of gratitude to the benefactor; the relationship thus
contains certain sorts of natural
the intellect
moral knowledge considered "thanking the benefac-
tor" one of the indubitable items of ʿāql knowledge—
like the value of equity (al-insaf) or the reprehensibility
(Hanballs, and, even, later Hanafis. Ashʿaris and later tazila, some early ShafiʿIs, the view of the Muʿtazila) was called kujr.

It was also an important
as a piece of natural knowledge, all conceded
of gratitude to the benefactor; the relationship thus
contains certain sorts of natural
the intellect
moral knowledge considered "thanking the benefac-
tor" one of the indubitable items of ʿāql knowledge—
like the value of equity (al-insaf) or the reprehensibility
(Hanballs, and, even, later Hanafis. Ashʿaris and later tazila, some early ShafiʿIs, the view of the Muʿtazila) was called kujr.

It was also an important
as a piece of natural knowledge, all conceded
of gratitude to the benefactor; the relationship thus
contains certain sorts of natural
the intellect
moral knowledge considered "thanking the benefac-
tor" one of the indubitable items of ʿāql knowledge—
like the value of equity (al-insaf) or the reprehensibility
(Hanballs, and, even, later Hanafis. Ashʿaris and later tazila, some early ShafiʿIs, the view of the Muʿtazila) was called kujr.

It was also an important
as a piece of natural knowledge, all conceded
of gratitude to the benefactor; the relationship thus
contains certain sorts of natural
the intellect
moral knowledge considered "thanking the benefac-
tor" one of the indubitable items of ʿāql knowledge—
like the value of equity (al-insaf) or the reprehensibility
(Hanballs, and, even, later Hanafis. Ashʿaris and later tazila, some early ShafiʿIs, the view of the Muʿtazila) was called kujr.

It was also an important
as a piece of natural knowledge, all conceded
of gratitude to the benefactor; the relationship thus
contains certain sorts of natural
the intellect
moral knowledge considered "thanking the benefac-
tor" one of the indubitable items of ʿāql knowledge—
like the value of equity (al-insaf) or the reprehensibility
(Hanballs, and, even, later Hanafis. Ashʿaris and later tazila, some early ShafiʿIs, the view of the Muʿtazila) was called kujr.

It was also an important
as a piece of natural knowledge, all conceded
of gratitude to the benefactor; the relationship thus
contains certain sorts of natural
the intellect
moral knowledge considered "thanking the benefac-
tor" one of the indubitable items of ʿāql knowledge—
like the value of equity (al-insaf) or the reprehensibility
(Hanballs, and, even, later Hanafis. Ashʿaris and later tazila, some early ShafiʿIs, the view of the Muʿtazila) was called kujr.
SHUKRU (i.e. SHUKRI) BEY, Ahmed (1875-1926), son of Ibrahim, Young Turk politician, was born in Kastamonu, near the Black Sea, into a poor family. 

Shukru graduated from the teachers' training college in Istanbul and started out on a career in education, serving both as a teacher himself and as director of education. He joined the underground opposition movement of the Committee of Union and Progress (Ittihat ve Terakki Dümmeyit [q.v.]) before the constitutional revolution of July 1908. After the revolution, he served as the district governor of Siroz [q.v.] and spent some time at the home office, but he came to the fore as Minister of Education from 1913 to 1918.

During this time he was very successful in raising the number of schools (including those for girls) and enlarging and improving the University and the teachers' training establishments (from 1915 onwards, with the help of German specialists). He also devoted much attention to the publishing of teaching materials. He came into conflict with the Sheykh al-Islam Khayrf Efendi when he tried to unify all education under the jurisdiction of the ministry and to give the independent status of the Asekl schools, but gradually got his way. Some enlightened Ottoman educators such as Khalide Edib (Advar) accused him of being interested in quantity, i.e. in raising the number of pupils, rather than in quality.

After the First World War, he was among the first prominent Young Turks to be deported by the British, first to Lemnos (May-September 1919) and thence to Malta, for internment there. Together with fifteen others, he escaped in September 1921 and made his way back to Turkey. After his return, he first served on the provincial council in Izmit and was then appointed governor of Trabzon province by the nationalist leadership in Ankara. In April 1923 he played a prominent role in the attempts of a group of former Unionists led by Kara Kemal, the former party boss in Istanbul, to revive the C.U.P., which had been disbanded in 1918. Nevertheless, in August 1923 he was elected to the second Grand National Assembly as representative of Izmit in the interest of Mustafa Kemal Paşa's People's Party (Halk Fırkası).

In November 1924 he resigned from this party to be among the founders of the opposition Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Düm çumhuriyyet Fırkası), which was closed down by the Kemalist government in June 1925. In 1926 he was among those accused of planning to assassinate the President of the republic. He was tried and convicted by the Independence Tribunal and hanged in Izmir on 13 July 1926.


SHUL. 1. The name of a land and a city in China mentioned in the mediaeval Arabic geographer Kudâma b. Diya'ar [q.v.], 264, here borrowing material from the lost part of his predecessor Ibn Khurra'ddi'bîh [q.v.]. According to Kudâma, Alexander the Great, in company with the Emperor of China, went northwards from China and conquered the land of Shul, founding there two cities, Kh.-mdân and Shul, and ordering the Chinese ruler to place a garrison (räddâ) of his troops in the latter place.

Shubanduk is well-attested in other Islamic sources (e.g. Gardžez, Marwazi, r. Minorsky, 25-6, comm. 71, 84), and usually identified with the capital of the Tang dynasty, C'ang-an-fu, later Hsi-an-fu, lying on the Weiho, a right-bank affluent of the Huang-ho and already mentioned in the 6th century Byzantine source as Þouabâv or Þouávâb, cf. Hudâd al-ílam, tr. Minorsky, 84, comm. 229, 231. Shul, however, has not been satisfactorily identified. Marquart, Stenzlûje, 90, and Entwâch, 316, saw in it Turkish ûl "steppe, plain, desert", a translation of Chinese su-lu "sandy settlement", the Sachiu in Tangut of Marco Polo (Yule-Corder, The Book of Sir Marco Polo, i, 203, 206). But according to Sir Gerard Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, 420, ûl is a loanword from Mongolian not traceable in Turkish before the Caghatay period. One might conceivably identify Shul with the Cülg of the Orkhon [q.v.] inscriptions, a country listed as one which sent representatives to the Kâglân IShûme man's funeral, and, if the list is in geographical order, Cülg lay between Korea and China (Clauson, loc. cit.). Finally, one may remark that the suggestion at the end of the 6th art. giśt that the Shul of the Arab geographers may refer to a colony of Sejyâfût is dubious; one might more pertinently mention that the town of Kâshghar [q.v.] in eastern Turkestan appears as Shu-lê in Chinese and Shulig in Tibetan (cf. Minorsky, op. cit., comm. 280, who also notes at 225 various emendations that have been made of the reading shu-lê). It seems impossible to reach any certainty regarding the whole question.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

2. A Lur tribe of southern Persia [see Shûlistân].

SHULISTÂN, literally, "land of the Shul" [see Shul] above, a district, formerly a buluk, in the southern Persian province of Fârs.

Three epochs must be distinguished in the history of the district: one before the arrival of the Shul, the period of their rule (from the 7th/13th centuries), and the period of its occupation by the Marnassân Lurs about the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

During the Sâsânîd period, the district was included in the kānâ of Shâpûr-khûrâ. The founding of its capital Nawbandagan (Nawbanddân) is attributed to Shâpûr I. This important town situated on the road from Fârs to Khâzûstân was taken by Uthman b. Abî l-'Asî in 23/643 (Ibn al-Athîr, iii, 31); it is often mentioned by Arab historians and geographers (see Nawbandganâ). The district is watered by the river system which finally forms the river Zohra, which flows through Zâyûn and Hindîyân. In the old Fârs-nâma (151) the river of Nawbanddân bears the name Kh-abâdân. The river system is described in detail in Fârs-nâma-yi Nâşrî, ii, 326; the principal water-course comes from the direction of Ardakan and is now called Abî Fahlîyân or Abî shur."hurùn.

The description of Fârs (Fârs-nâma) composed in the life-time of the Arab beg Câwûf (early 6th/12th century) does not yet know the expression Shûlistân, that is to say, "the country of the Shul". This last tribe at first inhabited Luristân [q.v.], of which the half was under its rule about 300/912. The great chief (pigwed) of the Shul was Sayîf al-Dîn Mâkân Rûzbîhâni, whose ancestors had governed the district from the time of the Sàsânis. We may here mention that the Rûzbîhâni figure among the Lur tribes. At the same time as this pigwed, Hamd Allah Mustawî mentions a governor (hâkim) of the wâliyât of the Shul, who was called Nâdîm al-Dîn. From the year 500/1106, the Kârdi tribes and others from Hûshâb
al-Sumāk (in Syria) began to move into Luristan. From these Kurds the dynasty of the Atabegs of the Great Lur [see LUR-rüanz] is sprung. Under the Atabeg Hāzarasp (600-50/1203-52) the newcomers drove the Shūlī back into Fars.

Towards the end of the 13th century, Marco Polo (Yule-Cordier, i, 83-5) mentions amongst the eight "kingdoms" of Persia, Shuštān, which may refer to the new territory occupied by the Shūlī. The old Chinese map studied by Breit- schneider (Medaeval researches, ii, 127) marks a Shā-ī-lā-tūr" between Shīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to Shūlīstan. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūlī dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawflī had hereditary governors, the descendants (nauḍādakūr) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawbandjan: during the campaign of 795/1393 Timūr halted at Mālmīr-i Shūl ("the estates of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālmīr = Iqbast [q.v.]; the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fāhiliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The Shūlī must form an ethnically distinct unit. The history of the Kurds by Sharaf al-Dīn only mentions them incidentally perhaps because the author excluded them from his category of "Kurds". Ibn Baṭṭūta (ii, 88), who in 748/1348 met Shūlī at Shīrāz and on his first stage on the road from Shīrāz to Kāzarūn (Dašt-i Arduj), calls them a "Persian tribe (min ał- ʾadīgīm) inhabiting the desert and including devout people". The Persian dictionaries mention a peculiar dialect Shīrāzī (Vullers, ii, 471: "a kind of Rūmanī and Shīrāzī which is spoken in Fārs"). Shīhāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʾUmārī (who died in 749/1348) states which is spoken in Fars"). Shīhāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʾUmārī (who died in 749/1348) states that the Shūlī have very considerable affinities with the Shābānkārā [g.v.] and asserts their generosity and hospitality. Their warlike character is evident from the remark of Rashld al-Dīn, who in speaking of the Shūlīs at Shīrāz (ibid., 1913, ii, 131), says that they came from Sfstan (J. Morier, in Proc. RGS, ii, 1227-8, 1230), necessitating a punitive expedition by the Arabs.

It appears in the 4th/10th century geographers as "the estates" of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālmīr = Iqbast [q.v.]; the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fāhiliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The old Chinese map studied by Breit- schneider (Medaeval researches, ii, 127) marks a Shā-ī-lā-tūr" between Shīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to Shūlīstan. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūlī dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawflī had hereditary governors, the descendants (nauḍādakūr) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawbandjan: during the campaign of 795/1393 Timūr halted at Mālmīr-i Shūl ("the estates of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālmīr = Iqbast [q.v.]; the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fāhiliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The old Chinese map studied by Breit- schneider (Medaeval researches, ii, 127) marks a Shā-ī-lā-tūr" between Shīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to Shūlīstan. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūlī dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawflī had hereditary governors, the descendants (nauḍādakūr) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawbandjan: during the campaign of 795/1393 Timūr halted at Mālmīr-i Shūl ("the estates of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālmīr = Iqbast [q.v.]; the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fāhiliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The old Chinese map studied by Breit- schneider (Medaeval researches, ii, 127) marks a Shā-ī-lā-tūr" between Shīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to Shūlīstan. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūlī dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawflī had hereditary governors, the descendants (nauḍādakūr) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawbandjan: during the campaign of 795/1393 Timūr halted at Mālmīr-i Shūl ("the estates of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālmīr = Iqbast [q.v.]; the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fāhiliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The old Chinese map studied by Breit- schneider (Medaeval researches, ii, 127) marks a Shā-ī-lā-tūr" between Shīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to Shūlīstan. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūlī dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawflī had hereditary governors, the descendants (nauḍādakūr) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawbandjan: during the campaign of 795/1393 Timūr halted at Mālmīr-i Shūl ("the estates of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālmīr = Iqbast [q.v.]; the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fāhiliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The old Chinese map studied by Breit- schneider (Medaeval researches, ii, 127) marks a Shā-ī-lā-tūr" between Shīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to Shūlīstan. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūlī dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawflī had hereditary governors, the descendants (nauḍādakūr) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawbandjan: during the campaign of 795/1393 Timūr halted at Mālmīr-i Shūl ("the estates of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālmīr = Iqbast [q.v.]; the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fāhiliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The old Chinese map studied by Breit- schneider (Medaeval researches, ii, 127) marks a Shā-ī-lā-tūr" between Shīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to Shūlīstan. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūlī dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawflī had hereditary governors, the descendants (nauḍādakūr) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawbandjan: during the campaign of 795/1393 Timūr halted at Mālmīr-i Shūl ("the estates of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālmīr = Iqbast [q.v.]; the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fāhiliyān which is now the capital of the district.
a town with a strong citadel and as supplied with well-endowed ribdts (presumably against the pagan well-endowed ribdts of this period of his life. In any case, he did not stay and tried to earn his living, but we know very little. Yazdl, as Hisar Shadman, which Le Strange, c Antar al-Hilli, best known under his Sibylline sur-

interesting ceuvre. On the pattern of Abu Tammam, there long but preferred to move to Syria and Diyar Shumaym al-Hilli, from that of one of its heads, a certain Yahya b. Abi Miguel, who not only bore the name of the caliph and was rendered homage in front of the Ka ba c [q.v.]. But when he was defeated by 'Abbasid troops near Mecca and again near Medina, he surrendered and ceremonially abdicated in Mecca, in Dhu 'l-Hijja 71/1 July 817; he was then deported to al-Mamun's court at Marw (al-Tabari, iii, 989-95). The Shumayyyiya sect seems to have owed its existence to these events; it recognised the descendants of Muhammad b. Da'far as imams. The sect soon disappeared, however, according to the Shablay al-Mufid (d. 413/1022 [q.v.]), who said to him, "Shame on you! Do you not know anything better than praise?". "What more then should I do?", replied Yakut, which brought forth the reply, "Well, you should do this" (and he began to dance and clap his hands until he was exhausted).

Yakut (Irghad, ed. Margoliouth, v, 129-39, ed. Cairo 1928, xii, 50-72) gives in his section on the poet a somewhat unsavoury explanation of the poet's lakab or nickname deriving it from shamma "to smell [something]."

Bibliography: Yakut, Irghad, Cairo 1928, v, 129-39, no. 92; Kifit, Irghad, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 243-6, no. 448; Ibn Khalikan, Cairo 1367/1948, ii, 36, no. 428; Dhababi, Siyar al-nabula, Beirut 1406/1986, xxi, 411-12, no. 208; Suyuti, Bagiya, Cairo 1384/1965, ii, 156-7, no. 1690; Hajjil Khaffa, 197, 692, 1563, 1788; Ibn al-Imad, Mudgait, v, i, 5; Zirafi, At'sm, Beirix 1889, iv, 274; Kahhal, Makldt wa-mustakbaluhd, 67-8; Brockelmann, S I, 495; F. Rosenthal, The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship, Rome 1947, 48-50; and see al-Hariri (A. BEN ABDESSELEM)

SHUMAN — SHUMAYYIL

SHUMAN, ABDU 'L-HASSAN al-Hilli b. al-Hasan b. 'Antar al-Hilli, best known under his Sibylline sur-

and clap his hands until he was exhausted). This meeting, he asked him to recite some of his own. But the latter was then scolded by Shumaym. Amongst his other works, he translated Hippocrates, his articles in the Arab press were published in Magdum'at Makdldt al-Duktur Shibli Shumayyil (Cairo 1910). The foremost populariser of Darwin's theory of evolution in the Arab world, his commentary and translation of the German Ludwig Bicher's lectures on Darwin, Ta'rib li-sharh Bagdani 'ali maqalhib Darawin (Alexandria 1884), caused an uproar. He published al-Hakka (Cairo 1885), refuting Ibrahim bin-Hawranl's criticisms of Darwin's theory, and further set forth Darwin's ideas in the second edition of his two books, Falsafat al-mughli 'u l-irtikd (Cairo 1910). He was also one of the first proponents of socialist and secularist thought in Arabic.

Amongst his other works, he translated Hippocrates, wrote a commentary on Ibn Sinâ and published se-

veral medical works. His Shawkat wa-almul marifii 'ala Dhalil al-Salatin al-Maw'azm 'Abd al-Hamid Kflin (Cairo 1895) and his Les Meifsit de la domination turque et la responsabilit de l'Europe (Cairo 1913) reveal what he felt was wrong with the Ottoman Empire, whilst his Siryi wa-mustakbaluhd (Cairo 1915) suggests how Syria should

SHUMAYTIYYA or Sumaytiyya (also Shumatiyya or Sumaytiyya), a Shii sect whose name is derived from that of one of its heads, a certain Yahya b. Abi 'l-Shumayt, The sect recognised as imam and successor of Da'far al-Madkldt (Cairo 1928, v, 129-39) reveals what he felt was wrong with the Ottoman Empire, whilst his Surli wa-mustakbaluhd (Cairo 1915) suggests how Syria should
respond to Ottoman tyranny. His literary works include a novel al-Hubb al-’l-fatra, aw kissat Warns wa-Halwd (Cairo 1914), a play on the First World War al-Ma’sat al-kubrd (Cairo 1915), a translation of Racine’s Phéémonie and a philosophical poem, al-Ra’ghun (Cairo n.d.).


**SHUMAYYL — SHUMNU**

**SHUMNU,** the most frequently-found Ottoman form (see below), Bulgarian ŞUMEN, a town in north-eastern Bulgaria, at the foot of the steep slopes of the Shumen plateau, a situation which makes Shumen as beautiful from an artistic point of view as it is from a military one (Moltke). It is a crossroads for ways towards the Staro Planna passes, the Danube and the Black Sea. The small but turbulent river of Bokludza (Porojna), a major factor in the shaping of the town, originates from the karst springs. In the past, the spring water was conducted by pipes to mosques and by wäfif and mahalle mosques to the numerous fountains and baths in the city. The climate is moderate, even mild.

The classical name was Mysyionys, Mysyunion. The first occurrence of the name of Şumayyil is in the so-called Ştîman inscription of the 14th century, written in Bulgarian. In the Ottoman period we find Şumil, Şumnu, Şhumna, Şumena, Şumlar, Şumlâ and Şumnu; after 1878, Şumen; and 1950-65, Kolarovgrad.

There have been settlements on the site for five thousand years, since Thracian times; there are numerous and considerable remnants of fortresses, settlements, churches, and monasteries in the region. Şumayyil came into being on the plateau (today Hisarlaka), where five fortresses have existed successively: a Roman one (4th century A.D.), a Byzantine (5th-6th centuries), two Bulgarian (9th-10th and 12th-14th centuries) and an Ottoman (15th century). During the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, a town outside the fortress walls emerged.

The fortress was conquered by the Ottomans in 1388, during the campaigns of Čandarli Ali Pasha, Sultan Murad I's Grand Vizier, against Tsar Ivan Šišman. The fortified mediaeval town of Şumayyil was destroyed by the Crusaders during the Varna campaign of 1444 and was later abandoned. It was probably in the 15th-16th centuries that part of the population first settled down below the plateau, in the plain, founding a new settlement. This settlement (kaşaba), with a predominantly Turkish Muslim population, became Şumayyil in the second half of the 15th century.

The town acquired strategic importance during the Russian Turkish wars of 1768-74, 1806-12, and 1877-8, when it was part of the fortified quadrangle of Ruse-Varna-Silistra-Şumayyil. The Russians never succeeded in seizing it, while the Turks considered it impregnable. After the Congress of Berlin (1878), Şumayyil became part of the Bulgarian Principality.

Beginning from the 9th/15th century, Şumayyil was administratively dependent, as a nahiye and a kadâ, on the Nikopoli (sometimes the Silistra) sanâq, and from the 11th/17th century — on the eyâlet of Ozi; it was a düdar of the Sultan, part of the wâfif of Yıldırım Bayezid I (791-805/1390-1403). According to Ewliya Celebi and Ottoman records from the 11th/17th century, there existed in the kadâ of Şumayyil two kâdis (with daily salaries of 300 akçe) a nâkhî, a nâkîh ul-eğnîfî, a subâbî, a kâthîkhîdâsî, a seri'dî of the Janissaries, a muheetbî, and a bûddâr.

According to the Ottoman chronicler Wâfig Efendi, at the time of the Ottoman conquest the population of Şumayyil amounted to 700-800 houses. Colonisation from Asia Minor and the Islamisation of the local populations cemented the eastern Bulgaria into a region with numerous Turkish population. The first Turkish colonisation comprised soldiers, Islamic religious functionaries and dervishes from Anatolia. Yûrûks from the Tañrida (Karagöz), Naildâken, and Kodjadjîk groups were settled in the nahiye of Şumayyil. In 1483-5 Yûrûks were registered in Şumayyil proper; there are also data related to colonisation from the Arab territories of the Empire. In 1856 and 1864 Tatar colonists were settled in the town; by 1896 they numbered up to 150-200 houses. They had their own mosque with a religious school attached to it, a donation by Rifat Pasha. There were also Gypsies in the town.

The Orthodox Christian Bulgarians lived in the eastern part of Şumayyil, in the mahalle of Kilise, and beginning in the 17th century, in the warâq around the small church of the Holy Ascension (in the mid-17th century, Peîr Bogdan spoke of a wooden church) and the large church of St. Elias built in the 9th century. During the Russo-Turkish wars of 1778-84 and 1806-12, and the Kârdžali conflict at the end of the 18th century, many villages around Şumayyil were ruined and new Bulgarian mahalles emerged. Şumayyil has been from the 19th century till now an important cultural and educational centre. After the liberation of Bulgaria, its Orthodox Christian population increased, while the Turkish one stagnated or declined through emigration (see below). One of the important Bulgarian colonies in Bulgaria, with its own church, was established in the town in the 17th century. The Armenian community in the town expanded following the settlement of immigrants from Turkey in 1896 and after World War I. In the 16th-17th centuries there were permanently living in the town Ragusans (according to Petar Bogdan, 20 people). In the 19th century, a Jewish community and a syna-gogue were established. In 1849, for a short while, there settled in Şumayyil a group of Hungarian ex-revolutionaries led by L. Kossuth. Many Turks left Şumayyil immediately after the liberation of Bulgaria and the period up to the Balkan War in 1912, in 1928-9; in 1949-51 and in 1989. After World War II, the majority of the local Jews moved to Israel, and some Armenians to the Soviet Union.

The population registers and censuses from 1888-90/1483-5 onwards show an increase, fairly regular, in all the communities. In 1963, the town had 60,738 inhabitants (50,616 Bulgars, 4,545 Turks, 648 Armenians, 277 Gypsies). By 1972 the population had reached 79,134.

The centre of the town evolved around the religious complex of the Eski Ğamî (constructed in 1840-90 by the kadî Sinân Celebi and incorporated by Yahyâ Pasha in his foundation in Skopje of 1506; at the same time, a medrese was attached to it and repaired on the orders of Mahmid II in 1837-8, according to an inscription written by the court poet Seyyid Muṣṭafa Tekl Efendi) and the Eski Hamâm in the Eski
Mahalle. Gradually, the town evolved as a trading centre towards the east. Its shopping centre consisted of communication in the town crossed. Nearby is the Carshi and Yukari Pazar, around the mosque preceding the Tombul Djami', where the two main lines of communication in the town crossed. Nearby is the bezistan, dating from the 16th century, which changed its functions many times and has been preserved until today. Shumen's importance as an urban centre increased, especially in the 18th century, when it grew north- and eastwards.

The growth of a large number of non-producing Muslims considerably contributed to the economic prosperity of the town. The vakifs, some 50 to 60 of them, owning not only agricultural estates but shops and workshops as well, also had a clear rôle here. The vakif of Hâddji Redjeb founded in 1671 to support the Şolaj Djami', drew its income from 41 shops. In the 18th century the town turned into a "distribution centre", supplying the whole region with goods; leather production was widely spread there; the town was famous for its coppersmiths, too. During the Crimean War, the main Turkish forces and a large English and French contingent resided in the fortress of Shumen. This fact, together with the growth of the town population, brought about the development of the network of markets. Shumen has preserved its position as an industrial, trading and railway centre until today.

The town had been systematically fortified in the 18th century by the Grand Viziers Mühsin-zade Paşa and Djeza'iri Hasan Paşa. During the Crimean War (1854-5) and the War of 1877-8, Shumen evolved into an Ottoman fortress of the first rank, with a large garrison, well-kept fortifications, barracks, military depots, sanitary premises, etc.

Shumen is impressed by the vitality of the Turkish population, owning not only agricultural estates but shops. In the 18th century the town turned into a "distribution centre", supplying the whole region with goods; leather production was widely spread there; the town was famous for its coppersmiths, too. During the Crimean War, the main Turkish forces and a large English and French contingent resided in the fortress of Shumen. This fact, together with the growth of the town population, brought about the development of the network of markets. Shumen has preserved its position as an industrial, trading and railway centre until today.

The town had been systematically fortified in the 18th century by the Grand Viziers Mühsin-zade Paşa and Djeza'iri Hasan Paşa. During the Crimean War (1854-5) and the War of 1877-8, Shumen evolved into an Ottoman fortress of the first rank, with a large garrison, well-kept fortifications, barracks, military depots, sanitary premises, etc.

Shumen was recognised as a leading Islamic city in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, with significant monuments religious and military construction. The former are enumerated in detail by Ewliya Celebi and in the registers of various periods. With a peak of 63 up to 1872, there were in 1884, 47 Muslim religious centres (Jireček) and in 1965, some fifty.

The most significant monument of Ottoman architecture in Shumen is the Yeşi Djam'i or Tombul Djam'i, the largest Ottoman religious building in Bulgaria and a unique example of a well-preserved Ottoman kültêfe (a medrese, a library, a mekteb, a teşvîk, and a fountain) dating from 1744-5 and belonging to Şerif Khalîl Paşa's foundation. It was built by an unknown architect of limestone and marble, and was inspired by the art of the Tulip Period [see Lâle dövrü] in the capital, notwithstanding the fact that it was built a decade after the period. The exterior is still very Ottoman-looking, but on the interior, the decoration shows Baroque influence. It is included in a complex with a rectangular court on the west and a two-storied building on the north serving as a library. The minaret is 40 m/130 feet high. The inscription was composed by the poet Ni'met, himself born at Shumen in 1186/1772. During the campaign of destruction of Turkish buildings 1984-5, this complex was the sole one to be spared, and it still functions as a mosque.

Şerif Khalîl Paşa (d. 1752) was born either in the village of Madara or in Shumen proper. He had a distinguished career, serving as a vizier, as Grand Vizier Dâmdâbîrîhîn Paşa [see Dâmdâbîhîn], to whom he dedicated several kâsidî; wâli in Aydın, Trebizond, Ineâğkî, Belgrade, Agroboz, and Bosnia; and an educated person who wrote poetry and translated from Arabic and Persian. One of the outstanding representatives of the Ottoman ruling elite during the Lâle Dünü, he was also a member of the so-called learned society organised around Sultan Ahmed III's (1703-30) court, which translated and compiled commentaries on Arabic, Persian, Latin, ancient Greek, and other works.

Khalîl Paşa's vakif-nâme (preserved in Shumen) deals with alâa with the library at the madresî. Part of this book collection, together with other books from the town and its surroundings, and from other places in Bulgaria, has been preserved and is in the History Museum at Shumen; it contains 650 manuscripts and 1,400 old printed books.

The desire to modernise Shumen has led to the destruction of the architecture from the pre-industrial period, both Islamic and non-Islamic. Not a single place in the old town of Shumen was spared, apart from a few examples of Ottoman culture. The town Museum houses a collection of monumental and funerary inscriptions.

The Khalwetî Seyyid 'Othmân Atapazârî, author of works on religion and dogmatics (second half of the 11th/17th century; Fenali Muṣṭâfa, a Bektâşı and a poet (end of 17th-early 18th century); Mehmed b. ʻOthmân, author of a mathematics treatise (second half of the 12th/18th century); Yûnus Nakibbendî (19th century); the calligraphers Hafiz İbrahîm, Huseyn Wûsâf, Seyyid Ahmed Nûzîfî, and the calligraphers of the Izirî family (18th-19th centuries) were all born in Shumen.

Towards the end of the 19th and in the 20th century, Shumen became one of the centres of Turkish education and of the Turkish intelligentsia in Bulgaria. K. Jireček noted in his Pătuwanja po Bługarija that "one is impressed by the vitality of the Turkish population, a rare phenomenon in Bulgaria; the Turks in this town have built a new school and private houses".

The famous Nâwevâb (under its statute of 1922, within the jurisdiction of the Grand Muftîluk and of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) began to function as a private school, where teachers for the primary Turkish schools were trained; a higher department was attached to it, where a three-year course for religious functionaries and teachers for Turkish junior secondary schools was taught; in 1948 it was transformed into a Turkish comprehensive school. Both before and after the World War II, a considerable part of the Turkish teachers were its graduates. It was closed down in mid-1950s. Today it is a secondary Islamic religious school, again called Nâwevâb. After World War I and until the late 1950s, the specialised educational institutions in Shumen trained teachers for Turkish language education. After World War II, a Turkish National Theatre and a Turkish public library called after the Turkish Communist poet Nazım Hikmet (or Tunça) functioned in the town. There were twelve Turkish newspapers, three with an Islamic trend, published there before the end of World War II, and four afterwards. Before World War II, the Turkish Publishing House Terakî had its seat in Shumen. At present, there are three mosques functioning in the town, and the regional Muftîluk is also there.

Bibliography: Ewliya Celebi, Seyyad-nâme, iii, Istanbul 1314; Sûluhîn-i vilâyet-i Tuna, n.p. 1289; ibid, Rustu, 1291 R. Angelova, Şumeninikte Vezirinlesk kiçî, Sofia 1965, M. Panov, Postolgeni demografski oblik na Shumen pod osmanlinsko vladicestvo, in
SHUMNU — SHURA
Izvestiya na Narodmya Muzei, v (Shumen 1972); Sbornik Shumen-Kolarovgrad, i-ii, Kolarovgrad 1960; M. Smai-

Several references and citations are given throughout the text, with a focus on historical and cultural contexts.

SHUNGWAYA, the name of a harbour up a

The mention of "the name of a harbour up a" and "the place of the

SHURQA (א), together with maghara, maghara, a

In the text, "SHURQA (א), together with maghara, maghara, a nominal form connected with the form IV verb ḥaq̂ara to point out, indicate, advise, counsel (see Lane, s.e.), with the meaning "consultation"." is noted.

1. In early Islamic history.

Here, ḥaq̂ara is especially used of the small consultative and advisory body of prominent Kurasāīs which eventually chose ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as the third caliph over the Muslim community after the assassination of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [q.v.] in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 23/644. The practice of consultation by the Shaykh Mubāyī al-Dīn wa masūla, mashūra, to point out, indicate, advise, counsel (see Lane, s.e.), with the meaning "consultation".

The main accounts of the ḥaq̂ara are in such sources as Ibn Saʿd, Tabākāt, iii/1, 245, 247-50, etc., al-Balāḏūrī, Anbāʿ al-ʿaqrāf, v, 15-25, and al-Tābarī, i, 2722-6, 2776-88; cf. Caetani, Annali, v, 79-110. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ Nāṣib b. Hāmid al-balāḏūrī, preserves excerpts from a Kitāb al-ḥaq̂ara wa-maktab Ḥaṣān by al-Shārī [q.v.], and from a K. al-Ḥaq̂ara by al-Wākī [q.v.], see Saggini, GAS, i, 277, 297. The traditional account of the sources is that ʿUmar on his death-bed wished in the first place to designate as his successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf (the original intended successor, Abī ʿUbaydā b. Djarrah [q.v.], having died in 18/639), but 'Abd al-Raḥmān refused the burden of office, as did 'Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar. So that 'Umar then nominated a ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as the third caliph over the Muslim community after the assassination of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [q.v.] in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 23/644. The practice of consultation by the Shaykh Mubāyī al-Dīn wa masūla, mashūra, to point out, indicate, advise, counsel (see Lane, s.e.), with the meaning "consultation".

The main accounts of the ḥaq̂ara are in such sources as Ibn Saʿd, Tabākāt, iii/1, 245, 247-50, etc., al-Balāḏūrī, Anbāʿ al-ʿaqrāf, v, 15-25, and al-Tābarī, i, 2722-6, 2776-88; cf. Caetani, Annali, v, 79-110. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ Nāṣib b. Hāmid al-balāḏūrī, preserves excerpts from a Kitāb al-ḥaq̂ara wa-maktab Ḥaṣān by al-Shārī [q.v.], and from a K. al-Ḥaq̂ara by al-Wākī [q.v.], see Saggini, GAS, i, 277, 297. The traditional account of the sources is that ʿUmar on his death-bed wished in the first place to designate as his successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf (the original intended successor, Abī ʿUbaydā b. Djarrah [q.v.], having died in 18/639), but 'Abd al-Raḥmān refused the burden of office, as did 'Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar. So that 'Umar then nominated a ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as the third caliph over the Muslim community after the assassination of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [q.v.] in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 23/644. The practice of consultation by the Shaykh Mubāyī al-Dīn wa masūla, mashūra, to point out, indicate, advise, counsel (see Lane, s.e.), with the meaning "consultation".
Tombul Djami', built by Sherif Khalil Pasha in 1157/1744, the largest Ottoman religious building in modern Bulgaria and a unique example of a well-preserved Ottoman kulliyye, still functioning as a place of worship. Photograph taken in 1934.
in their respective clans; all were early converts to Islam, hence could claim sdbika, with all except 'Abū Bakr and 'Umar's brother-in-law Sa'd b. Zayd [g.e.], were counted amongst the ten to whom Paradise was assured (al-'arqah al-musayyihīyya [g.e.]).

G. Rotter has discussed at length the difficulties and inconsistencies of the traditional accounts, noting at the outset the anti-Umayyad prejudice and pro-'Abd tendentiousness put into the mouth of 'Umar in the accounts of the nomination of the ashāb al-ghārābī (very clearly seen in the papyrus fragment of Ibn Ishaq published by Nabia Abbott, as pointed out by M.J. Kister, Notes on an account of the Shura appointed by 'Umar b. al-Khattab, in JSS, ix [1964], 320-6). The number of Muhādīrīn who had the requisite sābiqa as participants at Badr and who were of potential caliphal status was by the year 25/644 quite restricted. Exactly when 'Umar nominated the members of the ghārābī, before or after receiving his death-blow, is uncertain. It is also unclear who precisely were the ashāb al-ghārābī; Muhammad b. Habīb, Muhammad b. al-Habīb, 75-6, includes Sa'd b. Zayd amongst them, whilst al-Wâkîyâ and al-Zuhri (in Ansab al-šāfi'īyya, v, 21) state that Sa'd b. Abī Wakkâs did not take part in the ghārābī. Rotter therefore surmised that the story of 'Umar's setting-up of the ghārābī could be a fabrication and could in fact have been shaped by partisans of various interest groups in later struggles over the caliphate; the ghārābī stands to him more like a continuation of the pre-Islamic mala' [g.e. Suppl.] of the Meccan clan chiefs (Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg 680-692, Wiesbaden 1982, 7-16).

The final choice seems to have fallen on 'Uthmân because of his status of being twice the son-in-law of the Prophet, his age and experience, and his shurf as a means of selecting caliphs. The idea of shurf as a means of selecting caliphs must obviously have appealed to a sectarian group with egalitarian ideas such as the Khdīridges (see E.A. Salem, Political theory and institutions of the Khawārij, John Hopkins Studies on History and Political Science, Ser. LXXIV, no. 2, Baltimore 1956, 38-42).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Other primary sources are given in the blbl. of Caetani, Annali, v, 109-10. Of other secondary sources, see Sir William Muir, The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall, new ed. T.H. Weir, Edinburgh 1915, 193-7; Wellhausen, Das arabischen Reich und sein Sturz, 25-7, Eng. tr. The Arab kingdom and its fall, 39-42.

2. In Ændalus.

Practised in other Islamic lands, the ghārābī of the khādī especially flourished in al-Andalus, where it was exercised by mugāhāratun from the first half of the 3rd/9th century. The first “advisers” of judges were celebrated fikâbāh, like Yahyā b. Yahyā (d. 234/848), Sa'id b. Hassân (d. 235/849) or 'Abd al-Malik b. Hārîb (d. 238/852), who had travelled to the East and studied with the great jurists of the age. At first the number of these mugāhāratun was very limited, but from the first half of the 10th century they considerably and it became one of the career stages for 'ulama', who exercised this function before becoming judges. This reflects the change within the ghārābī, which was not considered, at the outset, as khūta, as the terminology for designating the first mugāhāratun shows: ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hārîb, forbidding him moreover to ask for an opinion on the case from six muftīs, who had rejected the accusation against Abu 'Umar. The function of the mugāhāratun could be given in writing. Ibn Sahl’s (d. 486/1093) Abkîm give numerous examples. The topics about which they were consulted covered all the possibilities of the law and dogma of Islam, from questions of legal procedure to accusations of heresy. Regarding this last point, there is a good example in the legal proceedings against Abū 'Umar al-Taîlamânî (d. 428 or 429/1036-7) in Saragossa. The town’s khādī asked for an opinion on the case from six mugāhāratun, who rejected the accusation against Abū 'Umar. The functions of the mugāhāratun clearly approximated closely to those of the muftî, but were exercised exclusively for the khādī, who had to follow the opinions of his advisers. In this wise, one can say that the khādī’s sphere of responsibility was diminished by the existence of these counsellors, especially as it was the amīr (later, the caliph) who nominated the mugāhāratun. But the judge also had the possibility of dismissing certain of his counsellors if he found himself strongly at variance with them (thus the caliph al-Nâṣîr dismissed from office Muhammad b. Yahyâ b. 'Umar b. Labâbâ (d. 330/941) at the request of the khādī Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Habîb, forbidding him moreover to give out fatâws) or of seeking the inclusion in the ghārābī of a celebrated fikâh whom he wanted. After the end of the Umayyad caliphate, the nomination of the mugāhāratun remained a prerogative of the holder of political power, but in periods when this was enfeebled, judges appointed their own counsellors. At Alabla
(Niebla) the people nominated Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Djadd (d. 515/1121) for 'the town's khuttat al-shūrā, whilst at Murcia, the kādh Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Khuhaifi Ibn Abī Da'fār, who assumed power in 539/1145, nominated the very young Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn Ibn al-Djammara (d. 599/1202); Ibn al-Abbār has preserved, in his Tahrīm, the nomination decree of Ibn Abī Da'fār, who belonged to one of the leading families of Murcia and who went on to become, a year later, kādh of Valencia.


3. In the modern Arab world

The idea and practice of consultation in government had an intermittent history in Islam prior to the 19th century [see above, 1 and 2, and MAŠŠĀVARA]. In that century, as the Ottoman empire's encounter with Europe accelerated, the old principle was revived in a series of institutions established in the empire's centre and its Arab provinces, as part of the effort to modernise the political order (for the Ottoman practice of consultation prior to and during the Tanzimat, see MAŠŠĀVARA). Bodies with deliberative and advisory authority bearing the name shūrā (or maššāvāra), its interchangeable derivative were set up by Muhammad 'Ali in Egypt, in the 1820s; by his son Ibrahim in Egyptian-occupied Syria and Palestine, in the 1830s; and by his grandson, the Khedive Isma'il, in Egypt again. The latter assembled a 'Consultative council of Delegates' (Maššāvi al-watāni, 1866-80) with the latency of being elective, though indirectly, which operated until the 1882 British occupation. These councils represented a dual phenomenon: an embodiment of the Islamic ideal of consultation in government, and an attempted emulation of European-type parliaments.

The use of the term shūrā reflected this dual import. From the early 19th century, the word was applied to every type of Western governmental body, including elective and representative parliaments. Thus Muhammad 'Ali's official bulletin, al-Wādā'ī al-Mustafyya, applied the name in the 1830s to the British Parliament and the French Chambre des députés. The Egyptian shūrā Rūfāʾ Rūfāʾ al-Taḥšawī [q.v.], well acquainted with European politics, likewise used it for institutions such as the Swiss Federal Assembly and the United States Congress, as did other Arabic-speaking observers of Western politics throughout the century. At the same time, applied in a local context, shūrā compared the newly-revised traditional idea of a ruler consulting with his chosen group of advisers. Such a twofold application of the word was a source of ambiguity, typical of the rapidly changing political concepts at the time. It made it possible, and convenient, for thinkers such as Muhammad 'Abdul and Rašidī Rīḍā [q.v.] to justify the borrowing of parliaments—an alien idea—by associating them with the Islamic notion of consultation. This and similar attempts, during the formative phase of political modernisation, to equate modern and traditional ideas facilitated the introduction of new concepts into the region but undoubtedly also contributed to their modification.

In the 20th century, parliamentary institutions were formed in the Arabic-speaking lands under different titles, often in response to public demand inspired by foreign example [see MAŠŠĀVĀ. 4. A.]. The political roles which they played differed with time and place, but on the whole they were more limited than those of their Western counterparts. Among these, bodies entitled maššāvi shūrā (or maššāvi istiṣṭāghī), were particularly traditional in nature and had a markedly limited say in decision making. Such bodies appeared mostly in the Arabian Peninsula, where European influence was small and the tribal custom of consultation remained a vivid attribute of local government. In the Saudi state, an Organic Law establishing a Maššāvi shūrā was announced in 1926, but the institution remained on paper for many decades despite repeated royal pledges to set it up. A Consultative Council Statute was promulgated by Saudi Arabia's King Fāhdi in 1992, again providing for establishment of an appointed Maššāvi shūrā with advisory authority. In Kātar, the Amīr Ahmad b. 'Alī Al Thañi in 1970 enacted a constitution under whose provisions a Maššāvi shūrā was established two years later, partly elected and partly nominated by him (but in practice consisting of the Amīr's disciples). In Yemen, a Maššāvi shūrā was founded in 1971, as prescribed by the constitution of the previous year. Unlike other peninsular states, Yemen was at that point not a monarchy but a republic, and the shūrā was to offer advice to a three-man Presidential Council which actually ruled the country, both houses of which were abolished following the 1974 coup. In 'Umnā, a State Consultative Council (al-Maššāvi al-watāni li 'l-dawla) was established in 1981 by Sūlah Kābis as a first experiment in limited public participation. It was replaced in 1991 by a Maššāvi al-shūrā, whose formation and political prerogatives were similarly limited.

Elsewhere, the term shūrā and its derivatives appeared in respect to 'consultative' governmental institutions, reflecting the essentially restricted role prescribed for them. Such, e.g., was Morocco's Consultative National Assembly (al-Maššāvi al-watāni al-istiṣṭāghī), appointed by King Muhammad V in 1956 as an advisory forum to the monarch. A somewhat different role was assigned to the Consultative Council which President Anwar al-Sādāt set up in 1980 in republican Egypt to supplement the People's Assembly (Maššāvi al-dawla), the popularly-elected legislature. The Council, partly elected and partly nominated by the president, was to debate and express views on public matters as part of the country's pluralistic political order. Its definition as a shūrā then, properly mirrored its merely deliberative and advisory power.


(A. AYALON)
SHURAFA (A.), in Moroccan dialect, &IORFA, pl. of shanf [q.v.] "noble".
This term denoted the persons who bore the
name of shanf. Persons of this name have always enjoyed great consideration as rulers and the peoples of the lands where they lived. But one should note that, at the side of the authentic line of the Prophet, certain descendants of famous mushtikun have, improperly, claimed the title of sharif.

1. History.
'Ali had numerous sons by other wives than Fatima, forming an important line of descendants, these being the 'Aliids [q.v.] in general, of whom the Hasandis and Husaynids are part, but only these last can claim Shafi'iy descent. Whether from one or other of these branches, the name is preserved in several of the Islamic lands.

I. All the 'Hasanid sharifs3 of the Middle East stem from the second son of al-Hasan, Hasan II: (a) From the latter's son 'Abd Allah al-Kamil there descend through Mutas al-Djawn the Banu 'l-Ukhaydir of Mecca and Yemen (251/350-865/961), the Mutaswis and the Hawashim, then the Banu Katada, amirs of Mecca (these last from 598/1201-2 onwards), the Banu Fulyata, and finally the Banu Sallih of Ghania, as well as the so-called Sulaymanid sharifs3 (b) From Daud, another son of Hasan II's, stem the Sulaymanids of Yemen and Mecca. (c) From Idris, another of Hasan II's sons, stem the Wasit Imams [q.v.] of Yemen, through al-Kasim al-Rassi.

II. The Husaynid sharifs3 of the Middle East have as their ancestor 'Abd al-Salih al-Daid, grandson of the Prophet Muhammad b. Abi Talib, al-Husayn's grandson by 'All Zayn al-Abs. From this, the Fathis [q.v.] or 'Ubayidis of al-Fihhiya and Egypt claimed descent, as also the Banu Muhannas [q.v.], amirs of Medina before 601/1204, and above all, the series of the Twelver Shi'isImams which stops with the twelfth, Muhammad al-Mahdi, son of Hasan al-'Askari (d. 260/874).

The descendants of a brother of Hasan II, Zayd, from whom stemmed the Zaydis of Tabaristan (247-87/861-900), may be considered as sharifs3.

III. The Sharifs3 (Sharif) of the Maghrib. It is in the farthest extremity of North Africa, the Maghrib al-Aksa, that the Sharifs are most numerous. A century or so after the appearance of Islam in Morocco, this group had an extremely important political and religious role, since it was an 'A'id, the great-grandson of al-Hasan b. 'Ali, hence a sharif, sc. Idris I [q.v.], son of 'Abd Allah al-Kamil and brother of the Mutas al-Djawn mentioned above, who founded the first Shafi'i dynasty in Morocco. The vast majority of the Sharifs of the Maghrib are of Hasandis descent, since they descend from the above-mentioned Idris I and his son Idris II. This last had seven sons, five of whom had issue: (a) 'Umur, whose descendants reigned in the Djafal al-alam and then in the region of Tlemcen; these are the Hammi- dins [q.v.] Sharifs3, whom one finds again in Spain, where for a few years (407/1016-23) they occupied the caliphate in Cordova, and were subsequently rulers in Malaga. (b) al-Kasim, whose son Yahya installed himself at Djijia, in the Sharif of Morocco, on the Nadi Sabu (Sebou) and was the progenitor of all the Djijia Sharifs3 (the Djijiayyin) at Fas (see genealogical table). One should especially mention the 'Imranids (Imaranidin) who functioned as 'ulamis and were the opponents of the Marfinids (second half of the 9th/15th century). (c) Isra, founder of the Dababijuyin Sharifs3 who emigrated in the 4th/10th century near to Cordova with Hasan b. Gannun, and then returned to Salé and Fas after the Christian reconquest. (d) 'Abd Allah, from whom stemmed the Amhadayin established in the north of Morocco, then to the south of Azemmour. (e) Muhammad, who had two sons, Yahya, ancestor of the Khattinayin Sharifs3 in Meknes and then in Fas (second half of the 10th/16th century) and 'Ali, from whom several Sharifian branches descend (see wa'azan and the genealogical table).

'Abd Allah al-Kamal, Idris I's father, had had two other sons whose progeny came to Morocco later: (a) Djalal, ancestor of the Sharifs3 of Suts. (b) Mutas al-Djawn, from whom stem the Kadrid Sharifs (Kadriyyun) through 'Abd al-Kadri al-Djulani [q.v.], founder of the Kadri 'ulamati order; these sharifs3 settled at Fas at the end of the 9th/15th century. Finally, Muhammad al-Nas al-Zaykina [q.v.], ancestor of the two Sharifian dynasties which took power in Morocco after the fall of the last Berber dynasty, the Banu Wattas [q.v.] (10th/16th century), sc. the Sa'did sharifs3—whose Shafi'i descent was controversial—and their replacements in the following century, the 'Alawi Sharifs3 from Sidjilmassa in the Tafilalt (see 'ala'wift).

Certain members of the mystical sittisa of the Shafi'iyah mystical order [q.v.] are Sharifs3. 'Abd al-Salim b. Mab conferences al-Husayn (d. 625/1228), an Idrisid sharif3 of the Banu Muhammad b. Idris, was their head towards the end of the Almohad dynasty. His successor, who gave his name to the order, Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shadhilf [q.v.], was likewise said to be an Idrisid sharif3, like the majority of the Sharifs3 of the DjaTar. A century or so after the appearance of Islam in Morocco, especially at Fas, two groups of Husaynid sharifs3, through Mutas al-Kazim [q.v.] (b) Djalal al-Sadik, son of Muhammad al-Mubdi, grandson of al-Husayn. These are the 'Alawi sharifs3, the offspring of 'Ali al-Radid b. Mutas, and the 'Ithnayin Sharifs3, descendants of a brother of 'Ali al-Radid, Idrisim al-Muradid.

2. Literature of the Sharifs3.
Given the special importance of the Sharifs3 in the Maghrib, it is not surprising that this has resulted in the florescence of a special literature dealing with genealogy and biography. The first notable works on these subjects were undertaken by a Kadrid Shariif of Fas, Abdi Muhammad b. Abdi Salim b. al-Tayiyb al-Kadi, born in 1058/1648 and died in 1100/1698 (see E. Levi-Provençal, Histoires des Chefs, 276-399). In addition to three monographs on hagiology, he wrote several works dealing with the Sharifs3 groups of Morocco; first a general study of Shafi'is in the Moroccan capital, al-Durr al-samt fi ma bi-Fas min ahi al-nasab al-husayni, which, in spite of its title, also includes the Husaynids branches; on account of the period in which he was writing, he deliberately left out the Sa'dians, who in any case were to disappear very quickly for lack of descendants. This work was lithographed at Fas in 1303 and 1308 A.H. Al-Kadi's other treatises deal with (a) the Kadrid Sharifs3 (al-'Uf al-tawil fi ma bi-Fas min ahi al-shariif Abd al-Kadi), and (b) the Sharifs3 Irakhiyyin (Malab al-shariif fi, Fas al-wadad min al-Idri).
At the end of the 11th/17th century and beginning of the 12th/18th century, two other treatises on Şhurafi genealogy were compiled in Morocco; one devoted to the 'Alawid Şhurafa' of Şijilmása was written by Abu 'l-'Abbâs Abū Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Şhârif al-Şijilmîsî, and entitled al-Asâsir al-saniyya fi nisâḥat man bi-Şijilmâsîna min al-qârâf al-muhammadiyya; the other, entitled Shudhûr al-şhibab fi kharay nasab, was the work of a šurâfî of the Djabal al-Şâlim, al-Tîhâmî b. Muḥamâd b. ʿAbd Allâh al-Râhmîn, who composed it in 1105/1603.

In 1127/1715 a descendant of the marabout family of the zātâra of Dîlâ (see al-Dîla' in Suppl.), Abî 'Abd Allâh Muḥamâd b. 'Abd al-Mašnâwî b. Muḥamâd al-Dîla'î (d. 1136/1721), composed a new treatise on the Şhurafîs of the Kaḍirdîns, Naqufât al-tâhîk fi bd' al-şibâr al-walîki (publ. Tunis 1296 and Fâs 1309, partially tr. T.H. Weir, The first part of the Natîjât (Tâhâqî, Edinburgh 1903).

A monograph was a little later devoted to the Şhurafa' Şikîllîyyûn of Fâs by a Kaḍirdîn, grandson of the author of al-Durr al-sâนî, Muhammad b. Ṭâyârî b. Kaḍirî; this is the Lâkîmibn al-]<hîdîlît al-ḥiṣâyya fi bd' al-fawâîd al-husnayya al-sîyâliyya. The Şhurafa' of Wazzân had also several historians in the 12th/18th century; we may mention the Tâhîbîs al-tâhîbîn bi-bi'î manâkib şurâfîyya Wazzânîn, by ʿAbd Allâh b. Muṣîm al-Tâhârî al-Dîshî (d. 1191/1777), lithographed at Fâs in 1324 A.H.

The composition of the Khâbî al-tâhîk fi l-νasâb al-walîki, which the genealogists of Fâs consider apocryphal and attribute to Abû Ahmad b. Muḥamâd al-Šîrîfî, al-Makkî, is the Kâtamîn bi-l-yaṣîn fi l-şurâfît al-šâtînîn bi-l-yaṣîn, and a monograph on the Kaḍirdîn Şhurafa', al-Sîrî al-şâhirî.

The Şhurafa' ʿIrâkîyyûn had their historiographer, ʿAbd Allâh al-Wâlîfî b. 'Arâbî al-Ṭârîkî, d. 1825/1849; this work, published in Fâs, is called al-Durr al-naṣîr fi man bi-Fâs min hâni Muḥamâd b. Kaḍîrî. Finally, one may mention amongst more recent works, in addition to the information collected in the valuable Sâžeat al-annîsî of Muḥamâd b. Djišîfî al-Kâtântînî (see al-Kattântînî), two works relating to the Şhurafîs branches of Morocco. The first is the work of Muḥamâd b. Ḥâjîqî b. Mâdâni Gamînî, d. 1302/1885, al-Durr al-mâkûnîn fi l-νisâb al-qârâfî al-maṣnûnîn; the other, more important, is entitled al-Ďûr al-husnayya wa l-şâhiţîdîl al-nabawîyya wa l-şurâfî wa l-ḥasaniyya wa l-husnayya, lithographed at Fâs in 1314. This book, by Abu 'l-'Abâ'î Idrîs b. Abû Ahmad al-Fadîlîyi, d. 1316/1898-9, is an excellent repertory with much unpublished information, clearly presented.

was successively in the hands of al-Mukhtar and Mus’ab b. al-Zubayr (66-72/685-91), when Shurayh reportedly withdrew in order to avoid involvement in the fitna; others have it that he was forced to resign. He was reinstated by Abd al-Malik, who gave him 10,000 dirhams and some property in al-Falājīda [q.v.]. According to a report in al-Tabarî, al-Haḍjḍjāb [q.v.] in 79/698-9 acceded to the kāḍî’s request to be relieved of his duties and accepted his recommendation that Abî Burda b. Abî Mūsâ al-As’fârî [q.v.] be appointed as his successor. The most usual dates given for Shurayh’s death are between 76/695-6 (a date which does not tally with al-Tabarî’s report) and 80/699-700, though dates as early as 72/691-2 and as late as 97/718-19 are also recorded. Reports of his age at death range between 100 and 127 years; the statement that he was 180 years old is probably the result of a corruption of the number 108. These reports may reflect a wish to show that Shurayh was born sufficiently early to have met the Prophet (cf. Lammens, 79).

There are conflicting accounts of Shurayh’s relations with the Umayyads. On the one hand he is portrayed as doing their bidding, as in the case of Hāfîz b. ‘Urwâ [q.v.], when he advised ‘Ubayd Allâh b. Ziyâd by telling Hâne’s supporters that their leader was still alive; and he was an advisor and confidant of Ziyâd b. Abîthî. Yet he is also alleged to have privately made extremely unflattering remarks about some of his Umayyad superiors, and to have only followed their orders for fear of his own safety. The Kufan Shī‘îs accused him of having been among the signatories of a document charging ‘Abîd al-Malîk [q.v.] with agitation against the authorities; yet Shurayh denied this, claiming in fact testified to Hudjîr’s piety.

Shurayh is often described as the ideal judge. He held court in the mosque beside the minbar; his piety. His father

The inconsistencies and implausible details in Shurayh’s biography and the contradictory pronouncements attributed to him (e.g. on the exercise of pre-emption by non-Muslims; see Ibn Mâza, 467) have led some scholars (notably Lammens, Tyân, Schacht and Pellat) to regard elements of his biography as legendary. Schacht in particular maintained that Shurayh was “merely a hâkim of the old style” and that opinions and traditions ascribed to him were “spurious throughout” and “the outcome of the general tendency to project the opinions current in the schools of law back to early authorities”. This view has since been challenged (see Sezgin, i, 402; Motzki, 152-3).

Shurida is credited with an astonishing memory which enabled him to know by heart many lengthy kasidas of the old masters. He learned a number of works, most of them unfinished. His diwan, which comprises an estimated total of some 15,000 couplets, was published at Tehran in 1325/1946 by his son, Hasan Ihsan Fashiti. It contains poems in conventional verse forms such as kasida, ghazal, musammat and kit'a. In his style of writing, Shurida was essentially a poet in the classical model following the trends initiated by early masters from Khurasan and Fars. He wrote many panegyrics, the most notable being those in praise of the Kajdir rulers. His themes, taken as a whole, are largely traditional.


SHURTA (A.), a military-administrative term most conveniently translated as police. The basic meaning of the root شرط is "to separate or to distinguish something out of a larger entity", thus an elite force within an army or, according to some sources, criminals who separate themselves from the social order, and then those whose function it is to bring them to book. An individual in such a unit is a شريف, plural شريف or more popularly شريفiya.

1. In the central lands of the caliphate.

The term شريف is among the earliest of the Arabic sources of the Muslim state applied to the elite units of the armed forces whose function was to impose law and order and to uphold the authority of the newly-established state. Its establishment is variously attributed to the caliphs 'Umar, 'Umar bin Abi Salama, and there are several reports of units being involved in putting down revolts in the early Umayyad period. Into the early 'Abbâsids period, the شريف and its commander, شريف al-shurta, are reported as having played a significant role, firstly in enforcing the authority of the caliphs, and later in the course of the series of armed palace revolts which took advantage of a weakened caliphate.

The شريف retained primarily a pragmatic institution with no authority in the developing theoretical systems of the شريف, and with only a limited foundation in documents of appointment, such as those recorded by al-Kalkashandi, and in the writings of al-Mawardi and Ibn Khalidin. The institution combined the preventive and repressive functions of a police and security force with the judicial functions of a magistracy and summary court. In accounts of government processes, it is often associated with the implementation of شريف [q.v.]. The historical records show that the شريف was in fact empowered with a wide and varying jurisdiction in different times and places.

In Spanish sources, however, the term شريف was used to indicate that in the mamluk period, its powers in the cities were not only territorially defined but also often specific to different classes of society. When the شريف al-shurta was powerful he could trespass extensively on to the jurisdiction of both بيت and that of the افراد, taking charge of enforcing proper conduct in public places, dispensing criminal justice and supervising the implementation of retaliation or عذاب [q.v.]. Among the duties often attributed to the شريف were the protection of the ordinary citizens, the protection of villages against brigandage, checking the quality of the work of artisans and support for tax enforcement.

The شريف al-shurta appears often in the early centuries as the head of the ruler's personal bodyguard, a function whose role and title is confused with that of the tayyib. Among the earliest functions of the institution was also that of night watch (الليل bi 'l-layl, was also that of night watch (الليل bi 'l-layl, and this was the one which it retained most consistently and for the longest time; in the Muslim West, its commander was often entitled شريف al-layl in later centuries.

In the early centuries, the شريف al-shurta was among the highest officials in both central and provincial government, but an indication of its gradually sinking rank is the change from its fourth placing under the 'Abbâsids to the twenty-fifth one under the Mamluks (according to al-Kalkashandi, شريف al-a'qar, Cairo 1913-19, iv, 23, v, 450. This decline in rank is associated with the decline of the authority of central governments and the gradual redistribution of power between, on the one hand, foreign military castes (Mamluks) which had control of repressive powers, and, on the other, with local urban quarters developing their local forms of collective defence and social discipline. By the late Mamluk period, the term شريف is increasingly rare in the sources, as the mamluk military units took over the functions of repression and imposition of public order. Many of the more local functions became vested in the local quarters, and the officials sank in status to become among the lowest in the community. The roles of night watch and rubbish collection tended to overlap, while officials responsible for crime prevention developed an ambiguous relationship with the petty criminal element.


2. In Muslim Spain.

The شريف al-shurta in al-Andalus has always posed the problem of identification of its three categories: شريف, عساف and شريفiya. In his history of Muslim Spain, E. Levi-Provençal followed the interpretation of E. Tyan, who relied for his part on a text of Ibn Khalidin. The شريف al-a'qar would be, according to the great North African historian, that concerned with misdemeanors committed by people belonging to the بيت, while the jurisdiction of the شريفiya was applied to the افراد (Mukaddima, Beirut 1981, 312). However, Ibn Khalidin does not mention the شريفiya, established by 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir in 317/929-30. For their part, the historical sources are not clear regarding the competence of this "medium" شريف, just as they are not entirely clear about the two others,
and the subject remains shrouded in a degree of obscurity.

The earliest information regarding the shurta in al-Andalus dates from the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmân I (d. 172/788) who awarded this responsibility to al-Husayn b. Da'djân al-'Uqaylî, commander of his cavalry at the battle of Muṣârâ (this connection between the shurta and military activity is not always evident, but it becomes a stronger element under the Umayyad caliphate). During this early period, the function of the shurta could be exercised simultaneously with the wilâyât al-sîk, the kâdi' or the prayer. It was al-Hâkâm I (180-206/796-822) who inaugurated the shurta jihâd, also ordering the construction of an enclosure in the gallery of the Great Mosque of Cordova, beside the position occupied by the kâdi' for the submission of affairs subject to the jurisdiction of the shurta. Al-Hârîrî b. 'Abî Sa'dî, son of a slave affranchised by 'Abd al-Rahmân I, was the first to perform this function, initially under al-Hâkâm and then during the reign of his successor 'Abd al-Rahmân II (206-38/822-52) who, after the death of al-Hârîrî, appointed his son Muhammad b. al-Hârîrî to take his place. It is interesting to note that under this last-named amir, another descendent of slaves affranchised by the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muhammad b. Khâlîd Ibn Martanîl, was also appointed to the shurta (and to the inspection of markets). It could be said that, while retaining functionaries of Arab origin for this post, the amirs were at pains to consolidate links of personal dependence (a cousin of Ibn Martanîl was responsible for the shurta under the amir Muhammad (236-73/852-86). As for the competence of the shurta, the intervention of al-Hâkâm I could be considered a deliberate effort to mark the existence of a jurisdiction separate from that of the judges, an effort which should perhaps be seen in the context of the amir's troubled relationship with the 'ulamâ' of Cordova, which was to lead ultimately to the revolt of the Râhid. A new development in this evolution came about under 'Abd al-Rahmân II, who decreed the separation of the wilâyât al-sîk from the abkâm al-shurta, known as wilâyât al-madîna. The text of Ibn Hazm (quoted by Ibn Sa'id in Mugharrî, i, 46) on this question seems to associate the jurisdiction of the shurta with the wilâyât al-madîna. In his description of administrative systems in al-Andalus, Ibn Khâlîdîn (and Ibn Sa'id quoted by al-Mâkkârî) confirms this possibility and, in fact, during the Umayyad caliphate references are found to the shurta al-madîna. But in other instances, it is clear that it was a case of two different functions, responsibility for which was incumbent on separate functionaries. The separation between shurta and abkâm al-sîk, introduced by 'Abd al-Rahmân II, poses similar problems, since it was not always respected, and under the amir Muhammad, successor to 'Abd al-Rahmân II, examples are already found of combination of the two functions, examples which are repeated throughout the Umayyad caliphate and the period of the Taifas. Cases are also known where appointment to the shurta was combined with that to the judgment of appeals (radâ'd), this beginning under the reign of the amir 'Abd Allâh (273-300/888-912). The ashsh al-shurta wa l-raqûd are classed, in the ceremonial of the Umayyad caliphate, with the senior judge of Cordova, judges of provinces and families of noble origin. They are considered equivalent to the hukkâm, and they do not belong to the world of high-ranking officials.

The first ashsh al-shurta al-'ulâya are recorded under the reign of the amir 'Abd Allâh. One of them, Kâsim b. Wâlid al-Kalîbî, was confirmed in his function by al-纳斯îr, and played an important military role in the pacification of the rebellions of Seville and of Carmona. In the early years of his reign (well documented in vol. i of Ibn Hayyân's Mukabâs), al-Nasîr appointed to this post members of families such as the Banû 'Abî 'Abdâ, the Banû Husayr (who also fulfilled the role of the shurta waṣûṣî and the Banû Shu'ayb, as well as one of his maternal uncles and his masâlî, including Durrî. At the same time, the caliph entrusted to him the command of numerous military expeditions. This link between the shurta 'ulâya and military responsibilities was maintained in the case of 'Ubayd b. Aḥmad b. Yâ'âlî (appointed kâdi' al-dîn in 343/954) and later, the admiral of the fleet 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Rumâlîs. Descriptions of Umayyad ceremonial under al-Hâkâm II contained in vol. vii of the Mukabâs show the privileged status of the ashsh al-shurta al-'ulâya wa l-wâṣûṣî, among the highest-ranking functionaries. This is not a question of a responsibility entrusted to a single person, and it is offered to people in conjunction with their appointment to the command of an army or of an army unit. This evolution seems to indicate that the shurta 'ulâya (and the other categories) has become a kind of official rank or grade in the hierarchy of the caliphal administration, in close association with the army. Special missions are entrusted to holders of this title, such as the preparation of expeditions against Christian kingdoms and the reception of North African princes who are vassals of the caliph of Cordova. For their part, the biographical sources show us the continuity of the hukkâm entrusted with the shurta (and frequently also with the sîk). Among these, the activity of Aḥmad b. Naṣr under al-Hâkâm II is well described by the historical sources: he was concerned with the market as well as with the public distribution of the caliph's alms and with complaints against the governors among the 'umâlî of provinces, Aḥmad b. Naṣr is ranked, in palace ceremonies, among the a'yân al-mâsâs, not among the senior functionaries.

With al-Mansûr b. 'Abî 'Amîr (who had himself been ashsh al-shurta al-wâṣûṣî before exercising total control of caliphal power) references to the ashsh al-shurta al-'ulâya wa l-wâṣûṣî disappear from the sources (mention of the role of the shurta 'ulâya is not found until later, under the Zîrids of Granada, and then only once), while the hukkâm continue to fulfil their functions, in this period as after the fall of the caliphate and in Cordova as in other cities. Al-Mansûr had in addition a personal shurta, under the supervision of a sâdî, and established in the palatine city which he had founded, al-Madîna al-Zâhirîa [q.v.]. In the period of disorder which saw the disappearance of the Umayyad caliphate, Ibn Wâda'â, who was responsible for the shurta al-madîna, played an important political role, addressing the power vacuum which came into being. If Ibn Hayyân (quoted by Ibn al-Khâṭîb in 'Amal al-dîn) is to be believed, the ashsh al-shurta exercised despotic power during these years, and it was not until the seizure of power by the Banû Dâhwar that justice and order were to be established once more in Cordova.

SHURTA — SHUSHTAR

The story goes that the town was founded by the mythical king Hūshang after the foundation of Shīš (Susa). Shushar is said to be a comparative from Shush meaning “more beautiful”, in reference to the site of the town.

Shushar, along with these canals, was already in existence in pre-Islamic times. Pliny knows a town called Sostra (xii, 78) and it appears as Shōhtar in the list géographie des villes d’Iran, publ. by Blochet (Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l’archéologie égyptienne et assyriennes, xvii [1895], no. 46); it is found in Syriac literature as a Nestorian bishopric (cf. Marquart, Brünnschweig, 27). Persian tradition also regards Shushar as a very old town (e.g. Abu 1-Fidā‘i, ed. Reinard, 315). This tradition is found in the Arab historians and geographers and most fully in the Ta‘rikh-i Shushar of ʿAbd Allāh Shūhtar (see BiBi). The story goes that the town was founded by the mythical king Hūshang after the foundation of Shīš (Susa). Shushar is said to be a comparative from Shush meaning “more beautiful”, in reference to the site of the town (Marquart, loc. cit. also regards it as a derivative from Shīsh with the suffix tar indicating direction). The Arabic form Tustar is generally explained as an Arabisation of Shushar (e.g. Hamza al-Isfahānī and Yākūt, i, 848). Several sources record that the town was built in the form of a horse. Tradition also says that the Mināw canal, formerly called Nahr-i Dāryān, was begun by Darius the Great and that it was the Sāsānīd Ardashīr I who began to construct the barrage in the river below the mouth of the canal, after the latter had dried up because the bed of the river had sunk through erosion by the force of the current. The work was only completed, however, under Shāhīrū II by his Roman prisoners under Valerian II (cf. also Tabarī, i, 827 and al-Mas‘ūdī, Marāgī, ii, 184 = § 606). The Abī Gargar was first dug simply to divert the volume of water. The Band-i Kāsār was next constructed and called after the emperor, Shāhīrū, a term which was also applied to the barrage in the river Hadīṣīādī; it was then that the great barrage over the river had been destroyed. Under the caliphs, Shushart was the capital of one of the seven provinces (sometimes a larger number is given, see al-Muṣaffadī, 404), into which Khūzistān was divided. When Bagdād became the centre of the empire, Shushart gradually became influenced by its proximity to the capital. One quarter of Bagdād, for example, in the 4th/10th century was called Mahallat al-Tustarīyin; it was the residence of the merchants and notables from Khūzistān. The oldest mosque was built under the ‘Abbāsids; begun in the reign of al-Mu‘tazz (252-5/866-9), it was only finished under the caliph al-Mustarṣīl (512-29/1118-35). There was, however, a fire-altar at Shushart in the time of the Hallādī (Massignon, La passion d’al-Hallād, i, 92).

Shushart, along with Abwāz, has always been the chief town in Khūzistān; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī calls it the capital of this province. It was conquered by Timūr, and remained in the hands of the Timūrids till the year 820/1514, when it fell to a Shi‘t dynasty of Sayyids under the suzerainty of the Şafawīds and became a centre of Shi‘a propaganda. Several governors have founded little dynasties there. The town enjoyed most prosperity in the reign of Wāḥibshī Kān (1041-78/1632-67), whose descendants kept the governorship till the end of the Şafawīds. At the beginning of the 19th century it was among the provinces governed by Muḥammad ‘Alī Mīrzā, son of Fāth ‘Alī Shāh, who restored, for example, the barrage and the bridge. At this period, it is said to have had a population of 45,000, but the number has certainly diminished a great deal since, for Rawlinson in 1836 puts it at 15,000 and Curzon in 1890 at 8,000. The area covered by the town is of all proportion to the population. Sykes also calls Shushart the most ruined town in Persia; this description applies also to the irrigation works. The houses are built of stone and brick; they contain cellars (see Sārdās), and in which the inhabitants shelter in the excessive heat of summer (Shushart has the dubious distinction of having the highest mean maximum temperature for July in the whole country, 47.3° C.).

As to the inhabitants themselves, they are a mixture of Arab and Iranian or proto-Iranian elements. In the middle of the 19th century there were still a considerable number of Marāgīs here. Layard counted 300-400 families of them in 1849 (cf. also the description of them given by ‘Abd Allāh al-
Shushtar, 24). They have probably now disappeared. Travellers at the end of the 19th century (Curzon and Sykes) described the character of the present inhabitants as disagreeable and fanatical. Among the Persians, Shushtar was best known for his poetry, with a diván of odes, muwashsháhát, etc., commented on by 'Abd al-Qání al-Nábulúsí (author of a Radd al-mu’ajjari fí 'irrā‘i ‘adá ‘l-Sushtar), Ahmad b. Muhammad al-‘Adídja al-‘Hássaní and Zaruk (ms. of the diván listed in Massignon, Investigações sobre Sushtar, 54). It has been edited by 'A.S. al-Nakhr, Alexandria 1960, and by F. Corrente, Poésie estrofique (célées y/o muwashháháti atribuída ao mistico granadino Al-Sushtar (s. XIII d.c.), Madrid 1988. In his muwashsháháti and azgíli in dialectic Arabic, set to melodies, he followed the way traced by Mubârî ‘Abd al-‘Arabi, who had made the zagáil a vehicle for mysticism (see Corrente, La poésie estrofique de Ibn Arabi de Murcia, in Suarq al-Andalús, ii [1986], 19-24).

Certain charismatic acts were attributed to him, and were gathered together by al-Qubríní and reproduced by later biographers. As a disciple of Ibn ‘Abín, al-Shushtar was considered to be of suspect orthodoxy and was allegedly an exponent of the doctrine of huáli, although the reserves concerning him are less than those for his master.


AL-SHUSHTAR, ABU ‘L-HASAN ‘ALT b. Abd Allah al-Núr al-Álláh (SA.), a movement within the early Islamic community which denied any privileged position of the Arabs. The term Shu’ubiyya goes back to Kur‘ání, XXIX, 13, where it is stated: “O Men, We have created you of a male and a female and have made you into peoples (gú‘ub) and tribes (kab‘í‘í), that ye might know one another. Verily the noblest of you in the sight of God are they that do most fear Him.”

The derivation of the term Shu’ubiyya from the word gú‘ub occurred before the movement of the same name appeared (Gibb, 66-7). The original Shu’ubiyya was the concept of extending the equality between the shu’úb and the kabí‘í to include equality among all Muslims, and was adhered to by the Khárídíjítes [s.v.] in the early period of Islam. This idea con-
had other, more diverse goals. These ranged from a call for equality between non-Arabs ([q.v.]) and Arabs ([q.v.]), whose advocates were also known as *Al-* al-`asayla (al-Djahiz, Baydhn, iii, 3), to the claim that "the Arabs" had denied any significance, past or present, of the Arabs.

Most of the Shu`ubis were Persians, although references to Aramaeans, Copts and Berbers, among others, are also found in the literature. (A unique example of non-Persian Shu`ubiyya is Ibn Wahiyya's [q.v.] *Nabataean agriculture*. It seems that the term Shu`ubiyya was used by the Shu`ubs themselves, and was not a discriminatory term used by their opponents. In contrast to the classical Arabian interpretation of the *kur`an* in depth; he identified two main forces behind the Shu`ubiyya: one which sought the world-view of the new citizens.

This development took place in an era of demilitarisation, alienation and anti-Arab sentiments between Arabs, as well as between Arabs and non-Arabs, began to lose importance. These things added together made up the foundation of a society that offered its members an opportunity to raise their social position above the level assigned at birth.

At the beginning of the 'Abbásid era, the position of the secretaries in the state administration remained largely unchanged, but soon thereafter members of the urban middle class began to appear in the highest positions of government. Two epistles by al-Djahiz [q.v.], namely "Reproach of the character of the state secretaries" (*Dhamm al-abdii il-kuttii*) and "Praise of the merchants and reproach of the public offices" (*Ft madh ar-tdjajdr wa-dhamm `aml al-sultdn*) are perhaps a good illustration of relations at the time, even though they may include anti-Shu`ubi exaggerations. According to these epistles, the secretaries distributed pompous Persian maxims and criticised the Arab-Islamic tradition, while in truth he was completely dependent upon his masters and under an obligation to show utmost loyalty to them. The merchant, on the other hand, shared his knowledge of the Djahiliyya and of Islam with others willingly and with composure, because his living was not dependent upon his erudition (*Dhamm*, 42-3; *Madh*, 157-8).

Some authors interpret the Shu`ubiyya less under its specific conditions but rather compare it with other movements of the same sort within the larger framework of Muslim history and society. The most recent publication on the topic, for instance, has largely removed the social and ideological context from the study of this movement and has instead portrayed it as a form of regional and ethnic antagonism. There it is seen in a line with its antecedents, the conflict of the Northern and Southern Arabs (Norris, 32).

Not only the meaning but also the importance of the Shu`ubiyya is open to various interpretations. On the one hand, there are preserved in mediaeval Arabic anthologies, literary works and historiographies a number of remarks by poets such as Bashshār b. Burd [q.v.] which seem to demonstrate that the making of pro-Persian or anti-Arab comments was a harmless literary fashion (Norris, 35). On the other hand, a passage by al-Djahiz reveals deep concern that the Shu`ubiyya could grow to become a real threat to Islam. Hate breeds hate, according to his line of thinking, and it is only a short step from hating the Arabs to hating Islam. "The bulk of those who are sceptics in regard to Islam, at the outset, were inspired by the ideas of the Shu`ubiyya. Protracted argument leads to fighting. If a man hates a thing, then he hates him who possesses it, or is associated with it. If he hates [the Arabic] language then he hates the [Arabian] peninsula, and if he hates that peninsula then he loves those who hate it. Thus matters go from bad to worse with him until he forsakes Islam itself, because it is..."
The study of the Shu'ubiyya is made even more difficult by the fact that not one original tract has survived. One is forced to use the accounts of anti-Shu'ubi polemics in order to reconstruct the movement's arguments. The most complete examples of such a polemic are found in al-Dāhīz, Bayān, iii, and Ibn Kutayba's (q.v.) K. al-'Arab and a passage in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. They are built upon the pattern of "virtues and vices" (manākib, mutāflikh [q.v.]) of the respective nations and recount the attacks of the Shu'ubiyya against the Arabs as well as their refutation.

Arab warfare, described by the Shu'ūbī in detail, was a technical, tactical and strategic disgrace in comparison to the warfare skills of the Sāsānids and Byzantines. The Arabian habit of gesticulating with a stick in hand while speaking, and other linguistic and non-linguistic habits of speech, served only to expose the emptiness of the Arabian claim to eloquence. Their rough language revealed the Arabs for what they really were, a people of camel-drivers. The Persians alone were capable of eloquence, delicacy and good conduct, and the arts and sciences were products of the Greek and Indian cultures, not the Arabian. Furthermore, the Arabs could rightfully claim just four prophets as their own, namely Hūd, Šālih, İsmā'il and Muḥammad (q.v.), and were said to be descendants of İsmā'il, the son of İbrahīm (q.v.) by his slave Hāgār, and not of İshāk, the son of İbrahīm by his legal wife Sarah.

But this crude form of anti-Arabism was not what made the Shu'ubiyya dangerous. The danger of the Shu'ubiyya lay in the scepticism it provoked among the educated. The seeds of the concept of free-thinking (zandaka [q.v.]), sown in the pre-Islamic culture in Irāk, showed not only Manichean tendencies but began to manifest itself as an anti-moral, frivolous and cynical attitude (mudījan [q.v.]).

The reaction was both Arabian and Islamic. Three developments laid the foundation for a final victory of the Arabian humanities in the period following al-Dāhīz. These developments were the concept of adāb [q.v.], which joined pre-Islamic and Arabian traditions with religious tradition, the rise of the Mu'taẓila [q.v.] with its strict monotheistic outlook, and the founding of the Bayt al-hīna [q.v.] which produced translations of Greek logic and philosophy that were effective instruments in the fight against dualistic heresies.

In this context, Ibn Kutayba was able to compose a binding compendium that recognised Sāsānid tradition while at the same time reconciled it with the Arabian and Islamic scholarship (Gībb, 69-72).

About two hundred years after the Shu'ubiyya died out in the East, a new Shu'ubiyya appeared in the 5th/11th century in al-Andalus. This time it was not the Persians but the Berbers and the "Slavs" [see al-Sakālīva, 3], understood to mean Galicians, Franks, Germans, Langobards and Calabrians, who made use of anti-Arab polemic. The epistle by Abū 'Amīr Ibn Ḥarsīya (q.v.), which earned no less than five rebuttals in the century following its writing, is considered to be the masterpiece of the Andalusian Shu'ubiyya.

Ibn Ḥarsīya was a renowned poet and secretary with Christian and Basque origins, but his epistle does not differ substantially from those of his eastern predecessors. As with the earlier works, the epistle makes references to the pre-Islamic Arabs' low degree of civilisation and praises the Persians and Byzantines, without losing a word over the non-Arabs of al-Andalus. Furthermore, as with the earlier writings of the Shu'ubiyya, the descent of the Arabs from İsmā'il is held up as a blemish upon the people. The epistle demonstrates Ibn Ḥarsīya's excellent command of the Arabic language and his familiarity with Eastern culture, two things that were also characteristic of his predecessors. In contrast to them, however, Ibn Ḥarsīya was not rooted in an old-established tradition whose preservation was his main task. "He was not a Christian Spaniard attacking the conquerors of his homeland but rather a neo-Muslim attempting to extend the benefits of Islamic civilization to those non-Arab peoples who formed a large segment of the Andalusian community" (Monroe, 12-13).

In the light of the resurgence of a new kind of Shu'ubiyya in al-Andalus, the question arises whether it should be viewed not only in its specific historical situation but also as a general phenomenon in Arab-Islamic history. Hanna-Gardner pursued this question; and they discovered not two or three, but many Shu'ubiyyas, beginning with the Shu'ubiyya of the Middle Ages, through Ottomanism and Westernisation in the 19th century to Internationalism, Regionalism and Socialism in the 20th century. According to the authors, these movements have one thing in common that permits grouping them together under the same heading. They appeared in the name of universalism in order to undermine Arab communal consciousness, and thereby automatically called forth an Arab particularism. In this sense, all of them were true to the original meaning of the term Shu'ubiyya "belonging to the people", while the Arabs continued to identify themselves with kawmīyya [q.v.] "belonging to a particular people", i.e. the Arabs (337).

The temptation is great to view the regular ebb and flow of Shu'ubiyya and Arabism in terms of century-to-century swings between universalism and particularism. Yet such a view would overlook two important facts. First, the term Shu'ubiyya fell out of use in the Middle Ages and did not become popular again until the time of Arab nationalism, where its use became inflated. The term then became a common denunciation of one's political opponents and was even projected back into history. Second, while the universalism-particularism-scheme may be true for the 20th century, it does not fit the Shu'ubiyya of the Middle Ages. For it was in the name of an Islamic universalism, and not of an Arab particularism, that writers like al-Dāhīz attacked the movement at that time.

1. History.

Their origin was in Darfur and Waday, and they migrated westwards at an unknown date, perhaps as early as the 14th century; in the 17th century they were present in Bagirmi [q.v.] to the southeast of Lake Chad as that nation took shape. The earliest arrivals adopted the Kanuri language, but in the main they preserved their Arabic dialect, distinct from the Arabic of North Africa and the Western Sudan [see below, 2.]. A further impetus to their westward migration was when, in the early 19th century, Shaykh Muhammad al-Kànemí [q.v.] used them as aides against the eastwards advance of the Fulani. The Shuwa do not seem to have passed beyond Bornu or Bornu [q.v.] in northeastern Nigeria, and only small numbers went southwards to the Mardawa and Adamawa regions. Some of the Shuwa remained pure camel nomads (the abbâla), but others converted to cattle nomadism (the bakkâra) and some became agribusiness owners of the southern shores of Lake Chad, where there arose Shuwa villages, cultivation being done by Negro serfs or clients. They do not, however, seem ever to have formed towns or to have had a permanent home centre. Hence they were often in a dependent relationship with local potentates, such as the Kanembu Úais of Kanem. In 19th century Bornu, many Shuwa held high court and administrative posts and the Shehu rulers took their womenfolk as wives.

The Shuwa were a significant factor in the Islamisation of the region. Two of the most important and influential nomad groups in Bornu, the Awlad Sâra and the Awlad Muhàrib, claimed Shari'í [q.v.] status, and traditions of eastern Hausaland include the chiefs of the Shuwa amongst those allegedly receiving copies of the Qur'ân from the Prophet Muhammad's own hand. According to Trimingham, the Shuwa, unusually for the Muslims in this region, are Hanafi in maddhab.


2. Dialect.

The term Shuwa (شوية) refers to the spoken Arabic dialect and its approximately 2 million speakers who currently inhabit the former territories of Bagirmi [q.v.] and Kanem [q.v.]-Bornu, today's Borno State [see above, 1.].

Some principal features of the Shuwa dialect are:

(1) The OA pharyngeals have become laryngeals or zero (OA qa'da > goy "he stayed"; OA 'ahmar > shmar "red")

(2) OA ë > q (qanàm "sheep")

(3) OA m > b in a few lexemes containing nasals (bâkân "place")

(4) OA ë > ë in a few lexemes containing sibilants (ladar "trees")

(5) The development of an inchoative-intransitivising prefix at- (fakkar "remind", al-fakkar "remember")

(6) Verbal reduplication (lâmama "gather", lâmam "gathers a lot")

(7) Final stress in -i "my", ëgàl elatives, and singulative -à (small "my house", akhâr "bigger", qanàmà "1 sheep")

(8) Front and back vowel harmony (bët "he takes", buqàl "he says")

(9) Syllable and word-final position devoicing (tàk "you m.s. come", màkàt "place where one stays")

(10) Many loanwords (including idioms) from non-Semitic African languages, such as Kanuri, Hausa (nàs aklàmmà "topic", lit. "head of the talk", dàyà "then, afterwards")

Two major groups of Shuwa dialects can be distinguished, Eastern (E) and Western (W). The major E isoglosses are:

(1) OA ð > s (E xor "bull", W xor)

(2) Plural imperfect subject suffix is -u (E nimisù "we go", W nimisì)

(3) Active participle with object suffix -in (E kdtbinà "we wrote", f., W kdtibìna)
provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Sykes-Picot-Sazonov), entailing renunciation of the Russian claim, the echo of the Congress of Baku (September 1920), calling the Muslim peoples to γίνεται and, for the Pan-Islamists at least, support for Kemalist Turkey—all these contributed to this "anti-imperialist" alliance. The link with social aspirations was not absent, but it was interpreted according to different scales of priorities. The objective of the Bolsheviks was to establish a society based on the collective appropriation of social goods. A fatāt of the mufti of Egypt, in response to a question in The Times, having declared this contrary to religion, al-Manār, the periodical of Muhammad Rashīd Rūdā [q.v.] (August 1919), taking up an idea of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī (Ṭabā'ī al-istiḥbād, 1902 [q.v.]) asserted that there was, neither in the ideas nor in the actions of Bolshevism, any contradiction with the principles of Islam. But this was a marginal opinion. Nationalist leaders were more aware of the dialectics of power; the weight of popular demonstrations and strikes consolidated the national cause, but needed to be kept under control. On the other hand, the intellectuals, versed in Marxism, and its various forms, as well as trade unionist or pre-trade unionist workers, were more aware of the dialectics of society; to give an anti-capitalist class content to anti-imperialist national conflicts, thus paving the way for the acquisition of power by the workers, on the model of the Soviet "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Between 1920 and 1925, the first parties inspired by the Communist International made their appearance, although the modes of formation were diverse. In two cases, it was a matter of the evolution of European socialist formations which attracted few if any adherents in the countries concerned. In North Africa, under French domination, the decision was the result of the majority decision of the Congress of Tours (December 1920) of the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O., Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière) to accept the conditions of membership of the Communist International, and thereby to become the Communist Party (S.F.I.C., Section Française de l'Internationale Communiste). The federation of Tunisia and those of Algeria belonged to this majority. In Palestine, now under British mandate, the socialist movement in the pre-war period was concerned only with Zionist immigration: a slow crystallisation of the extreme left of the Palestinian branch of Peulah Tsiyon led to the formation of the Mifgā'ot Peulah Sozialistin (October 1919) which in April 1921 declared itself a communist party (P.C.P.). Its membership of the International, conditional upon the abandonment of any reference to proletarian Zionism and the obligation to become a party of the Arab masses, was finalised in March 1924. In two other cases, emergence was more complex. In Egypt, Coptic and Sunni intellectuals, followers of Salām Mūsā in Cairo, small socialist groups of foreign or Ottoman origin based in Alexandria under the leadership of a naturalised Egyptian, Joseph Rosenthal, and in particular, a syndicalist revolutionary component constituting a Confédération Générale du Travail (C.C.G.T., February 1921), founded al-Hizb al-Iqṭānī al-Miṣrī in August 1921. The majority decision to join the International was taken in July 1922, this leading to the secession of the Salām Mūsā group. The party was admitted to membership in January 1923, having undertaken an obligation to convene a congress which formalised the acceptance of the 21 conditions, purged the party and changed its name. In Lebanon, under French mandate, the process was
more gradual: Fu'ad Shimali, a communist trade unionist expelled from Egypt in August 1923 for disseminating Bolshevik propaganda, made contact with Yusuf Ibrahim Yazbek and the populist intellectuals who, since the end of 1922, had, in writing, romantically claimed association with the Communist International; priority was given to the creation of a trade union base. The visit of an envoy from the Communist Party of Palestine in October 1924 accelerated the formation of a party, known as the Lebanese People's Party (P.P.L.), the legal frame for a communist cell in liaison with the International. The celebrations of May Day 1925 revealed the existence of an Armenian group (Spartakus) which was rapidly absorbed into the L.P.P., henceforward organised in accordance with communist structures. It was independent of the French Communist Party.

The minimal base of consensus with the conditions of membership of the International was a matter of the link between class struggle and national struggle, the common denominator being opposition to capitalism in its imperialist phase, experienced in the form of colonialism. But this was part of the conception of a worldwide proletarian revolution, of which the International, dominated by the Party State of the Soviet mother country of the worldwide proletariat, determined the strategy and the tactics, these decisions being obligatory for affiliated parties. Leading members were trained at the University of Toilers of the East in the “Marxist-Leninist”, in fact “Stalinist”, ideological activism [see MARK(IS)YYA]. For the next ten years, it was not so much the requirement for an organic link between Party and trade union which caused problems but rather it was the attitude towards the national bourgeoisie. The contribution of local communist parties to the dynamism of the trade union movement can be traced from this period [see NIKABA]. However, after Egypt's accession to formal independence, the Wafd, given power by the electorate in May Day 1925, revealed the existence of an Armenian group (Spartakus) which was rapidly absorbed into the L.P.P., henceforward organised in accordance with communist structures. It was independent of the French Communist Party.

The return to a frontist line of action, undertaken at the seventh Congress of the Communist International (July-August 1933), took better account of the diversity of local conditions: to the European anti-fascist front corresponded an anti-colonialist front, the colonised territories of the Maghrib participating in both. In Syria, this approach had already been inaugurated in the form of periodicals aimed at revolutionary intellectuals (al-Dhahr, 1934, then al-Ta’la‘a, 1935-9). The coincidence of the national struggles with the accession to power in France of the Popular Front, which in 1936 favoured the conclusion of agreements envisaging, after a period of transition, a form of independence for Syria and Lebanon, contributed to the success of the Communist Party, which now divided (theoretically) into two national branches. The same applied in the Maghrib, despite the ambiguity of the co-existence of the two types of front. The demands of the Muslim Congress of Algeria (June 1936), co-signed by the communists, were of democratic and assimilationist direction. The North African Star, constituted in 1933 on a nationalist base, renamed the Algerian People's Party after its dissolution (1937), soon dissociated itself from this compromise. The divergence with the P.C.A. was not so much over the objective of independence as over questions of timing and priorities. In Palestine, the great strike of 1936 and the Arab nationalist movement of the ensuing years, led to secession on the part of the “Jewish section”. Here too, the P.C.P. participated locally in guerrilla actions, and gained influence in intellectual circles.

A new Communist Party appeared in 'Irak. It crystallised around groups and circles, in contact but without organic links (1929-34), active in a frontist cadre within the Wa'af Party, then the al-'Abdl movement, as well as in the syndicates. It supported the coup d'état of Bakr al-Saddiq (October 1936), which pushed 'Irak into the forefront of popular anti-colonialism. Two ministries belonged to the frontist organisation of the Left which was created at his instigation. But long before the counter-coup of August 1937, the political and trade union dynamism of this left-wing "front" had subjected its members to stern repression.

But there were also the years of the Spanish Civil War, launched from Spanish Morocco (July 1936),
with the active support of the “Fascist” powers (Germany, Italy, Portugal). The Communist International encouraged the formation of the International Brigades, in support of the Republic of the popular front. Some of the volunteers drawn from Arab communist parties participated. But for the first time, there was the prospect of inciting an insurrectional movement in the Franco-inst rearguard sector, in Morocco. Khalîd Bâdî, on a mission for this purpose, taking advantage of the Moroccan contacts of a communist Jewish merchant of Oran, was obliged to familiarise himself with Maghrîbi “specifications”.

On the eve of the Second World War, repression by the Allied armies, direct or indirect, was applied both to radical nationalists and communists, the latter suffering to an even greater extent following the signing of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact (August 1939).

3. From the expansion of the 1940s to the “Cold War” period

Besides criticising the hopes reposed in the victory of the Axis Powers by the majority of the nationalist leaders, the Arab communist parties, until the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 1941), declared themselves neutral in a war hitherto defined as inter-imperialist. Being pro-independence, the ‘Irâkî coup instigated by Rashîd ‘Alî al-Kaylânî (April-May 1941) [q.v.], recognised by the U.S.S.R., was supported. From the summer of 1941 (Near East) and the autumn of 1942 (Maghrib), the region passed under Allied control. Communist parties now declared in favour of participation in the war effort, victory of the democratic camp being presented as the guarantee of a concerted emancipation of the Arab peoples; this expectation was corroborated by the war aims announced at this time by the Allies, and by the relative freedom of action already conceded to the labour and trade union movement, as to the national movement. The limitations were illustrated by the Franco-Levantine crisis of November-December 1943, when the newly-elected parliaments in Lebanon and Syria decided to suppress all references to the French mandate, with the unanimous agreement of the political constituents. However, under pressure from the Allies, a compromise favourable to the national movement was implemented. The credibility of the Communist Parties “of Syria and of Lebanon” (separated into two national parties in January 1944) was thereby enhanced. Elsewhere, manifestos or programmes revealed the claims that were supposed to be satisfied in the aftermath of the war. A new Communist Party was constituted in Morocco (1943), composed of pre-war study groups and trade unionists. The question of membership of the International, dissolved the same year, did not arise. A heterogeneous party, it co-ordinated its action, in the same manner as that followed by the Parties of Algeria and Tunisia, with the P.C.F., which participated in General de Gaulle’s provisional government in Algiers, seeking liberation of the French mainland as the overriding priority.

But with the end of the war, determination to maintain imperial control, even with the concession of certain reforms, dashed these hopes. In the case of France, this was shown, in May-June 1945, by the suppression of the insurrection in the Algerian region of Constantine, the significance of which escaped the P.C.A., and then the bombardment of Damascus [see al-Tharîf al-‘Iraqi, 2 [b]], the paradoxical effect of which was to be the internal recognition of the independence of Syria and of Lebanon. In the case of Britain, this was shown by pressure for the re-negotiation of treaties limiting the sovereignty of Egypt and ‘Irâk, and by the delays applied to the emancipation of her other possessions in the Near East. To this may be added the conditions in which the question of Palestine was to be resolved.

In Palestine, the Arab communists, bolstered by the recruitment of intellectuals and of workers, had in 1943 constituted their own organisation influential amongst trade unionists (‘Usbat al-Taharrur al-Watamî). In common with the Jewish-dominated P.C.P., and not without debate, they accepted, in opposition to other elements of the Palestinian national movement, and to the Arab League, the principle of Partition, agreed by the United Nations in November 1947. But what remained of the territory devolved to Arab Palestine was annexed by Jordan and by Egypt in the aftermath of the disastrous war launched by the Arab League in 1948. The majority of communists henceforward belonged to the Communist Party of Israel, while the minority who remained in Cis-Jordan contributed to the creation (1951) of the Jordanian Communist Party.

In ‘Irâk, the Communist Party consolidated its organisation and its links with the national movement. The strikes and nationalist demonstrations of May 1946, then of 1948, directed against the British military presence and the conclusion of a new treaty, provoked a campaign of repression in the course of which the militants were treated with particular severity: three leading figures, including the secretary-general, were hanged in 1949. But martial law, in force until 1954, could not prevent the periodic recurrence of demonstrations and strikes.

In Egypt, Marxist groups professing communism were re-established from 1942 onwards. But this was a result of the division, the rivalry, most of all for the initiative and the control of the trade union movement. The principal poles were the HAMETHO (al-‘Irak al-Musriyya li l-Taharrur al-Watamî) of Henri Curiel and the group called al-Fadîr al-Djâhid. Their unity of action, together with the Left of the Wafd, in the context of the National and Students Committee (February 1946) involved opposition to the re-negotiation of treaties with Britain. From the summer of 1946, repression was renewed. The state of emergency imposed by the Palestine war (1948-9) shackled a movement which, though still in existence, showed few signs of united purpose, with the single exception of projects concerning the trade unions. But the Free Officers, in power since July 1952, prohibited the holding of a congress which was supposed to address this issue.

Principally through the influence of students educated in Cairo and in Beirut, new workers' groups or parties appeared in the Near East. Setting aside the case of Saudi Arabia (National Reform Front, 1953, becoming the National Liberation Front in 1958, then the Communist Party in 1975), this involved the British colonial region: Balbîn (Djabhat al-Taharr al-‘Iraqi), 1953), Aden (al-Ittihad al-Sha’bi al-Dimukrati, 1961), as well as Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Here there was a direct filiation with the Egyptian HAMETHO, the title of which was borrowed at first (1946), with the qualification of “Sudanese”; it was from the outset in liaison with the nascent trade union movement, and was later to find support among the cotton farmers of the Djaflrîa; soon dubbed the Communist Party, its frontist orientations favoured effective independence (achieved in 1956) over the union of Sudan and Egypt which had once been envisaged. At a later stage, simultaneously with the reconstitution of the
Egyptian Communist Party (1975), an Ittihad al-Shab appeared in Kuwait.

4. The test of practical application

The trajectory of these parties since the 1950s was influenced as much by the imperialist camp as by differences caused by the variability of national conditions, themselves related to the variability of regional and international contexts.

Following the dissolution of the Communist International, there was no longer a centre for international co-ordination. The Information Bureau (Kominform), created in 1947 in response to the Truman Doctrine, was concerned, until its abolition in 1956, with the European communist parties. In the context of the Cold War, it nevertheless had an indirect influence outside Europe, in that it substituted for the theory of world revolution that of the campaign for peace, inseparable from the right of peoples to claim self-determination, to demand the removal of military bases installed in their territory and to denounce the military pacts binding their governments. While the extension of the “socialist system” in the world enlarged the field of reference, the Soviet Communist Party remained, for Arab “communist and labour parties”, the arbiter of “orthodoxies”, to the point where the Stalinist “deviations”, where they were acknowledged, were most often explained by the need to guard against the “intrigues” of the “imperialist camp”. It was by this logic that in the “post-Stalinist” period the interventions in Hungary (1956), then in Czechoslovakia (1968) and in Afghanistan (1979) were to be supported and presented as a counter-balance to the interventions, rife at that time, of the other “camp” in the three “developing” continents. Finally, according to a tradition established from 1921 onwards, it was established that the diplomatic relations of the Soviet State, even when maintained with repressive Arab states, did not compromise the “proletarian internationalism” of the Soviet Communist Party, though it was a “Party-State”. Among the conferences uniting elements of the “international labour movement” from 1957 onwards, that of 1960 had some significance for the region: it defined the “State of national democracy” as a form of progress towards socialism applicable to some of those countries which professed non-alignment and opted for a programme of economic and social development controlled by the public sector.

Arab communist parties definitely participated in national struggles for liberation, sometimes armed (Algeria, South Arabian Federation), in movements of democratic opposition, sometimes in the form of civil war (Lebanon), paved the way for coups d’état on the part of Free Officers claiming to represent national populism, while appealing to the ideology of Arab unity, or supported them once established. But, with the exception of ‘Irak (1958) and Sudan (1969), the alliance fronts were de facto. Trade union affiliations to the C.I.S.L. permitted pro-western regimes of the Near East, as well as nationalist movements and regimes, to control the type of organisation of the masses which, being pluralist, constituted the principal power-base of communist parties. In certain cases of frontist experience (Sudan, 1969-71; ‘Irak, 1958-63 and 1968-78), initial rivalry in the context of various forms of mass-organisation was followed by a seizure of political control by the dominant national party, corresponding to a renewal of repression, latent or violent, of the communist partners. In fact, phases of legality or semi- legality were to be brief. Only the experience of South Yemen (1967-90) avoided this pattern: after a period of co-operation (1970 onwards), Arab nationalists in power, communists and Ba’thists, constituted a unified organisation (1975), preparatory to the creation of an “avant-garde” party (Yemeni Socialist Party, 1978), defined as the instrument of “national democracy with a socialist perspective”.

Internal debates mainly concerned questions of the definition of the nature of regimes and the characterisation of the strata of the bourgeoisie which controlled the dominant parties, and thus addressed the tactics of alliance, in partnership or opposition. Disagreements sometimes led to schisms and/or exclusions, according to a conception of “democratic centralism” asserted by the exalted state and justified by the imperatives of self-preservation during phases of repression and secrecy. These schisms were of only limited significance, except in Syria. Under the leadership of Kh. Bakdalah, an Arab prototype of the Stalinist ruler in his methods and his personal cult, the P.C.S., declaring the primacy of Syrian over Lebanese land, considered the P.C.L. a subsidiary force, with the result that the latter decided in 1968 unilaterally to assert its independence. The following year, in the context of the Israeli-Arab conflict, disagreements over tactics and the role of the party emerged within the P.C.S. itself. Despite phases of compromise, the result of this was the existence at the start of the 1980s of five competing organisations, if one includes the faction of Riyād al-Turk, the leaders of which were imprisoned by the Ba’th Agreement on a programme of reunification, initiated in 1986, between the four other elements, was put into effect the following year by only three of them; the supporters of Bakdalah dissociated themselves.

Responses to the problem of relations with nationalist parties in power were different. Integration was sometimes envisaged, as a means of contributing towards the formulation and application of national charters. The Algerian Communist Party merged with the F.L.N. in 1964 and was subjected, with the Left of this party, to repression after the coup d’état of Houaïwāi Baman wearing the Leninist form of mass-organisation was followed by a seizure of political control by the dominant national party, corresponding to a renewal of repression, latent or violent, of the communist partners. In fact, phases of legality or semi- legality were to be brief. Only the experience of South Yemen (1967-90) avoided this pattern: after a period of co-operation (1970 onwards), Arab nationalists in power, communists and Ba’thists, constituted a unified organisation (1975), preparatory to the creation of an “avant-garde” party (Yemeni Socialist Party, 1978), defined as the instrument of “national democracy with a socialist perspective”.

Internal debates mainly concerned questions of the definition of the nature of regimes and the characterisation of the strata of the bourgeoisie which controlled the dominant parties, and thus addressed the tactics of alliance, in partnership or opposition. Disagreements sometimes led to schisms and/or exclusions, according to a conception of “democratic centralism” asserted by the exalted state and justified by the imperatives of self-preservation during phases of repression and secrecy. These schisms were of only limited significance, except in Syria. Under the leadership of Kh. Bakdalah, an Arab prototype of the Stalinist ruler in his methods and his personal cult, the P.C.S., declaring the primacy of Syrian over Lebanese land, considered the P.C.L. a subsidiary force, with the result that the latter decided in 1968 unilaterally to assert its independence. The following year, in the context of the Israeli-Arab conflict, disagreements over tactics and the role of the party emerged within the P.C.S. itself. Despite phases of compromise, the result of this was the existence at the start of the 1980s of five competing organisations, if one includes the faction of Riyād al-Turk, the leaders of which were imprisoned by the Ba’th Agreement on a programme of reunification, initiated in 1986, between the four other elements, was put into effect the following year by only three of them; the supporters of Bakdalah dissociated themselves.

Responses to the problem of relations with nationalist parties in power were different. Integration was sometimes envisaged, as a means of contributing towards the formulation and application of national charters. The Algerian Communist Party merged with the F.L.N. in 1964 and was subjected, with the Left of this party, to repression after the coup d’état of Houaïwāi Baman (1965); it was relaunched in 1966 under the title of P.A.G.S. (Hizb al-Takba’ al-I’lātirik) and in the 1970s its militants were once more associated with the dynamisation of the mass movement, resulting from the more radical evolutions of the F.L.N. The same development took place in Egypt, in 1965; freed from detention camps, the militants of the Communist Party, and its counter-proposal of a democratic front based on party, led from 1970 onward to a split which was further aggravated when the C.P. supported the coup by Free Officers of July 1971, more sympathetic to its views, but crushed within a few days; the execution of its secretary-general and other leaders forced it to go underground. In Syria, then in ‘Irak, it was the form of a progressive nationalist front under the hegemony of the dominant Ba’th parties which was adopted. While it persisted in Syria, it remained a formal framework, whereas in ‘Irak it was shattered when Ba’thist control of the country was established; the repression which ensued, remarkable for its duration as well as the brutality of its measures, proved effective. Other types of front involved countries classed as pro-Western. In Morocco, the Communist Party, dissolved by judicial decree in 1960, twice changed its title (Party of Progress and Socialism since 1974); it shared, after 1975, in the consensus over the annexation of the formerly Spanish Sahara, opposed, pend-
ing public consultations, by the United Nations; it was included among the frontist structures of the legal democratic opposition. Other forms related to the continuation of the Israeli-Arab conflict of 1967. In Lebanon, a national and progressive front, inspired independent of the Jordanian C.P. from 1970 onward, united all parties and organisations opposed to the Christian Phalangists and favouring alliance with the P.L.O. In the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, the communists of the West Bank, independent of the Jordanian C.P. from 1970 onward, then united with those of Gaza to form the P.C.P. (February 1982) and contributed, in partnership with the P.I.O., to the organisation of the internal political resistance which produced the Intifada, fighting to promote the preferred solution, that of a Palestinian state alongside that of Israel. But in both cases, this failed to be translated into concrete representation when legislative elections became possible.

Arab unitary ideology has caused fewer problems, other than to prove that the economic form typified by the Syro-Egyptian union (1958-61), federal models which would preserve the democratic achievements of each participant. Since 1967, inter-Arab fronts, of varying durability, or conferences, have rallied parties and organisations, in power or not, around common Arab causes. Nascente, Ba'thist, and “Arab nationalist” tendencies have competed all the more with the communists, whether during phases of opposition or of amalgamation, that their structures, pyramidal and centralised, and their networks of mass-organisation are modelled on those of the Communist Party, with the difference that the first two of the above-mentioned tendencies constitute most often the party in power. The same applies to debate, populist in tone but borrowing from Marxist dialectic, in varying proportions, much of its vocabulary. Trotskyite elements are marginal, the Maoists ephemeral. “New left” tendencies are represented rather by “Arab nationalist” organisations, open to united action on specific objectives with the communist parties.

Compared with the pre-war period, when membership of Arab communist parties varied between a few hundred and a few thousand, recruitment over the last few decades has changed the position radically. Although figures for the Gulf Emirates are hard to acquire, elsewhere the total ranges from several thousand to several tens of thousands. In pre-war conditions, with the exception of brief texts, such as the Communist manifesto of Marx and Engels, translated in 1933 by Kh. Baidash, few “classical” texts of Marxism were available in Arabic. From the 1940s onward, a sustained effort was begun in Egypt, giving precedence to the works of Stalin; this was later transferred to Lebanon and pursued in parallel with translations carried out in Moscow. The press was more regular, in its various forms of periodicity, in phases of illegality, cultural publications or the exploitation of more favourable conditions in neighbouring countries permitted the dissemination of journals, bulletins or reviews. Publishing houses, whether dependent on the communist parties or not, produced a growing number of works composed by Arab Marxists: memoirs of political or trade union leaders, but also works of economy, philosophy, history. It was around the theme of “patrimony” (ṭarīḥq) that questions relating to religion were addressed. While the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-‐IHKAWAN AL-‐MUSLIMUN] was the object of polemic, the Sudanese Communist Party used references to the values of the past to encourage, against conservative prejudices, a militant and progressive Islam. In the same perspective, and especially after the Iranian Islamic revolution, forms of dialogue have been explored by the communist parties of the Near East with the object of establishing eventual convergences. These efforts have born little fruit. Political Islam, constituted on the basis of humanitarian associationism, encouraged in the 1980s by states as diverse as Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Yemen and even Israel (in the case of Gaza) to compensate for suppressed democratic expectations, has become an implacable foe, not only of the communists, ostensibly those most affected, but of states themselves.

5. The implosion of the socialist system and since: revisions and redeployments.

During the second half of the 1980s, the evolutions of the socialist system, in particular of its Soviet “centre”, were to demand reassessments of former theoretical and practical frameworks. In all parties the debate was vigorous, all the more so in that after a period of relative prosperity, the Arab world was experiencing a dramatic decline in the price of oil neutralised to some extent the developmental benefits which nationalisations of this asset had been supposed to provide, initiating or exacerbating cycles of debt; and the crisis of democracy made itself felt in all states professing “national democracy” as an ideal or pragmatic solution. The Yemeni Socialist Party was itself torn by fratricidal struggles (January 1986). Soviet perestroika and “new political thought” were approached primarily in terms of their consequences for the Arab world. The equation between socialism and humanism was interesting, but disturbing in the extent to which the connection with the “class” perspective seemed to be abandoned, more particularly in terms of international relations. The end of the Cold War, for some, presented the possibility of a resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. Others were especially attentive to the setbacks of “real socialism” in central Europe, to the internal problems of the Soviet Union. The inability of the latter to establish a diplomatic solution of the ‘Irāq-Kuwait conflict and the scale of the resources mobilised by the military coalition in 1991, prefigured its implosion the same year. The new context, that of a new world order, unipolar and liberal, demanded that consideration of these issues, already embarked upon, should be made more systematrical. The responses which emerged from the congresses held at this time, the products of open and contradictory debates, were to be diverse.

In South Yemen, the ruling P.S.Y. had begun its own perestroika in 1988. Unification with North Yemen (1990) was thereby facilitated, in the context of progress towards a market economy and a multi-party system, agreed upon by the two single parties. The second political force in the country following the elections of 1993, the P.S.P., in partnership with minor parties, succeeded in enforcing a democratic and decentralised conception of constitutional reform (February 1994). But conflict over the application of these measures, the postponement of the merging of the armies of the two former states, led to confrontations which ultimately resulted in civil war. In this context, even recourse to a secession by the South could not save the P.S.Y. from destruction.

In the majority of cases the “communist” label has been retained, the aspiration towards a society freed
from the exploitation of man by man maintaining, for these parties, the motivating force of a "realist" utopia. The long experience of "real socialism" and its downfall is a laboratory for the consideration of questions of strategy and tactics. These parties have, to varying degrees, democratized their structures and introduced new programmes more consistent with national, regional and international conditions. The principal objective is democracy, the target is "unhampered liberalism", the instrument is frontist alliance.

In the more repressive countries, alliances constituted in former times have been enlarged: within Îrâk and in conjunction with Îrâkî Kurdistân as regards the P.C.I., and the P.C.S.I. in Iraq (1939); and in the Sudan, in the context of a national democratic alliance which embraces the southern resistance, as regards the P.C.S.

Others have changed their titles and orientations. The decision of the Palestinian Communist Party to transform itself into a People's Party (P.P.P.) was rather premature (October 1991); it defined the realization of a Palestinian state, the objective of an entire people and not of a class, as the central task. In Algeria, these two countries, minorities dissociated themselves al-Taajdlld, the P.A.G.S. became in January 1993 the democratic alliance which embraces the southern resistance, as regards the P.C.S.

The principal objective is democracy, the target is "unhampered liberalism", the instrument is frontist alliance.

A further indication of these redeployments and revisions, the significance of which (in 1996) remains to be determined: the al-Nâhâjî, a periodical for the exchange of views among Arab communist parties (1983-91), then sub-titled Review of Marxism-Leninism in the Arab world, has appeared since 1994 under the subtitle Contribution to the clarification and implantation of nationalism. It is currently activated by an autonomous team of Near Eastern Marxists, some of them members of communist parties, others not.


1. Egypt

The introduction of communist ideas in Persia was influenced by two events: the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 in Persia and the October 1917 Revolution in Russia. The first political party based on communist ideas was the Justice Party (Fîrka-yi Adlâtî), created in 1917 in Baku by a group of Persîan workers. The Justice Party changed to the Communist Party of Iran (Fîrka-yi Komunist-i Êrân) in its first congress in 1920.

According to the first congress, 1920, of the Communist Party of Iran, in 1921 the party issued its first congress resolution, which defined the party's immediate task as the establishment of a democratic republic, the first stage of the socialist revolution. This resolution was adopted by the party's second congress, in 1927, as the party's program.

The communist ideas of the party were developed under Rîdâ Shâh's consolidation of power in 1928. The party held its Second Congress only in 1927. Having moved closer to Moscow, the Congress described the 1921 congress as the first congress of a British plot, denouncing Rîdâ Shâh as their appointee. In confronting the communists, however, Rîdâ Shâh passed a law in June 1931 banning all political organisations threatening the constitutional monarchy or advocating collectivist ideas using the Arabic term ishtârîkîya "socialism".

The next communist phase was in the 1930s-1940s. Dr. Ta'îr Arînî's Marxist group and the Tudeh (Tûd) Party were its most prominent features. The strategies of the first and second communist phases indicated some differences. The latter put greater emphasis on the spread of Marxist and communist ideology among the intellectuals, while the former focused on workers. Similarly, party activists of the second phase were predominantly Persian-speaking intellectuals in Tehran in contrast to the first phase dominated by Persian immigrants in the Soviet Union. Open political activity came to a halt once again in 1937 with the arrest of the "fifty-three", including Arînî. They were found guilty of forming a clandestine ishtârîkî organisation outlawed by the 1931 law.
World War II and Rida Shah’s abdication in 1941 helped create a more open political atmosphere. On their release in September 1941, a group of younger members of the “fifty-three” launched the *Hizb-i Tudeh-i Iran* ("Party of the Iranian Masses"), which became one of the most significant political forces in Iran after its inception. The Party refrained from using “communist” in its title for several reasons, one of which was the 1931 law. Another reason was Soviet war-time interests, which discouraged the Party’s open identification with communism. Furthermore, communism as an ideology was unknown to the masses whose support the party aimed for. In its manifesto, the Tudeh argued accordingly, stood for democracy, independence from foreign imperialism and loyalty to the Constitution.

The Party produced its first provisional programme in February 1942. Unlike other secular movements, the Tudeh adopted a broad programme to attract a wider spectrum of supporters and avoid antagonising the clergy ("ilâma"). It rapidly established itself as the largest political party, with a structure, policy, and countrywide organisation. In 1943 it succeeded in having nine of its fifteen candidates elected to the fourteenth *Majlis*. Another Tudeh achievement was organising labour groups in industrial cities, including Abadan, especially among its oil workers, Isfahân, Ahwâz and Rasht. In 1944-5, the party continued to grow, enabling it to gather crowds estimated as large as those of pro-constitutional rallies in 1906. With these successes, the Tudeh held its First Party Congress in August 1944 to approve the party programme. The growth of the Party continued, reaching its peak in August 1946 when three of its members were given ministerial posts in the Prime Minister Kawâm al-Saltâna’s cabinet. The Party’s successes, at least in the northern regions, was at least in part due to the support of the occupying Red Army.

The Tudeh’s fortunes began to change from the autumn of 1946 onwards, when Kawâm al-Saltâna’s government limited party activities. This helped party dissidents to force changes, including a debate on the sensitive issue of relations with the Soviet Union. One of their criticisms was over the party’s pro-Moscow policy (the Tudeh had organised a mass meeting in October 1944 against the government’s refusal to grant an oil agreement to Moscow). Internal divisions, however, led to the moderate faction, including Khâlîl ‘Alîkî and other intellectuals, to leave the party in the Tudeh. Although free from dissidents, the Tudeh was soon banned under the 1931 law after the declaration of martial law in 1948. This forced the party underground, only to re-emerge in 1951 at the height of the Prime Minister Mossađed’s campaign for oil nationalisation [see *Mussaddeq*]. This phase also came to an end with the August 1953 coup against Mossađed’s government (the Tudeh’s refusal to intervene has since been blamed as a factor helping the success of the coup).

Between 1953 to 1958, the re-installed Muhammad Rîdâ Shâh [q.v.] began dismantling the Tudeh by arresting and executing party members. By the mid-1960s, the Shâh completed the process of controlling the political arena to such an extent that no independent organisation survived. This, along with the experiences of China, Vietnam, Cuba and Algeria, encouraged the emergence of underground socialist and revolutionary movements. A distinct feature of these movements was their general support for armed struggle. Most prominent among these groups were the Marxist Fida‘îyyîn, which became the Kurdish Democratic Party Paykar (separated from Mughâjîdîn and adopting Maoist views), The Workers’ Road, and the Kurdish Komôleh guerrillas. These organisations, rather than the traditional leftist or centrist opposition, represented the anti-regime opposition in the 1960s and 1970s.

The most effective organisations in influencing youth in the 1970s and in breaking the back of the state during the 1977-8 revolutionary process were the Marxist Fida‘îyyîn or the Iranian Peoples’ Guerrilla Freedom Fighters, and the Islamic Mughâjîdîn or the Organisation of the Iranian Peoples’ Freedom Fighters. The latter presented a revolutionary interpretation of Islam sometimes inaccurately referred to as “Islamic Marxism”. The year 1978-9 was a watershed, since for the first time after the 1950s the left, including the Tudeh party, could organise and act openly.

Nonetheless, the era of revolutionary solidarity and political openness, or perhaps anarchy, was short lived. The first test came in March 1979 when the provisional government called a referendum on future political systems, limiting the choice between the monarchy and the "Islamic Republic". Having declared support for the clergy’s leadership, the Tudeh participated in the referendum in favour of the Islamic Republic. The Mughâjîdîn also supported the referendum, but the Fida‘îyyîn boycotted it.

Despite the support from it, the régime targeted Tudeh activists in 1983, putting its leaders on public trial, where they confessed to the party’s “betrayal” of the “Iranian masses”. The other major revolutionary force, the Mughâjîdîn, went into open confrontation with the Islamic Republic from 1981 onwards, in collusion with the then president Bânt Sadr. The régime succeeded in overcoming this threat, driving the organisation into exile in Paris. The régime’s brutal confrontation and the Mughâjîdîn’s decision to move its headquarters to Iraq in the midst of the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s have helped discredit the organisation.

The Marxist Fida‘îyyîn went through a serious internal crisis after the revolution, leading to a split in 1981. One section, known as the Majority, adopted similar policies to the Tudeh and joined it. The other, known as the Minority, rejected dictatorship of the proletariat, insisting on nationalism and supporting coalitions within the framework of bourgeois pluralism. The last prominent organisation to note is the Kurdish Democratic Party led by Dr. ‘Abd al-Rahîm Käsîmlû. With its socialist orientation and support for Kurdish nationalist rights, the Party remains the most important political organisation among Iranian Kurds. From the late 1980s, the government began discussions with Käsîmlû. They were halted in 1989 with Käsîmlû’s assassination in Geneva during their last round of negotiations.

The 1990s thus witnessed a general decline in the activities of the communist, socialist or Marxist groups. The absence of an open political arena and the diminished contemporary state of international socialism, have both contributed to this decline.

3. In Turkey.

Communism has been a far weaker force in Turkey than in several other Muslim countries. This may partly be explained by the "Turks'" attachment to Islam, but more particularly by their hostility to Russia (especially during the Cold War) and the constant infighting between rival leftist groups. Between 1918 and 1920 no less than three parties of Marxist orientation were set up in the new Turkish state. These were linked to the Communist Party, allied to Moscow, and led by the Orthodox party of Srbawayhi. To add to the confusion, an official Communist Party was set up in the initiative of Mustafa Kemal [Ataturk] in October 1920, in which several of the leading members of his government were enrolled. However, all these groups were closed down in 1925, following the suppression of the Kurdish rebellion led by Seyf Saidi. The Communist Party continued an underground existence, mainly abroad, under Degmer's leadership, until 1946, when two legal socialist parties were established, only to be officially dissolved at the end of the year. Leadership of the Turkish Communist Party was then taken over by Zeki Basmir, who was succeeded by Ismail Bilen. Between the Cold War, the party served as the orthodox voice of Soviet communism: it was based in eastern Europe and had virtually no support base in Turkey itself.

The other notorious incident in Srbawayhi's career involved his humiliation, this time by the Al-Kasit. In a debate called Al-Mas'alat al-zubairiya after its theme, the syntax of танту азана арра "Украина атларъ ман ал-зубайр яауна хаая ка" ор ал-байна хаая яауна. Al-Kasit's wins by bringing some Bedouin women to support his position, and Srbawayhi goes off and dies of grief, consoling, some say, by a payment of 10,000 dirhams solicited for him by Al-Kasit.

(b) Teachers. Nineteen names are mentioned: (i) seven traditionally identified by the biographers as teachers of Srbawayhi, and (ii) twelve connected with him in other ways. (1) Abul Alih a. Abi Ishak [q.v., also Sezgin, Gлас, ix, 36-7, d. 117/735 or 127/745, cited 7 times (see Troupeau, Lex. indus). (2) Is a. Umar [q.v., also Gлас, ix, 37-9, d. 149/766, 20 times. (3) Abi Amr a. Al-Afta, d. 154/771 (Gлас, ix, 40-2-57 times. (4) Harun al-Kari [Gлас, ix, 43-44], d. 170/786, 5 times. (5) Abu l-Khaatib a. Akbashh [Gлас, also Gлас, ix, 48-9, 157/773-4, 58 times. (6) Yunos a. Habib [Gлас, viii, 57-8, ix, 49-50, d. 183/799-800, 217 times. (7) Al-Khalil a. Ahmad [q.v., also Gлас, viii, 51-6, ix, 44-8, d. at the latest 175/791-2, cited by name 608 times.

(b) Other names appearing in the Kasit but not considered as teachers in the biographies (cf. Humbert, 1995, 9-14): (8) Abu al-Murib, un traced, cited once. (9) Ibn Mas'ud, the Companion [q.v., d. 32/652-3, 3 times. (10) Mudjahid [q.v., also Gлас, viii, 22, d. 104/722, once. (11) Al-Ardj [Gлас, ix, 34-5], d. 117/735, 3 times. (12) Al-Hassan [al-Baajf] [q.v., also Gлас, ix, 44], d. 110/728, twice. (13) Abu Rabt'a [Gлас, viii, 29, d. 123/778, once. (14) Ibn Marwan, cf. Carter, in REI, xiv, 75, 2 (Troupeau has Ibn Marwan once as a grammarian and a Marwan al-Nahwi separately as a poet). (15) Al-Amsa [q.v., also Gлас, viii, 71-6, ix, 66-7, d. 218/828, twice. (16) Al-Akhash [al-Awast] [q.v. and see below], once. The preface of a Kasit manuscript copied by Ibn Kharuf (d. 605/1012/13) lists twelve masters, the seven traditional names and five more, two already known, Ibn Marwan and Al-Amsa, and three new names. (17) Abu Zayd al-Anajar [q.v., also Gлас, viii, 76-80, d. 210/830. (18) Abu 'Ubayda [q.v., also Gлас, vii, 67-71, ix, 65-6], d. 207/822 or 213/828. (19) Al-Luyan, who may be the one mentioned by Abu l-Tayib, Marziba, 89-90 (Humbert, 12). All but three can be eliminated on technical or historical grounds as possible influences on Srbawayhi (cf. Humbert, 10-12, Versteegh, 1993, 161-3). Only 'Is a. Umar, Yunos and Al-Khalil were close enough chronologically and intellectually to play a role in the creation of Srbawayhi's grammatical system. Of two works credited to 'Isa, nothing survives but a flat-

called anything but Srbawayhi, explained by folk etymology as Persian for "Apple fragrance" or even "30 scents", though actually a nickname, Sbehe "Little Apple" (Noldeke, apud Brockelmann, I, 100). He is said to have died in 1017/609 in al-Bayda', Shatib, of Persian parents, and to have died aged between 32 and "40 odd" years old, probably in Fars. An approximate date of 100 ending 796 can be inferred: Srbawayhi died before Yunos (182/798), and Al-Khalil died between 160/776-7 and 175/791, before the Kasit was written down.

At some time, he came to Bašrah to study alqur, i.e. the Hadith, or more explicitly jurisprudence (fakh). This is important for the early history of grammar, and supplies the topos in which Srbawayhi is humiliated into studying grammar by his linguistic ineptitude in the presence of Hammad b. Salama [q.v.]. The other notorious incident in Srbawayhi's career also involves his humiliation, this time by the Kasit. In a debate called Al-Mas'alat al-zubairiya after its theme, the syntax of танту азана арра "Украина атларъ ман ал-зубайр яауна хаая ка" ор ал-байна хаая яауна. Al-Kasit's wins by bringing some Bedouin women to support his position, and Srbawayhi goes off and dies of grief, consoling, some say, by a payment of 10,000 dirhams solicited for him by Al-Kasit.

(b) Teachers. Nineteen names are mentioned: (i) seven traditionally identified by the biographers as teachers of Srbawayhi, and (ii) twelve connected with him in other ways. (1) Abal Alih a. Abi Ishak [q.v., also Sezgin, Gлас, ix, 36-7, d. 117/735 or 127/745, cited 7 times (see Troupeau, Lex. indus). (2) Is a. Umar [q.v., also Gлас, ix, 37-9, d. 149/766, 20 times. (3) Aba Amr a. Al-Afta, d. 154/771 (Gлас, ix, 40-2-57 times. (4) Harun al-Kari [Gлас, ix, 43-44], d. 170/786, 5 times. (5) Abu l-Khaatib a. Akbashh [Gлас, also Gлас, ix, 48-9, 157/773-4, 58 times. (6) Yunos a. Habib [Gлас, viii, 57-8, ix, 49-50, d. 183/799-800, 217 times. (7) Al-Khalil a. Ahmad [q.v., also Gлас, viii, 51-6, ix, 44-8, d. at the latest 175/791-2, cited by name 608 times.

(b) Other names appearing in the Kasit but not considered as teachers in the biographies (cf. Humbert, 1995, 9-14): (8) Abu al-Murib, un traced, cited once. (9) Ibn Mas'ud, the Companion [q.v., d. 32/652-3, 3 times. (10) Mudjahid [q.v., also Gлас, viii, 22, d. 104/722, once. (11) Al-Ardj [Gлас, ix, 34-5], d. 117/735, 3 times. (12) Al-Hassan [al-Baajf] [q.v., also Gлас, ix, 44], d. 110/728, twice. (13) Abu Rabt'a [Gлас, viii, 29, d. 123/778, once. (14) Ibn Marwan, cf. Carter, in REI, xiv, 75, 2 (Troupeau has Ibn Marwan once as a grammarian and a Marwan al-Nahwi separately as a poet). (15) Al-Amsa [q.v., also Gлас, viii, 71-6, ix, 66-7, d. 213/828, twice. (16) Al-Akhash [al-Awast] [q.v. and see below], once. The preface of a Kasit manuscript copied by Ibn Kharuf (d. 605/1012/13) lists twelve masters, the seven traditional names and five more, two already known, Ibn Marwan and Al-Amsa, and three new names. (17) Abu Zayd al-Anajar [q.v., also Gлас, viii, 76-80, d. 210/830. (18) Abu 'Ubayda [q.v., also Gлас, vii, 67-71, ix, 65-6], d. 207/822 or 213/828. (19) Al-Luyan, who may be the one mentioned by Abu l-Tayib, Marziba, 89-90 (Humbert, 12). All but three can be eliminated on technical or historical grounds as possible influences on Srbawayhi (cf. Humbert, 10-12, Versteegh, 1993, 161-3). Only 'Is a. Umar, Yunos and Al-Khalil were close enough chronologically and intellectually to play a role in the creation of Srbawayhi's grammatical system. Of two works credited to 'Isa, nothing survives but a flat-
terring reference by al-Mubarrad (Abu '1-Tayyib, Marātib', 46; Ibn al-Anbārī, Nahde, ed. Amer, 15, says he has never seen a copy nor heard of anyone who has). 'Isā died well before Sbawayhi and is not mentioned in the Kitāb. If Sbawayhi's phonological ideas were primitive in comparison with those of Slbawayhi, this does not mean that he may have furnished information in a similar way to Yūnus and al-Khallī but on a much smaller scale. We return to Yūnus and al-Khallī below.

2. Grammatical background and origins.

The only reliable source of information about primitive grammar or what we might call "proto-grammarians" is the Kitāb itself. Versteegh's invaluable essay of early Tafsīr (1993) demonstrates that no matter what was said about language in this period (and the subject could hardly fail to arouse), it did not reach the level of a mature theory of language with an appropriate scientific vocabulary and methodology.

(a) Foreign origins. There have been attempts to trace the origins of Arabic grammar to external influences, principally Greek, via Syriac (see Nahw). The Greek hypothesis achieves a major restatement about every hundred years, beginning with the Hot very widely compared Hāṣe (1869) after which the baton passed to Merx (1889), then Rundgren (1976) and Versteegh (1977). All these assume that Arabic grammar could not have evolved out of the resources of Arab-Islamic culture and that various systematic and terminological features of Arabic grammar point to Greek models. There are no texts or circumstantial evidence for exchanges between Syriac scholars and early Arab grammarians, and the Greek case is essentially post hoc ergo propter hoc. The most important testimony, a logical work attributed to Ibn al-Mukaffā', [g.e.], bears the taint of inauthenticity (it might be by his son), and contains almost nothing of relevance. The main weakness of the Greek hypothesis, however, is that it explains so little of the grammar in the Kitāb. An Indian origin has been proposed for phonological theory, argued confidently by Danecik and equally firmly refuted by Law. Lack of documents and circumstantial evidence again undermine the case, coupled with insufficient symmetry between the systems.

(b) Indigenous origins. The traditional narrative ascribing the invention of grammar to Abu '1-Aswād al-Du'ālī [g.e.], thence through generations of scholars up to and beyond Sbawayhi, has an inner coherence which corresponds well to the likely stages in the growth of linguistic consciousness, responding to the increasing volatility of Arabic and the need for a definitive form of the text upon which the new Islamic civilization now depended. But this neither caused, nor can it explain, Sbawayhi's grammatical system. Extensive similarities between legal reasoning and the grammar of the Kitāb (cf. Carter, in REL, xliv, 86-91) encourage the hypothesis that Sbawayhi found his inspiration in law. We are not told how he got his legal training, but after the incident with Hāmāmī b. Sālama he "went off and attached himself to the master of al-Akhfāsh with Ya'kūb al-Hājīramī and al-Khallī and the rest of the nahwīyūn" (al-Zādīдādī, Maqālīdī, 155): in other words, of the leading author on Arabic, a major Reader, sundry "grammarians" (if such they were, see below), and the older man who would later preserve his work. He thus remained within the philological tradition implied by the conventional histories: Kurān, secular language and early systematication, with the future disciple al-Akhfāsh having the seniority to act as host for this extraordinary gathering of the Kitāb. For example, he is particularly severe against al-Khallī (e.g. on the truncated vocative ya kūdī against al-Khallī's ya kūdī, ii, 289/i, 315). Versteegh (1977) identifies a "MedFnan School" on the basis of three references in the Kitāb and other later evidence, adding for good measure the names of two Meccan "grammarians" prior to Sbawayhi. Nothing is known about their grammatical opinions, however, except for Ibn Marwān, whose dispute with Abū 'Amr is reported in the Kitāb (Talmon, in JASOS, iv), and no significant interpretative benefits arise from reducing the inevitable conflicts of opinion among these early figures to a system of "Schools".

(ii) The nahwīyūn. This word (always plural) occurs 20 times in the Kitāb referring to an anonymous group of participants in the grammatical debate. Their anonymity is disputed by Talmon (in ZAL, viii), who also argues that the nahwīyūn were highly sophisticated thinkers. From the way Sbawayhi cites them, however, one must conclude that he regarded their grammatical reasoning as inferior; in most of the exchanges he either rejects or severely criticizes them, e.g. [ašāfī'ī] is incorrect, not said by the Arabs, but the nahwīyūn have created it "by analogy (kātibā')", 383/i, 335. It seems unlikely that Sbawayhi saw himself as one of the nahwīyūn, which raises a delicate question: who, then, were the real "grammarians"? Sbawayhi had no name for "grammar" as such, which was eventually called nahw on the assumption that this was what the nahwīyūn were doing in the Kitāb.

(iii) Specific masters. Sbawayhi drew directly and indirectly upon the knowledge of several informants and scholars, but only Yūnus and al-Khallī were intimately involved with the creation of the Kitāb (see below on al-Akhfāsh).

Yūnus is mentioned 217 times, and although his exact role is difficult to pin down, Sbawayhi disagrees with him more often and more conspicuously than with al-Khallī. For example, he is particularly severe on Yūnus's claim that min kūdīmā" should be vocalized min kūdīnā": "that is one way of speaking, although no Arab actually ever says it" hāzdā madībāhī "nīla annuhu laya yakūshu abahā" min al-Ārab (ii, 47/ii, 43). Even though Sbawayhi occasionally sides with Yūnus against al-Khallī (e.g. on the truncated vocative ya kūdī against al-Khallī's ya kūdī, ii, 289/i, 315), Yūnus tends to hold views which do not fit into Sbawayhi's scheme. Al-Khallī is quoted by name or by implication (sa'isbūtu, etc.) on almost every page of the Kitāb and was clearly an inexhaustible source of data and theoretical inspiration for Sbawayhi. Reuschel confines Sbawayhi's role to merely organizing what al-Khallī taught him, a position which it is as difficult to refute as to accept. Fischer is at the other pole; having examined the discarded phonological terminology of al-Khallī preserved by al-Khārazmī, he concludes that al-Khallī was mainly a "morphophonologist" and may well have been unaware of the basic principles of Sbawayhi's grammar. Danecik even argues that al-Khallī's phonological ideas were primitive in comparison with those of Sbawayhi. All this accords with 
the biographical constant that al-Khalil is usually titled "the Prosodist" (Ṣibawayhi) and also recognised as the founder of lexicography, while Sibawayhi's association with the creation of grammar is not seriously challenged. What stands out is al-Khalil's interest in the following: (i) compound syntactic units functioning as single words (the terms muntahā 'i-um and tamām 'i-um are associated with al-Khalil, e.g. i, 350/1, 360), (ii) the principle that a speaker who begins an equational sentence is obliged to finish it with a predicate (e.g. i, 394/1, 346), (iii) the role of the listener's knowledge (i, 453/1, 403), (iv) the relationship between frequency and elision (e.g. i, 143/1, 120). But Sibawayhi does not always agree with al-Khalil, e.g. i, 181/1, 151, where hādhā ra'dūf al-akhīr zādī understood meant to mean "this is a man [like] Zayed's brother" is labelled "incorrect and weak" (kabīth wa da'īf). A genius is known by the questions he asks, as has been said already of al-Khalil (Bräunlich, in Islamica, ii, 61), and Sibawayhi's questions, no matter how much he depended on his teachers for the answers, were inspired by a concept of language that was at best only latent in al-Khalil's instruction and unsystematic approach.

3. The contents of the Kitāb.

The following is a summary of the repertoire of ideas which all subsequent grammar explored and still exploits.

(a) Arrangement. Although a large work (printed editions are more than 900 pages), the order of the material and the internal cross-references reveal an unmistakable plan. The Kitāb begins with seven introductory chapters (probably the same as a Risāla attributed to Sibawayhi which forms the core of al-Zajjājī's al-Idāb), after which Sibawayhi deals with Arabic grammar in the order syntax, morphology, and phonology.

The "Risāla" is as close as we come to an orderly statement of Sibawayhi's linguistic presuppositions (or postulates, as Suleiman, in JSAL, xxxv, 258 would have it). It is perhaps an exaggeration to say that "Sibawayhi never explicitly states the basic theoretical principles on which he works" (Bohah/Guil/Koul, 33), but he is certainly casual about it. Nevertheless it is from these introductory sections that we learn there are three parts of speech, two discrete sets of vowels and inflections, a number of internal hierarchies (see below), a fundamental subject-predicate structure, an assortment of lexical, semantic and phonological accidents such as synonymy, polysemy, elision and substitution, a group of formal and semantic criteria and a range of non-standard phenomena permitted only in poetry.

(b) Data. The object of study is kalam "speech", i.e. every speech act (including Kur'ānic and poetry) which fulfills the criteria of structural and semantic adequacy. Kalām does not imply any particular length or number of constituents (cf. Talmon, in ZeDMG, cxxviiii, 80-8), still less anything as specific as "sentence" (only later termed jama'ah), and may also denote "prose" in contrast with "poetry" but not exclusively (İvangy, Proceedings, 210-12). Data are of three kinds, the Kur'ān, poetry and the usage of the "Arabs", i.e. the Bedouin, and are adduced in one of these three forms or in the familiar symbolic representations of the type ṣaḏrām ẓarāhūhū. İvangy has tabulated the introductory formulae indicating Sibawayhi's estimate of the data's authenticity. Although the Kur'ān is stated to have been sent down "in the speech of the faithful" (al-ādā kalām al-ībād, i, 167/1, 139) Sibawayhi did not give linguistic priority to Kur'ānic usage, nor is there any hint of a doctrine of tā'īq (g.v.) at this stage. He is aware of the various kinds 'ārā and not always in favour of certain Readings (Baalbaki, in ZAL, xv; Brockett), but avoids embroiling himself in doctrinal implications.

Poetry (1,056 lines, Djm'a, 116, from 231 poets in 26 tribes, ibid., 11) was originally quoted without attribution (cf. the adduced 1,050 verses and added the names except for 50 he could not identify (but see Djm'a, 214). Only three contemporary poets, Abān al-Lāhūf, Bāshāhm b. Burd and Khaalaf al-Ahmār are quoted, and all three citations are suspect. As with the Kur'ān, poetic data have no priority over the Bedouin Arabic, but Sibawayhi acknowledges that poetic usage may differ from prose, usually dialect features which were not adopted into standard Arabic.

Proverbial expressions (maddal) are recognised as non-productive (e.g. i, 24/1, 18). Surprisingly little Hadīth is material quoted in the Kitāb. There are a few fragments identifiable as Hadīth, and the famous kālu mausi baths yālu ʾālā ʾl-fārī, etc. is found in i, 396/1, 348. But the Prophet Muhammad is nowhere mentioned in the Kitāb, and even Hadīth are introduced as if they were part of ordinary speech, e.g. by kauwulum (cf. ibid., 762). But al-Haddīth is not a comprehensive study of language that was at best only latent in al-Khalil's instruction and unsystematic approach.

The ideal language is what Sibawayhi calls "good old Arabic" al-tugh'a il-arabiyya il-kafrina il-tāyīdaa (ii, 424/1, 474), i.e. Ḥijājī (al-ḥijājīyya hiya il-tūgha il-ʿīla il-ḥukāma (ii, 41/1, 37). Levin (in JSAL, xvii) shows that Sibawayhi made his own enquiries of the Bedouin as well as relying on second-hand evidence. It is also significant (ibid., 235) that Sibawayhi contrasts the artificial constructs of the naḥawīs with the natural usage of Bedouin informants and urges speakers to follow only the "Arab" way. His dismissal of some Bedouin usages as "incorrect" (ibid., 236) has important theoretical implications, likewise the idea that the reasons for a usage can be lost, e.g. why some proper names have adf-lām (i, 268/1, 228, perhaps from al-Khalil).

These three kinds of data and their representations in model utterances are the evidence for the "way" correct Arabic is spoken (writing is marginal, though the Kitāb does mention the formula for beginning letters, ammā b'da, i, 470/1, 418). Sibawayhi's word for "way" is usually nahw, e.g. sa-tārā hādīth il-nahwā il-kalamīm "you will see this way [of speaking] in their speech" (i, 243/1, 207), but he also uses the synonyms sabīl, tarīkha, μαισσάρ, usāj, sahnī, occasionally even sunna and sharī. He therefore treats kalām as a set of acts judged pragmatically by motive, structure and communicative effectiveness, not as a set of logical propositions judged by semantic content and falsifiability. Truth and falsehood are irrelevant: kalām is evaluated (i, 7/1, 7) in terms of its structural correctness, as (ethically) "good" hasān or "bad" kabh, i.e. well-formed or ill-formed (with synonyms ḍjamīl, radi, etc.), and by its communicative effectiveness, as (ethically) "right" mustākim (compare ʾahuw with sunn, sunna). Incomprehensible speech is "wrong" muhāl, i.e. perverted. Communicative success or failure are absolute, but structural correctness may be graded, ahsan, adāghad etc. Speech may even be mustākim kabh, i.e. making sense though structurally incorrect (especially in poetry), but is normally only "permissible". ḍī'ārīz, if it is structurally complete, yāṣaun al-sukūt al-ayāh, and semantically self-sufficient, mustaghānī.

(c) General principles. Kalām itself is segmented in two ways, into word classes and word positions. There are only three formal categories, ṣim, ʿfī al-ṭanīmah, and ʿafā al-īlam. No too much Distinction results from equating ʿām with "noun" and ʿfī with "verb", although "verb" is far closer to the Greek rhema with its implications of "predicate" than the Arabic ʿfī, which
means simply "[word denoting] an act". But the definition of *harf* did not assume a knowledge of Sbawayhi's concept of word position or *ma'nd*. *Mawdi‘* "place", more fully *mawdi‘* fit *'kalim* "place in speech" is Sbawayhi's term for the position in which a speech element is used (cf. the notion of "function" in Western linguistics). In this sense, *mawdi‘* is simply taken over from ethical terminology, where it commonly denotes the "place" of an act as determining its goodness or badness (cf. Ibn al-Mukaffa‘ and the early jurists). Each *mawdi‘* represents a specific linguistic act, thus *mawdi‘* *al-nidd* is "the place for calling", realised by the word *ya* expressing the meaning *nidd* [q.v.] of that act, viz. *mawdi‘* *l-nidd* "the meaning of calling". This brings us back to *harf*, which, unlike the noun or verb, is formally and semantically unclassifiable and can only be defined by what the speaker does with it, hence *ya* is *harf* *nidd* "a particle of calling", i.e. used to perform an act whose meaning is "calling". The general definition of *harf* is implicitly *harf* *gā‘a* *l-ma‘nd* "x", where "x" is one of the seventy or so linguistic acts identified by Sbawayhi as a *ma‘nd*, all denoted by verbal nouns exactly as in *khf*. Every particle is defined in this way: lā = *harf* *gā‘a* *l-ma‘nd* "l-na‘fi, in = *harf* *gā‘a* *l-ma‘nd* *l-shart* and so on. It follows that Sbawayhi has little time for lexical meaning, since merely explaining one word by another leads to infinite regression (i, 312/i, 339).

The correlative of *mawdi‘* is *manzila*, and just as *mawdi‘* connotes function and syntagmatic features, so *manzila* represents status on the paradigmatic axis. Thus two elements from different form classes, if they have the same status, *manzila*, may occur in the same function, *mawdi‘*, e.g. the particle *mā* in *Hijāj*ūs’ usage has the status of the verb *laya* (i, 27/i, 22). A third term in this set, *mawdi‘*, denotes simply the occurrence of an element in the string without regard to its function: compare *lū-kāna* *mawdi‘* *dāhār* *kāna* has another place (i, 21/i, 16), i.e. "there is another way to use *kāna*", with *lām* *lā yūka‘a* *bī sūlah* *fā‘ala* *fā‘ala* *fā‘ala* never occurs after *lū* (i, 457/i, 407, and cf. Versteegh, in *Arabica*, xxv).

Consequent on all this is the principle, often raised by al-Khalīfī and fully exploited by Sbawayhi, that compound units may have the status of a simple element and so be substitutable for it. The *Kitāb* identifies a number of units with the *manzila* of a "single noun" (*išm wa‘āid*), such as noun + adjective, annexed nouns, demonstrative noun + noun, *anna* + noun, relative clause and antecedent, *ayy* + relative clause, *an* + subordinate verb, *iḏhān* + verb, verb + agent pronoun suffix, and verb + preposition. Levin’s suggestion (Studies in Isl. hist.) that *kalima* in the *Kitāb* is (with Levin’s own reservations) partially equivalent to "morpheme" is illuminating, but the relationship between *kalima* and *išm wa‘āid* needs further exploration.

*Manzila* also implies a hierarchy, since the range of an element’s forms and functions depends on its status. For instance, the verbal status of the "five particles" *imn*, *anna* etc., allows them to operate on nouns and give them dependent (nasb) form in the same way as *sīgūna* has verbal status and effect, but none of them have the paradigmatic freedom (*lašārag*) of verbs (i, 279/i, 241). The system accommodates several hierarchies, most of which are set out in the introductory paragraphs of the *Kitāb* and have been collected by Baalbaki in *ZAL*, ii. They include the priority of nouns over verbs, singular over dual and plural, masculine over feminine, indefinite over definite, simpler word patterns over more complex, "tighter" vowels over "heavier", *māhmūs* consonants over *madhab*. Sbawayhi also regards time as closer to verbs and place to nouns (i, 16/i, 12). None of this violates the linearity of nārah: a speech element can only occur in the "chain" of a *mawdi‘*. (Martineau i, 6 it) its status determines its place(s) in the chain just as civil rank determines the place(s) of an individual in society.

The symmetry and coherence of Sbawayhi’s grammar are assured by *kiyār* "analogy" [q.v.], which unifies linguistic practice through structural similarities and enables the generation of new utterances. Sbawayhi’s use of *kiyār* has been compared with early juridical arguments and Baalbaki (Mos.) shows how the mechanisms of analogical reasoning are all there, even if the formal terminology is lacking. Gwynne has examined a *fortiori* arguments in the *Kitāb* and concluded that this kind of reasoning passed from law to grammar, then directly to theology. For Sbawayhi, it was the speakers who made analogies: "they sometimes liken one thing to another, even if they are not alike in all respects" (i, 95/i, 77, using *yuxabah*). His readers are told to do the same: *ja‘lā lāhidu fakū lāhidu* lāhidu *bā‘ala* "so make analogies on this for this way of speaking" (ii, 163/i, 167, note *kāsa* in the context of *nābah*), but he also warns against analogical extension of non-standard forms: *lā yunbāqī lāka an takīa‘āla al-šādīb* "you should not base analogies on anomalies", i, 398/i, 351.

There is a conspicuous pragmatism in Sbawayhi, no doubt inspired by al-Khalīfī. As well as a speaker, *mawdlīm*, there is always a listener, *muhādīb*, who determines whether an utterance is "right", *mutakālim*, or "wrong", *mukābīl*, though not its structural correctness. The listener's knowledge is a decisive factor in elision, and can also affect other choices of the speaker: as well as *marātu bi-rigādaynī muslima* *saw-kāfā* a speaker may say *muslima* *saw-kāfā* "as if answering the question ‘who were they?’ ... even if the listener does not say anything, for the speaker's words will go according to what you might have asked him" (i, 214/i, 182). Psychological and contextual explanations are frequently offered (cf. Buburuzan) and there is even a hint at the concept of body-language (i, 279/i, 240).

(d) Syntax. The primary purpose of speech is the making of statements, and the grammarian’s task is to account for "the actions performed by the speaker in order to construct a linguistic sequence appropriate to his specific intended meaning" (Guillaume, in *Hist. Ep. Lang.,* viii, 53). For Sbawayhi, each act is normally realised as a binary unit, with one active element, the *'amīl* [q.v.] "operator" and one passive, the *ma‘ndī* *flī* "operated on", and the effects of that *'amīl* "operation" appear as an explicit or implicit variation in the word-ending (*rāb* [q.v.]). Thus the act of *nīdā* is realised through an active operator, the *harf* *nīdā* and a passive *mudād*. Ultimately, the speaker is the operator (i, 166/i, 139), which is why in some units, e.g. *idīfā, bidād* and *ibdīlī*), both parts are passive (*mudāf*/*mudāf* *slīhā*, *mudāl*/*mudāl* *minīt*, *mudabdada* [bīhī/*mudā* *'alājī*]. *Ibdīlī* is a special case, as the speaker’s act of predicating has no morphological consequences (subject and predicate remain independent, *marīf*) unless the statement is modalised by verbs such as *kāna, ganna* etc. (Guillaume, 60-1).

The division into only three word classes, nouns, verbs, and particles, is not the whole story. Several subclasses of nouns and verbs are distinguished (like the *hurīf*) by their function, e.g. adjectival qualifier, *ṣīfa* or *nāl*, space/time qualifier, *zāf*, circumstantial qualifier, *ḥāl*, personal pronoun, *dārī* or *muḍmār*, demonstrative noun, *um al-ṣūra* or *al-im al-mubham,*
relative noun, ism masūl, verbal noun, masdar, various verbal complements, maf'ul, nominal verb, ism al-f'ul (including interjections), dependent phrase sila and verb of surprise, f'ul al-waqi'd. Transitivity is described in detail, confirming that any similarity between the Arabic mutul'addi and the Graeco-Latin transitus is coincidence, the nearest term in Sibawayhi to our sense of "transitive" being wakda/wakda (Levin, Stud. or.). A corollary of the substitution principle mentioned above is the separation principle embodied in the expression 'iqrāna dihrām", which stands for all those units whose first element has obligatory tanwee or the equivalent and whose second element is structurally and semantically detachable (Carter, in BSQAS, xxxix). Finally, Sibawayhi's treatment of kāla, zanna, etc., and their effect on predicative utterances, displays a degree of refinement we are only just beginning to appreciate.

c. Morphology. The morphological section of the Kitāb occupies about half the work in sheer bulk. As well as enumerating all the known patterns for nouns, verbs and particles, Sibawayhi categorises them by number of radicals (minimum two, maximum five), carefully distinguishing these by various elements in the relation between declinability, gender and word-pattern, and the connection between pattern and function, are investigated, including the unusual behaviour of proper nouns and foreign names. Derivation, ighṭālāt [g.v.s.], is discussed in detail (Leemhuis shows that Sibawayhi analyses Stems II and IV much more delicately than later grammarians). Varieties of tanwee are treated, and long chapters are devoted to the diminutive, the dual and sound and broken plurals. Pause, rhyme, exclamation and phonetic reduction (tarkhim) are described, the last two in the syntax section, where they rightly belong as a feature of the vocative. In short, very little is left out, though al-Zubaydi proudly published a list of more than eighty forms Sibawayhi missed (Kitab al-‘Intidhāk, see below).

f. Phonology. This occupies the seven dense and lacoonic final chapters of the Kitāb. Although Sibawayhi refers to sounds by their graphic form, it is clear that following al-Khalil he knew the difference between the name of a letter, the grapheme and the phoneme. He also knew that the set of Arabic sounds (our "phoneme inventory") was limited and distinctive, and he gives precise descriptions of their place and manner of articulation [see hūṣūr al-hashā']. Dialectal and conditioned variants (allophones) are reviewed, also the Arabisation of foreign sounds, and the role of ease of articulation, proximity and frequency fully acknowledged; this includes vocalic allophones arising from šūl, rāṣm and yūmn, processes not unlike umlaut. Assimilation is recognised as occurring not only within but between words. Phonological constraints on syllabic structure and the morphological results are treated, as are sound changes arising from metaphasis, elision, substitution and conversion. Totally lacking is any mention of tajdīd, though there are frequent references to the way individual Kur'ānic sounds or words are "read", i.e. textually rather than literally.

Sibawayhi's terminology applies uniformly at all levels; every syntactic, morphological and phonological unit has a name or way of use according to its status manṣūla and function maṣūd, by which it is judged to be structurally correct, hasān, or incorrect, kabhah, with analogy, kiyās, as the controlling principle. For obvious reasons, there is no call for muhāl, "incomprehensible", outside syntax, but we sometimes find "right", mutakākim, in a morphological context where the choice of a certain form affects communication (ii, 60/ii, 55). Sibawayhi also understood the nature of metalanguage; with al-Khalil he often tests the linguistic status of elements by artificially converting them into proper names, and he is alert to the problems of purely theoretical examples (Ayoub).

4. The text and editions of the Kitāb.

(a) Composition. The Kitāb survives because of al-Akhfash, a service for which he has not been given due credit. Sibawayhi died before he could bring his work into publishable form, and it was al-Akhfash who helped him write the first draft, so to speak, and he alone who gathered it up and later used it for his own teaching. Through this epistemological bottleneck passed a work of transcendent genius. After Sibawayhi's death, Yunus was shown a book of some thousand pages which had emerged from this collaboration, and he certified it as an authentic digest of al-Khalil's and Sibawayhi's knowledge, thus retrospectively defining the academic pedigree of the Kitāb and confirming its large size ab initio. There is something rather convincing about a story which so innocently avoids the pitfalls of fabricating an idāra when such mechanamians patently would not create such a monster. The last draft, which accounts better than Sibawayhi's premature death for the Kitāb's unusual form (no title, no preface, no conclusion); if he had time for a thousand pages, the absence of literary formalities can only have been because there were no models. The Kitāb shows no trace of the well-established epistolary manner (still less of any dipping into translations from Greek or Syriac), and the originality of the work lies as much in its style as its content; it is one of the earliest "books" in Arabic at all, hence its default title Kitāb Sibawayhi.

(b) Manuscripts. Humbert 1955 lists 77 extant manuscripts, and a 78th has recently been found (Humbert, Dévelop., 133). The oldest is a fragment from 351/962 (chs. 184-277, 288-312), and the earliest complete copy is dated 588/1192-3. Al-Mubarrad, who studied the Kitāb with al-Dārimi and al-Māzinī, two pupils of al-Akhfash, is responsible for the creation of a "vulgate", which included his own glosses, but there were alternative transmissions, notably of Abī ‘Amr al-Fārisī (ed. 377/987), who showed an outstanding interest in collecting Kitāb manuscripts. He represents a stage in the history of the Kitāb when scholars eagerly sought and collated manuscripts, culminating in the emergence of two "standard editions", an Eastern version associated with al-Zamakhshari and an Andalusian version associated with al-Rāshī. The Zamakhshari recension is easily recognised by the addition of al-ha'ī in the very first line and a haplograph in the last folio.

Completely outside these two dominant traditions is the Milan fragment, containing chs. 327 to 435, i.e. about one-sixth of the Kitāb. This manuscript, tentatively dated by Humbert to the 5th/11th century, exhibits enough textual and marginal divergences from the mainstream versions to point to a totally independent line of transmission. There is evidence, slight and tantalising, to connect this version directly with Tha'lab, the chief "Kufan" grammarian and bitter rival of al-Mubarrad, and its forthcoming publication will greatly improve our knowledge of the Kitāb.


6. Sībawayhi's pupils and the legacy of the Kitāb.

(a) Pupils. Sībawayhi only had two pupils that we know anything about, al-ʿAskāfīshā and Kūṭrub [q.v.]. Three others are merely named: al-Nāṣīḥī, much admired by al-Mubarrad, al-Ziyādī, who apparently read the Kitāb with Sībawayhi and al-Māzīnī (see Humbert 1995, 15, n. 35 on both) and one 'Utbā al-Nāḥīfī, described as min asḥāb Sībawayhi, Aḥbānī, xvii, 16, perhaps the same as al-ʿUthī in al-Zubaydi, Tabakī, 44.

Of the two recognised pupils, al-ʿAskāfīshā is remarkable for his role in the composition and transmission of the Kitāb, and Kūṭrub is perhaps more remarkable for having had nothing to do with either, as he simply "studied the Kitāb with Sībawayhi". This is a problem, of course, since there was strictly speaking no Kitāb for him to study. He was about the same age as Sībawayhi and thus more of a fellow-student than a pupil; his reputation as a "dissenting grammarian", in Versteegh's phrase, makes it difficult to imagine him as a student of Sībawayhi and impossible to consider him a disciple. Since none of his works survive (nor any of al-ʿAskāfīshā) there is no way to know the full technical basis for his unique grammatical position. For al-ʿAskāfīshā, at least, we can hope to reconstruct his views from his numerous glosses on the Kitāb.

(b) Grammar after Sībawayhi. In the years after Sībawayhi's death, the Kitāb went into occultation. Bernards has explored this phase and shown how the Kitāb began to acquire prestige only with al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898 [q.v.]), which fits nicely with Humbert's independent conclusion that it was al-Mubarrad who laid the foundations for a standard Kitāb text. Thus al-Yazīḍī (d. 302/918), studied with al-ʿAskāfīshā but not with Sībawayhi, praised the "Baṣrī" grammarians without even mentioning Sībawayhi. Al-ʿAskāfīshā taught the Kitāb to only three disciples, al-Dārīmī, al-Māzīnī and 'Abd Allāh b. Hānī, though it was also known to al-Kīsā'ī and al-Farrāʾ who play, however, no part in its transmission. Al-Dārīmī and al-Māzīnī both energetically promoted the Kitāb, and the latter admonished: "anyone who thinks they can do better than the Kitāb should show some humility!". When al-Dārīmī presented a copy as a gift to a naẓir, the work's fame was assured; by al-Mubarrad's time, the difficulty of the Kitāb was compared with riding on water and eventually it was crowned with the title "the Kūrān of grammar". The growing prominence of the Kitāb is linked also with the emergent "Baṣrī" and "Kūfī" schools, with Thaʿlab declaring that the Kitāb was the work of 42 scholars and he could very well do without it! But the Kitāb itself (pace Baalbaki, Stud. ar. et hist. 27, 1984, 219-28) hardly be claimed as a representative of either school.

Arabic grammar is not static, and although the Kitāb remained the reference point for all subsequent developments, the science itself moved on. Prescriptive needs were fulfilled, methodological theory elaborated, curricular requirements accommodated, and the relatively junior science of rhetoric was established. Comparison of Sībawayhi's vocabulary with later grammar (Troupeau, Lex.-index, 18-25) makes the qualitative and quantitative changes plain. Absent from the Kitāb are, amongst others, muṣādā, tīrākā, nāṣr, nazm, faʿīla faʿīla, ḥums, bīḥāṣ, ikhtāṣ, mahāll, ṣabb, sā catastrophe, bāṣir, manākhab, ṣanāʾi, kāmurī and all abstract nouns of the type tamāma, fī layla. Terms were created for many items Sībawayhi left unnamed, e.g. ṣamāʿ, kāna' l-nākasa' l-tāmūna, lā n-tayyīb al-dīn, mā al-nākasa', mā al-dīmūsma, bi ʿl al-kāvil, al-fīl al-mukārabha, etc.

Troupeau's index also exposes the extreme rarity of many terms in the Kitāb. Abstractions such as 'arāf, ṣanāʾi, ṣawād, ṣāra, ḍiyn, in, occur in single figures, only 11 times, with muddā and ṣāwād completely absent, suggesting that Sībawayhi was not greatly interested in categories, or rather that the expression of class membership was already catered for by the indigenous metaphor of umma (23 times) and its cognate notions "tribe", kāmil, "mother", "sister" and "daughter". Two rare terms, ʿīla and takĀdī, have been over-interpreted. Sībawayhi associated ʿīla principally with phonological "weakness", and on the few occasions when it seems to mean "cause" it also involves weak radicals or similar morphophonological factors; in short, there is not much evidence that Sībawayhi subscribed to any explicit theory of grammatical causality other than 'umāl. With takādī the position is equally inconclusive; again, the term has primarily morphophonological import and occurs only once in a purely syntactic context. In i, 287/1, 247, a-leya nādādā za'yād muntālām is said to be "like ḍaraba 'abd Allāh za'yād kā'im" in takādī but not in meaning", and the suspicion that this may be an interpolation is irresistible. The original sense of takādī is seen in an incident where Sībawayhi is challenged to make up words with certain patterns and radicals (al-Zubaydi, Tabakī, 72). Sībawayhi kaddara wa-ṣaḥīfa 'a tried to fit the radicals into the patterns and got it wrong", where kaddara
still has the same morphological connotation as in the
Kitāb.
As grammatical science evolved, elements of Sībawayh's system were dropped or marginalised. Descriptive
grammar was no longer so concerned with the formal
aspect of communication implied byʾistākāna, which became less common as the normative verb ʾaḏāʾa/yāḏāʾa increased in frequency. The concept of sabāb [q.v.], which accounted for a wide range of syntactic
phenomena, was restricted to the maʿt sabāḥi construc-
tion, e.g., marātu bi-ʾaḏāʾul ʾhasān abīhu. The scope of
mudṭarʿa was drastically reduced. For Sībawayhi, it
was part of a general theory of analogical pressure
increased in frequency. The concept of Jahn's "Uber die Verben, von deren 1. Form das
perfect imperfect verb, still called mudṭarʿi to this day. Sībawayhi's analysis of appositional and coordinated qualifiers was
tided up; on structural grounds he called them both simply ʾaḏā ʾ, but his successors in their formalistic way
subdivided them into ʾaḏā ʾbayān and ʾaḏā ʾnaṣak respective-
lly. Sībawayhi's terms for predication, where muṣnād
was first part, muṣnād ʾal-ʾaḥaṣ - second part of any
predicative structure whether nominal or verbal, were
inverted by the 4th/10th century (Levin, in JAOS, c)
muṣnād = predicate, muṣnād ʾal-ʾaḥaṣ = subject irre-
respectively of word order.
(c) The Kitāb in the West. The interpretation of Sīb-
wayhi's grammar in the West has always been implicitly
or explicitly a comparative exercise, and has never
resolved the dilemma that literal translations of the
Kitāb are technically unconvincing and technical trans-
lations are historically misleading. Jahn opened up the
work to a wider audience (de Saussure could have read
it, though we will never know), but his vital warning
that the German version is only for those who can
compare it with the Arabic is mostly ignored. All too
often the secondary literature fails to find a compro-
mise between the type of translation represented by
Jahn's "Über die Verben, von deren I. Form das
Passivum vorkommt, ohne daß das Aktivum gebrauch-
lisch ist" and what Sībawayhi actually said, bāḥ ma ʾaḏāʾa fīkā minšuʾāʿ al-aṣāṣ ʾal-ḥāṣib (ibh. 447). It is only
useful to recast Sībawayhi's thought in some modern
theoretical framework if the undertaking has real
explanatory value. One may regret, now, the specu-
lation that Sībawayhi belonged "somewhere between
de Saussure and Bloomfield" (Carter, in JAOS, xciii,
157), lending new irony to the word Procrustean which
has been applied to Arab linguistics.
Sībawayhi's vocabulary lacks many terms, among
them "number", "gender", "tense", "person", "case",
"mood", "syllable", "accent", "diphthong", but to focus
on these perceived shortcomings diverts attention from
the realities of the Kitāb. Even more damaging is the
inaccurate rendering of the terms that Sībawayhi does
use. No-one would be impressed by a writer on fāḥ ḥ who consistently translated fāhaa as "death sentence",
yet similar distortions are common in works on Arabic
grammar. The most unfortunate is the equation of
maʿnāl with "governing", but the imposition of Latin
case and mood names runs a close second. We also
find "copula" for ḍimāʿ al-faṣl, turning that which keeps
apart into that which joins together, fāḥ ʿi becomes
"subject" despite the Arabs' careful terminological dis-
tinction between faṭl and muḥātba, maḥri ʾi ʾl-maṭfīl (in later grammar madhīḥ) are reproduced by "pas-
sive", obliterating the Arab theory of this form of verb,
phonic terms are squeezed into Western cat-
categories, and so on.
Yet Sībawayhi continues to inspire. Like all works
of genius, the Kitāb bears infinite re-reading, and all
research into Arabic grammar must still begin with
Sībawayhi, even if the science which he founded out-
grew him and evolved into the scholastic grammar of
the muraḍ. The high collection value of the late
grammarians is undeniable, but it seems less than
perfect justice that as grammar sublimated itself into
a dialogue with the Kurʾān, Ibn Khaldūn could say
without incoynnity that Ibn Ḥāṣâm (d. 761/1360
[q.v.]) was "more of a grammarian than Sībawayhi" asāba min Sībawayhi.
In early Islamic times, Sibf was one of the towns brought Balis(h) under his control in 253/867 (C.E. Bosworth, *The History of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Mulas of Nimruz, Costa Mesa and New York 1984, 99). In Ghaznawid times, it formed part of the sultans' empire, and on their expeditions to India, they frequently marched from Bust and al-Rukhkhājād via Sībī to Multān and the Indus valley (see M. Nazīm, *The Life and times of Sūlimān Mūmahd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 199; Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznawids*, Edinburgh 1977, 7-8). The district of Sībī was held ca. A.D. 1500 by Arghun from Kandahār, then by the Mughals (in Akbar's time, it was a mahlā of the Bhakkar sarkar in the Multān sūbā), in 1714 by the Kalhöras of Sind; and later in that century, by the Durrānī Afghāns. In the 19th century, Sībī and Pīghān formed the so-called "assigned districts" (any surplus revenue from which was to be refunded to the amirs of Afghanistan) handed over to Britain by Ya'qūb Khān b. Sībī 'Allī under the Treaty of Gandamak in 1879.

In British India, only some two-fifths of Sībī District were directly administered, the rest being the Marāw and Bugtī tribal areas and a part of Kālāt state (qa'ī). The strategic value of Sībī town was increased when the standard-gauge railway to Pīghān was constructed through it, with its also becoming subsequently the junction for the Quetta line. The ethnic composition of the District included 43% Balī and 20% Pathānis. Sībī is now in the Balūčistān Province of Pakistan.


(Also **Sībir**)
Egorov, Ist. geogr., 130-1; Yule, Cathay, i, 307). A number of authors, beginning with Rashid al-Din in the early 8th/14th century (Jâmnî, ed. Alizade et al., i/1, 72-3, and ed. Karlin, i, 513), note a region termed "Iblind Sibir". Al-Umarî (ed. Lech, 77), writing ca. 741-9/1341-9, in his section on Kâ"ârâzam and Kikbâk, makes reference to the bitâd Sibir "ea-Ibir which is adjacent to "Bâkhirî" and is a region in which "the ice does not depart from them for a period of six months". A contemporary of his, the anonymous Spanish Franciscan author of the Libro del conocimiento (van den Wyngaert, Sinica Franciscana, i, 572), mentions probably the "Ibir-Sibir" which encompasses "Tartaria" from the north. The form "Iblind Sibir" may also be seen in Epi-rh Shî-pî-ruh of the Tüân-stûh (and a somewhat later Chinese map, see Bretschneider, Med. researches, i, 37; Pelliot, Notes critiques, 59). In the early 15th century, Johannes Schiltberger (Bondage and travels, ed. Teller, 34-6, 49) took part in a campaign against Ibissibir while the region was still largely under Ostyak control. By that time, the "land of Sibîr" appears in Russian sources (cf. PSRL, xi, 196; Ustâuqî, 70), recording the death ca. 1406 or 1407 of Toktamish there). Later Islamic sources (e.g. the 10th/16th century Ta'rikî-i Rashîdî, tr. Ross, 282) continued to call the region "Ibir-Sibir".

As the name appears to be known only from the Cingizid era, it may derive from Mong. siber/sibir "dense forest, thicket" (Lessing, 695), but since the Mongols tended to use the existing ethnonyms and toponyms of the regions they conquered, this seems unlikely.

Sibîr, never clearly defined in the sources, formed the north-eastern border zone of the Đojîc ûlûs, extending, probably, to the İrîdî and Çilûmî rivers, the Baraba and Kûlûnda steppes and southward toward the Altay and Lake Balkhash (Egorov, Ist. geogr., 45, 54-5). The earliest Cingizid-era polity to emerge in this region (last half of the 8th/14th century?) was that of the Tiîmên khanate on the mid-Tuva-Tavda mesopotamia with its centre at Çimgi-Tura. It comprised a number of Kipcak-Turkic-speaking Turkomongolian tribal groupings, stemming from the same milieu as the Noghay Horde, and was frequently fought over by opposing Đojîc factions. It was to here that Toktamish fled following his defeat by Timûrî in the late 8th/14th century, after which it was controlled by the Noghay amîr Edîgî through Çingizid underlings. Although local Tatar traditions (preserved in oral form and in the Russian chronicles) present a welter of conflicting accounts, the ruling house appears to have derived from a (probably Noghay chieflain) Taybughî (Miller, i, 189-3; Frank, Siberian chronicles, 8-10). Sometime before 1418, the Shîbânîd İbaq Kêkân, who together with the Noghayís inflicted fatal blows on the Great Horde, took control of the region from the Taybughíd. Mamât (Muhammad), a Taybughî, killed İbaqî in 1493 or 1495, regained control of the khanate and moved its capital to Sibîr/İske/Ikaksî (PSRL, xxxii, 47; Armstrong, 66-7 [Yesipov chronicle]). This now became the Khañate of Sibîr, which soon submerged the remaining Shîbânîd holdings in Tûmûn and expanded into Başbîr and Öb Ügrîan (Ostyak) lands. The Taybughî princes Yediger and Bekbulât, troubled by internal problems (their father, Kâsîy/Kâzîm, had been assassinated by members of his own entourage) and Moscow's conquest of Kasan [see ßâzán] (1532), submitted to Ivan IV in 1535. This did not prevent their defeat and death at the hands of Kûcûm [q.v.], a descendant of İbaqî (1563). Seydîk (Čerkesî < Arab. seyyid), Bekbulât's son, fled to Bûkhârâ and from there continued periodic resistance. Although Islam was clearly the religion of the Taybughîs (who, in the absence of Cingizid credentials, stressed their Islamic legitimacy), Frank, Siberian chronicles, 23) and of the ruling strata of the khanate of Sibîr, local tradition credits Kûcûm with a concerted effort (occasionally forcible) to proselytise the local population. Nâkkhändî shakhs also appear to have played some role in the propagation of Islam on this northern frontier. Kûcûm's successes were short-lived. In 1538, the Russians, under the Cossack Ermak Timofeev, began the conquest of Siberia, taking the city of Sibîr in October 1585. Seydîk perished in a Tatar ambush in 1585 and Kûcûm continued to struggle against the Russians, their Tatar allies and Seydîk (who in 1587 was made prisoner by the Russians and taken off to Moscow, Ist. Sibirî, i, 32; Armstrong, Yermak, 81-2), but without success. Following a defeat at Russian hands in 1598 (Ist. Sibirî, ii, 30-6), old and now blind, Kûcûm fled to the Noghay Horde, where he died: Mangît khañanî îmeye bardî. Hâkkî i fuqunanîî âkî (according to Abu 'îl-Ghâzî, ed. Desmaisons, 177, this occurred in 1003/1594-5; the Yesipov and Remezov Chronicles, Armstrong, Yermak, 82, 237-43, report that the Noghayís killed him). The Russians established their forts and urban settlements on or near the khanate's earlier towns. Têbolîk (1587) was built near Tatar Sibîr.

Sibîr was an important link in trans-Siberian commerce, connecting the Volga-Ural region and Central Asia with the forests of the north so important to the fur trade. Little is known about the internal structure of the khanate. As non-Cingizids, the Taybughîs appear, like the Noghayís, to have used the titles biy (bea, beg) and sultan. The Tatar tribes were organised into ûlûses, headed by mîrzâs, as were the subject peoples, often incorporated into one or another ûs, who paid the yaâk (tribute collected in furs).


2. Studies. S. Patkanov, Über das Volk der Sabiren, in Kлетè Szenile, i (1900), 258-77; P. Pelliot, Notes sur le Turkestan de M.W. Barthold, in T'oung Pao, xxxvi (1930), 12-56; G.F. Moeller (Miller), Istorîy Sibîr, Moscow-Leningrad 1937; i, Pelliot, Notes critiques d'histoire Kalmande, Paris 1960; A.P. Okladnikov

**SIBT** [see IBN AL-DJAWZI, IBN AL-TA'AWISHI, AL-MARDINI, 3].

**AL-SID**, Spanish el-Cid, the Cid, the name by which the most celebrated and the most popular of the heroes of Castilian chivalry is known; he played a preponderating political part in Muslim Spain of the second half of the 11th century, and we can now gain an idea of his real personality by removing all the legendary matter that has grown up around his life and his exploits. It was to the Dutch scholar R. Dozy that the honour was due of having established, as a result of his examination in 1844 of the manuscript of the *Dhakhir* of Ibn Basam preserved in Goth, that the story of the *Cronica General* (1085) of Alfonso VI, probably at the instigation of Garcia Ordonez, the Wise relating to the Cid, which up till then had been considered a pure invention, was really translated from the Arabic, and probably from a work of the 11th century. It is known that in 1064 he distinguished himself, on the side of Sancho II of Castile in a war which he made a triumphal entry into Saragossa, where the Hidid ruler overwhelmed him with presents and with honours. He had acquired at one stroke prestige and an ascendency without parallel among his Muslim soldiers who from this time began to call him "my master", sayidt, vulg. Sp. Ar. sidi, which was translated into Spanish in the form of "mio Cid" (the famous *Poem of the Cid* was originally called "El Cantar de mio Cid"); and soon this name prevailed (with or without the employment of the possessive). Rodrigo Diaz, thanks to his military talents, had become in the eyes of the Muslims of Spain a champion and an irresistible leader in war, el-Cid Campeador.

In 1082, after an ephemeral reconciliation with Alfonso VI, the Cid covered himself with glory once more in Aragon in the service of al-Mu'tamin. When this prince died in the following year, he passed into the services of his son and successor Ahmad al-Musta'in II.

When the Almoravid Sultan Yusuf b. Tashfin landed in Spain to fight against the Christians and put them to rout at Zallaka (12 Radjab 479/23 October 1086), the Dhu 'l-Nunid Yahya b. Isma'il al-Kadir had to appeal for help to the King of Castile and to al-Musta'in of Saragossa. The latter saw in this a good opportunity to deprive al-Kadir of his kingdom, and secretly entered into an agreement with the Cid to seize the town, all the booty to go to the condottiere. But the latter, mindful of the gifts which al-Kadir had bestowed upon him, refused to touch the town and sent a new token of his vassalage to Alfonso. Thereafter, with his army he made incursions into the whole district of Valencia, and in the year 1089, returned to Castile, where he was received with honour by his sovereign. Then he regained the *Shark al-Andalus* [q.v.] with his army numbering 7,000 men. Profiting by the absence of the Cid, al-Musta'in of Saragossa had made an alliance with Berenguer of Barcelona, who was besieging Valencia. The Count of Barcelona retreated before the Cid, who promised

Castle. The Cid himself returned to Castile after successfully attaining the real aim of his mission, Alfonso VI, probably at the instigation of Garcia Ordoñez, then accused the Cid of having appropriated a part of the presents which had been given to him at Seville to bring to the king, and he took advantage of the first opportunity—the expedition against the Muslims of Toledo undertaken without his consent—to disgrace him and to banish him from his dominions (1081).

It is from this time that the life of a "condottiere", led by the Castilian knight dates, and that he began to fight, as occasion arose, the Muslims or his own co-religionists, on behalf of a third person or on his own behalf.

After an unsuccessful attempt to enter the service of the Count of Barcelona, Rodrigo Diaz offered his services to the Hidid ruler of Saragossa [see SARA-GUSTA], Ahmad b. Suleyman al-Mu'tadid. The latter agreed to take him into his army with his mercenaries. He died in the same year and his son Yusuf al-Mu'tamin succeeded him at Saragossa, while his other son al-Mundhir received Denia, Tortosa and Lérida. The two brothers lost no time in going to war with one another. Rodrigo Diaz continued in the service of al-Mu'tamin, while al-Mundhir made an alliance with the King of Aragon, Sancho Ramirez, and with the Count of Barcelona, Ramón Berenguer II. The Cid soon won a great victory over the enemies of his master, took rich plunder and made prisoner the Count of Barcelona, whose liberty he restored soon after. He made a triumphal entry into Saragossa, where the Hidid ruler overwhelmed him with presents and with honours. He had acquired at one stroke prestige and an ascendency without parallel among his Muslim soldiers who from this time began to call him "my master", sayidt, vulg. Sp. Ar. sidi, which was translated into Spanish in the form of "mio Cid" (the famous Poem of the Cid was originally called "El Cantar de mio Cid"); and soon this name prevailed (with or without the employment of the possessive). Rodrigo Diaz, thanks to his military talents, had become in the eyes of the Muslims of Spain a champion and an irresistible leader in war, el-Cid Campeador.

In 1082, after an ephemeral reconciliation with Alfonso VI, the Cid covered himself with glory once more in Aragon in the service of al-Mu'tamin. When this prince died in the following year, he passed into the services of his son and successor Ahmad al-Musta'in II.

When the Almoravid Sultan Yusuf b. Tashfin landed in Spain to fight against the Christians and put them to rout at Zallaka (12 Radjab 479/23 October 1086), the Dhu 'l-Nunid Yahya b. Isma'il al-Kadir had to appeal for help to the King of Castile and to al-Musta'in of Saragossa. The latter saw in this a good opportunity to deprive al-Kadir of his kingdom, and secretly entered into an agreement with the Cid to seize the town, all the booty to go to the condottiere. But the latter, mindful of the gifts which al-Kadir had bestowed upon him, refused to touch the town and sent a new token of his vassalage to Alfonso. Thereafter, with his army he made incursions into the whole district of Valencia, and in the year 1089, returned to Castile, where he was received with honour by his sovereign. Then he regained the *Shark al-Andalus* [q.v.] with his army numbering 7,000 men. Profiting by the absence of the Cid, al-Musta'in of Saragossa had made an alliance with Berenguer of Barcelona, who was besieging Valencia. The Count of Barcelona retreated before the Cid, who promised
near Burgos, in the convent of San Pedro de Cardena. Jimena was herself buried there when she died five years later in the year 1104.


(?) AL-SIDDIK, a name applied to the first caliph Abū Bakr meaning "the eminently veracious" and "who always confirms the truth". The lexicographical tradition understands the form of the word to be an intensive adjective (W. Wright, Grammar, i, 137-8) indicating the extremes of sidk [q.v.], truth.

The word appears in the Kur’an six times and has
a technical sense suggesting an etymology derived from the Aramaic-Hebrew *saddik*, which has the meaning “pious” in Rabbinc literature. Those who believe are *saddikān* in *Kurān* IV, 69 and LVII, 19 (both times in conjunction with being *āwādudd*, “witnesses” or “martyrs”), Abraham and Idris are called prophets as well as *saddik* in XIX, 41 and 56 respectively, while Mary is called *saddika* in V, 75, and Joseph’s prison guard addresses him *ayyuhā l-sīdikā* in XII, 46.

The association of the word with Abū Bakr is explained in a number of anecdotes in classical sources. Abū Bakr, when faced with the sceptics of his community, said of Muhammad and his night journey, “If he says it is so, then it is true (ṣaddika)”. Abū Bakr then requested that Muhammad describe Jerusalem to prove the veracity of his account. In order that he could see the city, Abū Bakr was lifted up and he was then able to confirm for everyone the truth of Muhammad’s description. Each time an element was described, he said, “You are telling the truth (ṣaddakā). I testify that you are the messenger of God” and at the conclusion the Prophet said to him “And you, Abū Bakr, are *saddik*”, and from that time on he was called by this name (Ibn Ḥighām, 265).

Al-Ṭabarī does not provide the same post-*mi‘rād* narrative, but does follow up on his ascension story with an account of the first man to accept Islam, which according to some reports (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1165-7) was Abū Bakr who, according to the poem of Hassan b. Thabit (Dūdun, ed. Afrat, London 1971, i, 125) quoted by al-Ṭabarī, was the first to “declare the truth (ṣaddakā) of the prophet. Once again, the attempt is made to explain Abū Bakr’s name in terms of his devotion to Muhammad.

The naming of Abū Bakr is also associated with Kurān, XXXIX, 33, allaḏḏā gā‘īh l-‘sīdik wa-saddaka bāhī, ābīkum hum al-mustakhkāna, “he who comes with the truth and he who confirms it; they are the God-fearing”, which is sometimes understood to refer to Muhammad and Abū Bakr respectively (see e.g. Abū ‘l-Layḥāb al-Samarqandī (d. 375/985), Bahtr al-ulām, Beirut 1993, iii, 151 and n. 1 for further references). Those claiming descent from Abū Bakr are frequently called al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīkī or al-Ṣiddīkī for short.

The Şūfi ideal of sincerity (ṣidd) which can raise individuals to the level of the Prophet is demonstrated most fully by Abū Bakr, about whom Muhammad is reported to have said: “Abū Bakr and I are like two race horses; if he had run faster than me, I would have believed in him; but I was the faster, so he believed in me.” (al-Kaḥīnī, Istīlāḥāt al-ṣafarī, Cairo 1981, 139).

**Siddik Hasan Khan al-Kanawdji** [see Nawwar Sayid Siddik Hasan Khan].

**Al-Ṣiddīk** a sīhā born by members of the famed Egyptian family of *shaykhs* of the Bakriyya Şūfī order [see al-Bakrī b. Abi-‘l-Sūr-i Bakrīyā] it related to their claimed descent from the first caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīk [q.v.].

**Sidhpur**, a place in the northeastern part of the mediaeval Indian province of Gujārāt [q.v.], lying to the east of modern Pakistan. It is mentioned in the history of the Muslim sultans of Gujārāt as a pilgrimage centre much revered by the local Hindus but sacked in ca. 816/1414 by Sultan Ahmad I b. Ṭaṭār Khaan, who destroyed the temples there and imposed the *djizya* or poll-tax on the inhabitants.

**Bibliography.** M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (eds.), A comprehensive history of India. V. The Delhi Sultanate (A.D. 1206-1526), Delhi etc. 1970, 853-4.

**Sidi**, the name of a servile African group in India, first reported by Sir Richard Burton. The term is used also for their language, which is related to Swahili. Burton locates them in Sindh, but reports small numbers in all parts of Gujārāt. Their women are called *ṣiddānī*. They were originally slaves imported into India “from Muscat and other harbours on the eastern coast of Arabia”, where pockets of Swahili speakers still exist. Burton says that their importation “originated under the Ameers” of Sindh: the first such was recognised by the Mughal Emperor in 1738. Whitely found them distributed throughout Kathiawar State.

Burton distinguishes them from Habashī [see Ḥabashī, Ḥabashi], slaves imported from Ethiopia, a country to which they were usually sold. For their ethnic origin he lists twenty-two African tribes. Nineteen of these can be identified with tribes in the present Tanzania. The remaining three have not been identified, but have Bantu names which cannot be connected with Ethiopia. He also mentions Lamu [q.v. as a port of origin.

While he says that the Sidi used Sindhi words when they fail to recall words in their own tongue, his word-list of some 200 words, in an orthography that he admits to be faulty, corresponds sufficiently well as to be recognisable in terms of the dialects described by Sacleux in 1909.


**Sidi 'Ali Reis** (Seydi Ali Reis) [b. Istanbul, beg. 16th century, d. there Dümādā 1 970/December-January 1562-3), Ottoman mariner, administrator, author and poet, also known by his takhallus Kābit or Kābit-i Rūm. He participated in Ottoman naval operations that included the conquest of Rhodes (1522), the battle of Preveza (1538), the sailings of Khayr al-Dīn Faṣṣa Barbarsos [q.v.], the conquest of Libya Tripoli (1551); he also rose to the rank of kālsūdā [q.v.] of the imperial arsenal (takht-i ‘āmil in Istanbul, following the careers of his father and grandfather.

Sidi ‘Alī’s historical importance, however, rests on his activities and events to the east of Suez. In 1553, while he was in Aleppo with the imperial army during Suleyman II’s [q.v.] campaign against the Şafāwīs, he received an order to bring the Ottoman ships which Pişt Reis [q.v.], the ill-starred commander of the Ottoman “Suez fleet”, had left in Bagra, to Suez. Sailing out on 1 Sha‘bān 961/2 July 1554, he failed to reach the Red Sea because of both Portuguese attacks and also storms; the latter deflected the course of the Turkish ships toward India. Fearing Portuguese warships patrolling the coast, and giving up hope of returning by sea, Sidi ‘All disembarked at the port of Surat on 1 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 961/28 September 1554. He was welcomed by its Muslim governor, and was asked by Ahmad III, the Sultan of Gujurat, to assist him in the siege of Brosch [see overbar; Bhorā]. Some 200 men from what had remained of the
Ottoman fleet joined Ahmad, but Sidi 'Ali, with 53 companions, set out on an overland trip to Turkey (beg. Muḥarram 962/2nd November 1554). They passed through Ḍanmadād, Diḥl, Lahore, Kābul, Samarkand, Būkhārā, Madīghad, Rayy and Kāzwīn before reaching Ottoman-held Baḵdād at the end of February 1557. Sīdī 'All then set out for Istanbul, and learning that Sūleymān was at Edirne, he hurried there, arriving in May. His possible worries that a fate similar to that of Pirī Re's was awaiting him proved unfounded, for the sultan received him kindly, and was the first to appreciate the seaman's story; moreover, Sīdī 'All’s journey had also been a diplomatic feat, for he brought back 18 letters from various sovereigns addressed to the Ottoman sultan, including messages from the newly-enthroned Mughal Akbar I and from Shāh Tāhmasb I.

Sīdī ‘All narrated his epic anabasis in an account known as Mīr ‘alī al-mamlūkī. His other works, also in Turkish, are chiefly translations from Persian or Arabic and deal with mathematics, astronomy and navigation in the Indian Ocean: (1) Mīr ‘alī-i kānūnī (Istanbul University library, T. 1924), a treatise on astronomical measurements and instruments chiefly applicable to the art of celestial navigation; (2) Kaḥīlāt al-hay‘ā (ms. Ayasofya 2951 and Nurussyamiye 2911), a treatise on geometry and mathematics containing a translation of ‘Alī Kushdījī’s [q.v.] Fālštānu, enriched with excerpts from Caghmīnī and Kāfīr-zâde-i Rūmī; and (3) Kitāb al-muhīb fī ūlim al-fālak wa-abbār, better known as Muhīt, still unpublished in its entirety; two ms. exist in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayi, Revan 1643—possibly the autograph—and Nurussyamiye 2948), one in Vienna (Flügel 1277), and one in Naples (Museo Borbonico). It is, as after his travelogue, Sīdī ‘All’s most famous work, and is based on Arabic works dealing with navigation in the Indian Ocean, chiefly those by Ibn Mādījī and Sulaymān al-Maḥrī [q.v.]. The Muhīt consists of 10 sections; the fourth includes an account of “Yəhī Dūnūyī”, the New World, and of Portuguese voyages of discovery, including Magellán’s circumnavigation of the globe.

Sīdī ‘All’s account reveals the prestige of the Ottoman sultan among his coreligionists in India and Central Asia, the universality of the Turkic element there (in India, for example, he learned enough Caghātay to write poetry also in that language), and the effectiveness of Ottoman Turkish soldiers who were in demand at every court. His scientific and navigational works, however, failed to stimulate the Turks toward a more aggressive policy in the Indian Ocean; the sailing of the fleet under his command was the last major Ottoman undertaking east of the Red Sea.

Sīdī ‘Ali Re’s spent his final years mostly in Istanbul (his appointment as ṣafarār of Diyarbakır at 80 akčes per day may have been chiefly a financial arrangement), where his house became a centre for gathering for the intellectual élite. He became a minor legend among his compatriots, and the story of his adventures gave rise to a new Turkish proverb, bağdaş Sebdī ‘Ali ba’dārī geldi “You [or “He”] have been beset by adversities like those of Seydī ‘Ali”. His poetic talent, recorded only through examples found in the Mīr ‘alī al-mamlūkī, stood him good in steady on at least two occasions, when he was arrested on suspicion of spying but was released after having sent poems to the local governor at Maḥḥad and to Shāh Tāhmasb at Kāzwīn.


The Mīr ‘alī al-mamlūkī was published in Ottoman Turkish (1313/1895-6) and in a recent modernised version in yeni yazî (Mīr ‘alî al-mamlak, n.d.), as well as in several trs.: German (H.F. von Diez, Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien, Berlin 1815, ii, 133-267), English (A. Vambery, The travels and adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sūdī Re’s, London 1899), Şukr (Ş. Zumnunab, Memlehket kağması, Tashkent 1963), and Persian. None of his other works has been published, but sections from the Muhīt have appeared in English, Italian and German trs. (see Turan’s and Advar’s works).

Sīdī BEL-ABBES [see sīdī bu ’l-‘ABBĀS]

Sīdī BU ’L-‘ABBĀS, conventional form Sīdī Bel-Abbès, a town of Algeria created in 1849 and deriving its name from the tomb of the saint Sīdī Abu ’l-‘Abbās, whose kaba is on the left bank of the Mekerra river, the town itself being on its right bank (lat. 35° 15’ N., long. 0° 39’ W.). It lies in the centre of the Tell of Oran equidistant from Mascar and Tlemcen. The plain of the Mekerra (altitude 470 m/1,540 feet) is separated from maritime climatic influence by the Tessala mountain chain, giving Sīdī Bel-Abbès a continental climate parallel to that of the High central plateau, semi-arid, sudden rains often causing floods, and with frequently harsh winters. But the climate is healthy and water is available everywhere for irrigation by norias at only 3 or 4 m depth. Antiquity. The Romans noted the fertility of the Tessała region, from which they dominated the course of the Mekerra (apparently from a Berber root m-k-r “great”, according to A. Pellegrini), called by them Tasaccura (apparently “river of the partridge”, Berber tasekâr, because this bird favoured cereal fields), and the plain of Sīdī Bu ’l-‘Abbās.

The Islamic period. The great Sufī Khāriṣīṭe Berber revolt of 1236-8 [see sīdī bel-abbès, 2] freed the region from Arab domination through the battles of the Ghazzat al-‘Adhrāf (122/740) and that of the Wadi Seba (123/741). At the end of the 4th/10th century, it was dominated by the Berber Azzādgī tribe, who exported foodstuffs, especially corn, via Oran (Wahrān, founded in 290/903 by the Andalusians and the Banū Mesgen, a branch of the Azzādgī) to Murcia and Granada, according to Ibn Ḥawkāl, and then in the next century by the Banū Rājīd, Zanāba Berber nomads of the Maghrāwa confederation. In Almohad times, the ruler of Tlemcen Yaghmurasan b. Zayyān, founder of the “Abd al-Wādīds (r. 633-81/1236-83), developed irrigation and agriculture in the valley of the Mekerra, the Stg (this name, < Berber šik with the idea of a group of primitive dwellings, having replaced the classical one of Tasaccura). He is also said to have brought in nomadic Arabs of the Banū ‘Amir, especially those of the Māḵuṣ [q.v.], to the southern frontier of his realm in order to close access to the Tell. The whole region played a notable role in the struggles between the “Abd al-Wādīds and the Marinids; according to Marmol, the Marinid sultan Abu ’l-Ḥasan in 732/1331-2 ravaged Tessala.

The Mekerra plain continued to supply grain to Tlemcen and elsewhere ca. 1500, and cattle- and camel-raising were also practised there, with the products exported from Oran (cereals, including to Italy; textiles, including the coverings called by the Por-
SIDI BU 'L-ABBAS

-Portuguese “hambels” (< hanbal). The Crusade which led to the occupation of Oran in 915/1509 neutralised a port useful for aiding the persecuted Muslims of al-Andalus and was also impelled by a desire to gain control of the riches of the region. It was the Banū ‘Abd al-Malāmī, “of the grain silos”) and Tlemcen to the south-west (also a quarter al-Matmar, traversed by a “way of silos”, Trig al-Matmar). According to the local legend concerning Sidi Bu 'l-Abbās, he was the grandson of Sidi Bu Zīdī, who had come from Mecca to Al- lū in southern Algeria, probably in the 17th century, and the latter's Kubba is extant in the village of Kṣar Sidi Bu Zīd to the north-east of Al- lū. His grandson died ca. 1780 and is buried on the hill of Sidi 'Ammār, which dominates Sidi Bu 'l-Abbās, in a rectangular Kubba with a cupola of glazed tiles. However, the hypothesis of a saint of Moroccan origin is possible through the spread in the central Maghrib of Abu 'l-Abbās al- Sabītī [q.v.] and Almohad moves towards unity of the Maghrib, and this may have been favoured in the 17th century by anti-Spanish resistance and the economic and political leadership of the Banū 'Amīr favouring the substitution of a Moroccan for a local saint.

After the abandonment of Oran by the Spanish in 1206/1792, the port developed its exports of grain, meat and beasts to the British Mediterranean gar- risons (Mahon, the Balearics, Gibraltar) and to Spain, and Arzew (al-Marsa) became one of the main mar- kets for supplying British troops in the Peninsular War 1808-14. The Banū 'Amīr continued to be dom- inant, and joined 'Abd al-Kādir b. al-Šarīf in his revolt of 1220/1805 or 1221/1806 against the Bey of Oran, and after its suppression, the plain of Sāfī due above all to the unequal distribution of resources in the colonial period, sc. by a minority of the European population.


(H. Benschener, shortened by the Editors)

**SIDJILL (A.), one of the mysterious words of the Kur'an, appearing in XI, 84/82; XV, 74; and CV, 4. The derivation in the Arabic sources from Persian *sang* "stone" and *gī* "mud" did not satisfy Horovitz. It seems to designate stones resembling lamps of clay, fired or sun-dried, since this is corroborated by 'I, 33-4; "... That we may loose on them stones of clay, marked by your Lord for the prodigal". Some commentators add that these stones had been baked in the fire of Hell, and the expression "marked by your Lord" (XI, 84/82; LI, 34) would mean, so they assert, that the stones were marked with the names of those at whom they were destined.

There exist other interpretations, not unanimously admitted: what has been written or decreed (clearly derived from the term's likeness to *sidjil* [q.v.]); Hell or the lowest Heaven (the word being considered in this case as another form of *sidjîl* [q.v.]). It has also been associated with adjectives derived from the root *sidj-,* but a convincing account of the term and its background has now been given by F. Leemhuis in his *Kur'ānic sidjill and Aramaic *syl*,* in *JSS*, xxvii (1982), 47-56: that it is in origin a non-Semitic, apparently Sumerian word, appearing in Akkadian as *shillu* or *siggilu,* denoting a smooth kind of stone, now attested in the Aramaic of Hara* [see al-HARRAK]* as *sgyli* or *sgyl* (probably for *sgul* with a specialised meaning of "altar stone" > "altar, sacrarium"). From Mesopotamia, it must early have entered the Arabic dialects of adjoining parts of the Syrian Desert, becoming known in Central Arabia by the time of the Prophet with the meaning of "hard, flint-like stone".

**Bibliography:** See also Lane, *Lexicon,* s.v.; Tabari, *Tafsir,* Cairo 1328, xii, 57; Suyūṭī, *Ibn,{* Cairo 1318, i, 139; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Friedensdrucke im klassischen Arabisch,* Götttingen 1919, 73; J. Horovitz, *Koräntliche Untersuchungen,* Berlin-Leipzig 1928, 11. For the hypothesis according to which the stones mentioned in *sūra* CV, 4, refer to a smallpox epidemic, see Caetani, *Annales,* i, introd., 147, and Fernandez y Gonzalez, *La aparición de la viruela en Arabia,* in *Revista de ciencias históricas,* v (1887), 201-6. See also A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an,* Baroda 1938, 164-5; R. Blachère (tr.), *Le Coran,* Paris 1956, 254; R. Paret, *Der Koran, Kommentar und Konkordanz,* Stuttgart, etc. 1971, 240. (V. VACCARA-[ED.])

**SIDJILL (A.), one of the mysterious words of the Kur'an, appearing in LXXXIII, 7-9: "Nay, but the book of the libertines is in sidjill! And what shall teach you what is sidjill? [It is] a book inscribed." The majority of commentators take this as a proper name. The word has attracted a dozen interpretations, which are grouped around two central concepts: (1) *Sidjill* is the seventh and lowest earth, or a rock or well in Hell, or even the home of Iblis; (2) it is the name of the record in which all human acts are set down. Without the definite article, *sidjill* designates Hell Fire, or again, something painful, violent, hard, durable or eternal. These interpretations are influenced by the term's resemblance to *sidjil* [q.v.], associated erroneously with the root *sdj-*.

Although al-Suyūṭī's *Ibn,* classes it amongst the non-Arabic words, no generally-accepted etymology has been put forward. R. Dvořák, *contra* Jeffery, did not consider it as one of the *Fremdwörter.* The lexicographers, on the other hand, make it a synonym of *sidj* "prison", which has influenced the most widespread interpretation of the commentators, who see it as the place where the record of the evildoers is kept rather than the record itself. The Kur'an's text admits of both interpretations.


**SIDJILL (A.).**

1. Kur'ānic and early Arabic usage.

**Sidjill** is an Arabic word for various types of documents, especially of an official or juridical nature. It has long been recognised (first, it seems, by Fraenkel) that it goes back ultimately to Latin *sigillum,* which in the classical language means "seal" (i.e. both *seal-matrix* and *seal-impression*), but which in Mediaeval Latin is used also for the document to which a seal has been affixed; it was borrowed into Byzantine Greek as *σηγηλίων,* "seal, treaty, imperial edict," and then, via Aramaic (e.g. *Syriac sigillu*), into Arabic. It should, however, be noted that in Arabic *sidjill* never means "seal (*khdtam*), but always refers either to a document (*kiṭab*) or to a scroll (*tāmiyr,* also a loanword from Greek) on which documents are written. The latter provides the most plausible explanation for the much-debated Kur'ānic verse XXI, 104, where God is represented as saying "We shall roll up the sky like the rolling-up of the scroll for the documents" (*ka-ṭayyiʾ l-sidjillī liʾl-kutub*); the other explanations offered by the commentators (*sidjill* means "man" in Ethiopian, or it is the name of the Prophet's scribe, etc.) have nothing to recommend themselves. There is also a *sidjill* according to which, on the Day of Judgement, God will show the Muslim 99 scrolls (*sidjill*), each one extending as far as the eye can see, on which his sins are registered (see Wensinck's *Concordance,* ii, 431, where *al-sabir* is a misprint for *al-basar*).

In classical Arabic, *sidjill* is frequently used for a document containing the judgments of a *kādī,* and in various other technical senses. Al-Khwārizmi (*Maf'ilāt al-sulām,* 57) says that it designates a credit-note given to official messengers exempting them from the costs of their journey. From the Fatimid empire we have the *sidjillīt Mūsāmariyya,* the official correspondence of the court of the caliph al-Mustansir with the *Sulaybiyād* [q.v.], vassal rulers of the Yemen.


2. In Mamlūk usage.

It is evident from Ibn Khaldūn's *Mukaddima* that during the Mamlūk period the term *sidjil* (pl. *sidjillīt*) must have been used for the judicial court registers kept by official witnesses (*'udala*) "which record the rights, possessions, and debts of people and other (legal) transactions." But the term is infrequently encountered with this general meaning in Mamlūk chancery (*sidjil*) and notarial (*'ard*) manuals, which, after all, were designed for the use of professionals.
In his Subh al-acsha, for example, al-Kalakashandi used the term in reference to documents issued by Fātimid caliphs, either conferring kādīʿat on their subjects or appointing them to public office (isālātīyāt). Otherwise, he used sidjīl to designate a document issued by a judge to certify (sidjīl) the legal integrity (ʿaddāla) of his son. In gharat works, designed to provide models to notaries for drafting legal documents, sidjīl was also used with technical denotations and was defined in contrast to two other types of documents or records: musīqa (pl. naṣīqa) and makhār (pl. makhbat). According to two authors of Mamluk notarial manuals—the Syrian Ḥanāfī Naẓm al-Dīn al-Tarṣīḥī (d. 749/1349) and the Egyptian Shafīʿī Shams al-Dīn al-ʿĀṣyūfī (b. 813/1410–11)—a makhār was simply an official record of the minutes of a case or transaction conducted before a kādīʿ; a sidjīl was an official record of the case, based on and including the makhār, plus the judge's decision or verdict. This notarial distinction did not originate with the Mamluks, as J. Wakin's research demonstrates. Presumably, individual sidjīls were compiled and kept in a kādīʿ al-sidjīlī or dīwan al-sidjīlī, which functioned as the record of a kādīʿ's judgements, but no such compilation has been found earlier than the sidjīl of al-Mahkama al-Sāliḥiyah, which date to the second decade after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. The closest approximation to a Mamluk judicial archive is the Haram collection, which consists of copies of documents associated with the court of a late 8th/14th-century Shafīʿi judge in Jerusalem. But these documents contain no references to sidjīlī. Both al-Tarsīḥī and al-ʿĀṣyūfī also distinguish between a sidjīl and a musīqa. The latter is simply a certified verbatim copy of an original document, while the former contains an enumeration of attestations (isālātīyāt) to the validity of the document and its contents, along with a copy of the document itself. It should be noted that the term sidjīlī was used in perhaps still another sense in the Mamluk decrees issued to the monks of St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai, namely as a document which, along with marāṣim, tatārjīl, marāṣim al-ʿudūd, ʿudūd, and mussanadāt, attested to the Mamluks' recognition of the legal status of the monks and their monastery. In two instances, sidjīlī is modified by the word kāfīfaddīsja, which indicates that these may have been caliphal edicts. But the precise denotation of sidjīlī in this context of various kinds of decrees, contracts, and records is not yet clear; moreover, it should be recalled that sidjīl was also a general term for "document" [see DIPLOMATIC], especially during the Fātimid period.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 461; W. Björkman, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Staatskanzelei im islamischen Ägypten, Hamburg 1928, 149, 167, 176; G. Guellil, Dossiers des Akten des 8./14. Jahrhunderts nach al-Tarṣīḥīs Kitāb al-Fīlām, Bamberg 1985, 56, 260, 378, 388–89; Shams al-Dīn al-ʿĀṣyūfī, Qaṣdhar al- praised Cairo 1955, ii, 411, 456; J. Wakin, The function of documents in Islamic law, Albany 1972, 11; S. Jackson, The firmament of domestic politics. Ibn Bint al-Azzī and the establishment of four chief judgehips in Mamluk Egypt, in JAOS, cv (1995), 61-2; A.L. Ibrahim, al-Tarṣīḥīs al-gharīya wa-l-iḥṣādat fi zahr wasliqat al-Qahira, in Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, xix (1957), 336-7; D. Little, A catalogue of the Islamic documents from al-Haram al-Saʿīf in Jerusalem, Beirut 1984; H. Ernst, Die mamluskischen Sultanssurkunden des Šāhiyyat, Wiesbaden 1960, 84, 146, 150, 194, 230, 238, 294, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304 (D.P. Little). 3. In Ottoman administrative usage. The Ottomans used this general term for "registrar" in a variety of contexts; thus Mehmed Thüreyva's biographical encyclopaedia is known as the Sijill-i ʿevlāmat (Istanbul 1308-11/1890-4). In the late Ottoman Empire, the person responsible for the content of the official record was the sijill-i ʿevlāmat. By the term kādī sidjīlī or sharif ʿevlī jīlī are meant the registers kept in the courts of Ottoman kādīs. Documents were often, but not always, entered in chronological order, and every register normally covered one or two years. The oldest extant records date from the late 9th/15th century. We do not know when the practice of keeping these registers was first instituted, and can only speculate from which Muslim state the practice was copied. For while the inheritance inventories have survived for Mamluk Jerusalem, the bulk of Ottoman registers was not made up of such inventories, even though these latter items are found frequently enough. Pre-Ottoman kādī registers are extremely rare; but cf. R.S. Humphreys, Islamic history, a framework for inquiry, London and New York 1995, 219.

While registers dating from the 9th/15th century seem to have only been preserved for Bursa and Kayseri, kādī registers were also institutionalized in the Arab provinces shortly after the Ottoman conquest. This indicates that at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the compilation of such registers already formed part of established routine at least in the larger cities. From the second half of this century onwards, more and more towns and cities preserve at least minor collections of sidjīls. While older registers are more likely to have been lost than more recent ones, the general lack of sidjīls for rural settlements which we know to have possessed a kādī before the middle of the 15th/19th century, may indicate that in such places, the compilation and preservation of kādī registers was not the rule in older periods. The organisation of registers Kādī registers of the larger cities consist of two parts; one section begins where books written in the Arabic script normally begin. Here we find records of transactions in the local court, such as sales, loans, agreements concerning divorces or manumissions of slaves. These transactions were not contentious, and the parties in question had them recorded so that proof of the sale, divorce or manumission would be easily available; this aim explains why we normally find the names of three, four or five people under the relevant text (ṣbḥāt al-ḥāl). Proof provided by entry into the register was especially important to non-Muslims, who could not legally testify against Muslims; this fact may explain why non-Muslims frequently turned to the court. Some capitulations even contained the clause that all contracts involving merchants of the relevant nation had to be registered by the kādī, or else later complaints against the foreign trader would be regarded as irreceivable (Suraiya Faroqhi, The Venetian presence in the Ottoman Empire, in Huri Islamoglu-Inan (ed.), The Ottoman Empire and the world economy, Cambridge and Paris 1987, 340). Thus while in ordinary transactions recourse to the court was not obligatory, the sultan might legislate such an obligation in specific instances. The kādī registers also document cases of litigation, which might concern the division of an inheritance, but equally a complaint against a neighbour who had added a room to his house overlooking the plaintiff's court, thereby invading the privacy of the latter's family. More serious matters such as rape, robbery and murder also occur in the sidjīl, but not very frequently. Since the gharat was regarded murder without robbery as something which mainly concerned the
family of the victim, while on the other hand, the state demanded a share of the blood money (şehr-i devâ). There was some incentive to settle out of court. Many documents concerning cases which by present-day categories would be regarded as penal simply contain the "facts of the case" as established by the plaintiff’s, defendant’s and witnesses’ depositions. Presumably the matter was then referred to the sultan’s Council in Istanbul. But the Council, after having been apprised of such an affair, according to the evidence of the Registers of Important Affairs (Mihrimâne Defterleri) and the Complaint Registers (Şahâne Defterleri) often merely issued an order to the relevant kadî to judge the matter according to the şehr-i devâ. Thus in most cases, neither one nor the other type of register informs us of the judgements issued and the manner of their execution.

A second section of the register begins at what the scribes regarded as the last page of the volume in question. This second half is taken up with orders issued by the sultan’s Council; some of these, similar to modern circulars, were issued to all governors and kadîs of a given region. Others are concerned with matters specifically assigned to the particular kadî and/or governor. These may include responses to complaints by local inhabitants, such as creditors unable to recover loans. Occasionally a rescript may occur both in the Registers of Important Affairs and in the local kadî registers. But that is fairly rare, as neither the registers of the kadîs nor those prepared in Istanbul have survived in their totality. In addition, we cannot be sure how great was the percentage of documents which, for one reason or another, escaped registration at either the central or the local end. In large cities such as Aleppo, there were separate registers for the orders emanating from the central administration (acemir sülünmiyya).

In the largest cities, such as Bursa or Cairo, separate registers for inheritance inventories were instituted. By this term we mean a list of the goods left by the deceased, including both movable property and real estate, but not state-owned agricultural land (mîrî). Debts and money owed to the deceased were also included, as well as clauses constituting the testament of the deceased, especially if there were slaves to be liberated. In Edirne and Istanbul, special inheritance registers existed covering the ʿaskerîs, that is the servants of the sultans (and sometimes their spouses) whose inheritances were liable to confiscation. However these registers were not the responsibility of the kadî, but were kept by a special official known as the ʿaskerî kâsâm [see KÂSAM].

In cases where no children or absent people were involved, the heirs could divide up the inheritance without recourse to the kadî and, consequently, without the compilation of an inheritance inventory. Thus only a relatively small share of all inheritance cases was recorded. Merchants are probably over-represented in the şijill, as they often died while away from home, or, if older and sedentary, had sons who were away when their fathers died. Moreover, their goods and chattels were important enough to be worth recording, and given the existence of both creditors and debtors of the deceased, it was often imperative to make an official record of the manner in which the inheritance had been divided. By the same token, the inheritances of women and the poor are under-represented; when the inheritance was small, it was to the advantage of all heirs to avoid reducing it further through the fees charged by the court. The frequency of inheritance disputes shows that manipulations to disinherit minors and women were common. It therefore makes sense to assume that some inheritances were not documented in order to deprive the heir of his/her fair share. Inheritances were also recorded when the temporary absence or non-existence of heirs resulted in the beyt-ül-mal emini’s taking possession, temporarily or permanently, of the estate in question. Cases where only a few heirs were involved also were more likely to be included than others, for it was then necessary to demonstrate that the beyt-ül-mal emini was not entitled to confiscate. When the inventory does not explicitly state that the inheritance was sold by public auction, the prices assigned to the individual goods in the register should be regarded with a degree of caution.

The kadî’s registers must have been kept in the court building of the district centre; there is no evidence that copies were ever sent to Istanbul. In the Aegean region, however, it is probable that the kadî registers were collected in one of the major towns already in the 13th/19th century, and then were lost when this provincial archive was destroyed, in all likelihood before the 1260s-70s/1850s. For, otherwise, it is hard to explain why to the south of Balâkesir and Edremit and to the north of Antalya, no kadî registers survive except for Manisa, apart from a number of Izmir volumes from the second half of the 13th/19th century.

It was the responsibility of the outgoing kadî to hand these registers over to his successor. Occasionally, we hear of kadîs who did not do this, presumably because of accidents or because they had something to hide. No Ottoman court buildings from before the mid-13th/19th century have survived, but casual references in the documents, as well as the traveller Ewwâlî Čelebi’s descriptions of 11th/16th century Ottoman towns, prove that they existed at least in the larger cities. Without such a building, it is difficult to imagine how the often substantial series could have survived frequent changes of officiating kadîs. On the other hand, the all but complete absence of kadî registers relevant to the numerous small kadî’s seats of the 10th/16th century can probably be explained by the lack of a building to house these institutions. Presumably the court building resembled the residence of a well-to-do family, with structures surrounding two courtyards. In the first, corresponding to the men’s part of a house (semlâk [q.v.]), the business of the court must have been transacted, while the family dwelt in the second courtyard, the hamam section. Outgoing kadîs must have moved out to make room for their successors.

Not all the cases recorded in the şijill were dealt with by the kadî in person. Disputes concerning landholding were often resolved by delegating a (presumably junior) member of the legal establishment to the site in question; where houses needed to be divided up among several heirs, in the 11th/17th century the kadîs of larger towns could rely on the advice of the mimâr-bâshi, a local master builder (not to be confused with the sultan’s Chief Architect officiating in Istanbul). By contrast, the decisions of the nâibs, adjunct kadîs who officiated in rural districts, have very rarely found their way into the şijill. In the late 12th/18th century, at least in the Bursa area, there also existed şijill which were not compiled for the local kadî but for an official in charge of sultanic waqfs answerable to the dür al-suładet ağa. In terms of content, these şijill resemble those compiled for kadîs.

In the more important courts, the kadîs had a num-
ber of scribes at their disposal. Recruitment and train-
ing in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries appear to have been less systematic than in later periods, for what suggestions can be made are concerned, we find evidence of scribes who evidently had difficulty han-
dling the mechanics of registration. Thus in late 9th/15th century Bursa, a scribe who had produced a particularly garbled account of a succession explained the reason for the confusion in the margin, asking his readers to pardon him. Spelling errors and clumsy handwriting also are not rare in early registers. By contrast, from the 11th/17th century onward, scribes in the larger courts wrote in a relatively uniform hand. Presumably the senior scribes also put the claims of plaintiff, defendant and witnesses into the appropri-
ate legal formulas. It is tempting to assume that the fragments of everyday speech which are often found among the formulaic language of the documents con-
stitute residual traces of what the participants in the case actually said; but whether this is really true is not at all certain.

*Archives containing sidjills*

Registers kept by Ottoman kādīs and preserved in Turkey are now located in the National Library (Millî Kütüphane) in Ankara, having been transferred to this place from the provincial museums in which they were previously housed. Registers prepared by the various courts of the city of Istanbul can be consulted in the office of the Chief Islamic Jurisconsult (Mufīlūk) in the Süleymaniye quarter of that city. A published guide is available, the newest version of which allows the prospective user to determine the years covered by each register in addition to the call number (Akgündüz a\* alii, 1988). Moreover, this guide con-
tains a broad selection of reproduced documents. Kādī registers in the Ankara National Library deal with localities inside the borders of present-day Turkey. A few extant registers are, however, not covered by this catalogue: thus some museums failed to inform the catalogue compilers of their holdings, and a Qorum register (1004-5/1595-7), located in the Çorum Library, should be added as well.

Outside of modern Turkey, kādī registers, in larger or smaller numbers, are to be found in numerous successor states of the Ottoman Empire. Hungary has only a single sidjill, concerning the district of Karásnebes-Lugos, dating from the late 11th/17th century (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, Keleti Osztály, Tovók Keresztrák, Opus). In Bosnia, the Oriental Institute, the Ghaż'āt Khşurew Beg Library and the Historical Archive, all located in Sarajevo, have separate collections of registers: in the Historical Archive we find six volumes concerning Livno, Visoko and Temeshwar, while the Ghaż'āt Khşurew Library holds 68 sidjills of Sarajevo itself, spanning the period from the 10th/16th to the 13th/19th century. In the Oriental Institute, 66 registers existed at least until recently, concerning the region surrounding the city and the province of Sarajevo in general, and covering the 11th/16th century. At present, we do not know for certain which of these registers have perished in the war accompanying the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

In Macedonia, the state archive in Skopje houses the kādī registers of Bitola (Monastir); the series cons-
ists of 185 volumes, beginning in 1015-16/1607 and ending in 1912. Certain volumes have been made available in print. As to present-day Albania, the oldest surviving sidjill known to date is found in the Vatican Library; it covers Avalonja (974-6/1567-8). No other registers concerning this part seem to exist any-
where else. In Albania, there survive series of regis-
ters covering Berat (beginning in 1010-11/1602) and Elbasan (beginning in 988/1530, in copy only). All
other Albanian towns, including Tirana, have at most a few sidjills going back to the 13th/19th century.

Kādī registers located in present-day Bulgaria concern Sofia, Rusçuk (Ruse) and Vidin; the oldest known register (Sofia, 949/1542 to 957/1550) was lost during World War II. However, an edition contain-
ing the summaries of every individual document had been prepared just before the disappearance of the original, and was published in 1960. The extant sidjills have been deposited in the National Library in Sofia. There is some coverage of the 11th/17th century, but the registers become much fuller and more informa-
tive for the 12th/18th one, when expanding com-
mercial opportunities allowed an increasing number of townsmen to prosper. On Greek territory, a similar situation prevails, as the oldest known register in the Macedonian State Archive (Salonica) dates from 1107-8/1696. This institution contains the largest number of sidjills in all of Greece: over 300 volumes covering the city of Salonica and the surrounding coun-
tryside, including the judicial districts of 'Awret-
bişār, Pażārāb, Volos and Katerin. From the 1240s and 1250s/1830s there survive a number of inher-
itance inventories covering the Muslim population of Salonica itself. Kādī registers preserved in Veroia begin in 1011/1602; they number about 130, while two volumes consisting of different fragments of Veroia sidjills are owned by the Nabout Institute of the Ludwig-
Maximilians-Universität, Munich. In the Municipal Library of Heraclion, Crete, there is a collection of 16 sidjills beginning in the 1070s/1660s; the Ottoman history of this town is documented right from the time of its conquest.

In the Turkish part of Cyprus, the kādī registers of Lefkoşe go back to the late 10th/16th century, they are mostly located in the Evkaf Dairesi in Lefkoşe. Those kādī registers extant in Syria are for the most part concentrated in Damascus, where they can be consulted in the General Directorate of Historical Documents. Registers relating to the Arab provinces are for the most part in Arabic, although documents in Ottoman Turkish are not unknown. Damascus is covered for the period from 991/1583 to 1920 (1,658 volumes), while the extant documents for Aleppo (731 volumes) reach from 962-3/1555 to 1925. This archive also contains about thirty registers of sultans' com-
mands directed at the authorities in Aleppo, in addition to some registers consisting exclusively of inheritance inventories. From the court of Hamā, 64 registers have been preserved, which begin in 942-
3/1536 and reach to the year 1296-7/1879; some kādī registers also cover Hīms. In the Sunni şāfi‘ite court of Şaydā, the existence of eighteen registers, dating from the 13th/19th century, was noted in 1975 by Antoine Abdel Nour; these have probably been destroyed by fire in 1975-6. In the Old City of Jeru-
salem, the makhāna shar‘iyya contains the kādī records of both Nablus and Jerusalem; while the former only cover the 12th/18th and 15th/19th centuries, the Jerusalem sidjill go back to 937/1530-1, and thereby constitute one of the oldest series known. By contrast, the Haifa registers begin in 1286-7/1870 reflecting the relatively short history of this town. Some registers from the mid-13th/19th century are also available for Gaza.

A collection of 1851 makhāna shar‘iyya registers has been preserved in Cairo; these volumes have been for the most part compiled in the numerous courts which existed in the second-largest city of the Ottoman
Empire. Registers are extant from the 11th/17th century onwards. The largest section (559 volumes) concerns the court known as the Baş al-Álr, while the sections al-Kisma al-Árabiyya and al-Kisma al-Áskariyya encompass probate inventories concerning the property of Ottoman subjects and members of the ruling elite respectively. However, from the later 11th/18th century onwards, Muslim merchants and artisans increasingly joined the military corps, which thus took on the composition of militias. As a result, the al-Kisma al-Áskariyya section is relatively large (418 al-Kisma al-Árabiyya registers, versus 157 volumes belonging to al-Kisma al-Áskariyya).

Wakf in the kâdî sidjilleri

As wakf administrators were subject to supervision by the kâdî, the sidjills also contain many documents concerning repairs to existing wakf buildings. The rental of khâns and shops, and in the case of wakf's lending money at interest, the setting of accounts, are also covered in some detail. Many wakfs turned over major pieces of real estate to a tenant-in-chief, who was in turn responsible for finding occupants for individual shops or workshops; the relevant contracts were at times entered into the sidjill. Other records document "double rent" (kâdîyet evn) agreements; here, a relatively high entry fee was paid, in exchange for which the tenant was allowed a lease which his heirs might inherit. Other documents record the special type of lease by which 12th/18th and 13th/19th century artisans often held their shops (gendî; gendî could only be passed on to other members of the same craft guild. Foundations without the resources to rebuild after fires or earthquakes received the kâdi's authorization to turn over the land at a low rent to whoever would build on it. A wakf in need of capital might contract a loan, and then permit the lender long-term occupation of a piece of profitable real estate at low rent until the loan was repaid. There are also cases of istibdâl on record, in which the wakf administrator was authorised to divest the foundation of properties which were no longer useful and to acquire others in their stead.

In 12th/18th century Bursa, lists of all foundations lending out money at interest were regularly compiled in separate registers classed among the sidjills. These registers also contained the names of the debtors and responsible wakf administrators. Since the amount of the debts and the sum of money remaining in the wakf's chest were equally recorded, the financial status of each wakf could be read off at a glance. While this information was not collected as systematically in other cities, money wakfs are still quite frequently documented throughout the Turkish-speaking parts of the Ottoman Empire.

Workshops belonging to wakfs were also in evidence in the sidjills. This information is particularly valuable, since we know very little about the functioning of non-wakf shops. Most frequent is information on dye houses, workshops where a large number of individual masters exercised their trade. Particularly well-documented, in the sidjills of both Istanbul and Bursa, is the dye house associated with the library of Sultan Ahmed III in Istanbul; numerous disputes which occurred throughout the 12th/18th century provide information on the relationship between masters and administrators, and on intra-guild competition as well.

As the bedestân of many towns and cities also produced revenue for major wakfs, the sidjills record information on their operation as well; after damages due to fire, detailed protocols were compiled, determining the expenses involved in repairing the bedestân in question. Such documents, known as kâdîyet (which exist for other wakf-owned buildings as well) are of special value to historians of architecture.

The kâdî registers as an historical source

During the last twenty-five years, social and economic historians of the Ottoman lands have examined the sidjills with particular attention. Scholars have come to appreciate the capacity of this source to provide a record of historical change, and have therefore tended to prefer the sidjills to the tax registers (pâpsi tabrîr) which in earlier decades had provided the backbone of most socio-economic analyses. Moreover, given the nature of the surviving registers in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the sidjills often constitute the main (or even the only) source which relates to local as opposed to central government concerns.

As a first step, the functioning of the courts and the kâdîs' correspondence with the authorities in the capital have been studied, as well as the complex interplay between ğentar and kânsun as applied by the kâdîs. Here the source criticism long practiced by historians has been joined to the discourse analysis initiated by students of literature. But principally, the standardised character of many documents contained in the sidjills permits statistical analysis, which has been undertaken with respect to probate inventories as well as to sales documents.

When houses were sold in larger Ottoman cities, such as Istanbul, Bursa and Aleppo, but even in Ankara or Kayseri, the record of the relevant agreement included not only the price, but also an enumeration of the neighbouring property-holders and the rooms contained in the dwelling in question. Administratively determined prices (narkh [q.v.]) are also found frequently enough in the registers of some localities to permit the construction of series. Conversion rates concerning the different coins which circulated in different parts of the empire can be derived from sales records and inheritance inventories. These series show up the degree to which a given town was economically integrated into a larger entity. Given the linkage between monetary inflation and social unrest, accurate indices of currency devaluation are of great importance to the social historian as well.

Qualitative information in the sidjills has equally come to interest researchers. With respect to women not part of the Ottoman elite, the kâdî sidjilleri constitute almost the only source of information; as women often turned to the courts in order to defend their property rights, historical research has focussed on the relationship of women to property. Amply information is also available on divorce, and occasionally we find texts which show how marriage negotiations were begun or broken off. The probate inventories contained in the sidjills also provide some evidence on polygyny and family structure. These data are, however, less usable than one might wish for, as children who predeceased their parents are not recorded, and moreover, the sample of probate inventories included represents only a very specific sector of the urban population. The sidjills also contain a fair amount of information on women who founded and administered wakf.

Slaves belonging to private persons also have left few traces anywhere but in the sidjills. Records of sales and manumissions can be supplemented by promises of future manumission in exchange for specific services; documents allowing a slave to use capital belonging to a master have also been found, as well as records of the personal and household goods which female owners sometimes gave their slave women when
the latter were manumitted and married off. Since the siffritts often mention the slave’s place of origin, it has been possible to relate major campaigns to the afluence of slaves from a given region at a large slave market such as Bursa.

Relationships between inhabitants of town quarters are reflected in complaints concerning willful damage to buildings, nuisances in and around shops, or accusations of drunkenness and loose living. There is some documentation on the life of the poorest townspeople, often immigrants without families, as they died in a ḥāṣa ḥor on the street. Attempts to limit immigration into the towns are also on record, namely when tenant-holders or administrators of crown lands demanded the return of peasants who had migrated to town without the consent of the proper authorities. But the same records document the interest of the townspeople in retaining their solvent neighbours, whether former villagers or not, by appropriate testimony to the court. Reactions on the part of artisans to the special demands made upon them in wartime are documented in the disputes among craftsmen as to which guild was the one to which work was referred, by which other, as yarım of which other, and so on. Such guilds were obligated to contribute to the taxes demanded from the “superior” guild. No systematic evaluation has as yet been attempted for the numerous protocols concerning accidents and sudden deaths, which were included in the registers in order to safeguard the neighbours against later claims. These protocols provide a vivid reflection of the risks inherent in living in an urban community.

l’histoire macedonienne (5 fascicules, Skopje 1951-7)
(concerning the 13th/19th century) and Documents 
turcs sur l’histoire du peuple macedonien (3 vols., Skopje 
1963, 1969, 1980) contain translations into Mac-
donian from cădi registers today located in Skopje, as 
well as occasional documents of Sidjilmäsian

(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

SIDJILMASA, a town of pre-modern Islamic Morocco.

The ruined site of the ancient capital of the Tafilalt is as poorly known as it is famous. The town, situated on the Wadi Ziz some 300 km/190 miles from Fās, on the southeastern fringes of mediaeval Morocco, occupies a key position as gateway to the desert. Moreover, it has had the good fortune of being the foremost urban centre of the region which provided the land with its present-day dynasty of rulers, the ‘Alawīs. Thus history and legendary prestige have become mingled in order to preserve for this site, very eccentrically situated in regard to the great events of Moroccan history, an unaccustomed fame. Leo Africanus, who did much for the fame of a town where he stayed for some time in the 16th century, contributed to the spread of this legend; he makes Sidjilmās a foundation of Alexander the Great “for the sick and wounded of his army”. The town was for long to have this image of a base and a refuge on the margins of the main track of history.

The madīna was actually founded, as al-Bakrī states, in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, in 141/758. It became the centre of an independent emirate connected with the Miknās, founders of Miknās and Tāza, that of the Banū Mihdrā or Mihdrānīs [q.v.], who, following the examples of Tāhārī and Tilīmsān, rallied to the Khārijījīs heresy [see SūFRIYYA. 2]. In the 4th/10th century, the land took part in the struggles between the Fāṣīmīs and the upholders of the Sunna, as protected by both the Aghlabīs and the Spanish Umayyads; the town, without much pressure, welcomed the Maḥdī. But orthodoxy soon came back; the dynasty was deposed by a Šāhāna who had rallied to the Andalūsīs, Khārizīn al-Maghrawī (365/976), and the khalīfah al-Wadīd of Tilīmsān, who had to seek shelter under the protection of the Fatimīs, became the centre of an independent amirate until the mid-5th/11th century.

The advance of the Almorāvīds [see AL-MURĀBĪN] with their chief, ‘Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, had been chosen by his master, who had a school in a settlement on the banks of the Zīz and within the amirate. Above all, the Ṣanḥādja [q.v.], from this point onwards adherents of the Almorāvīds, had been impeded in both their commerce and their transhumance by the domination of the Šāhāna based in Sidjilmās. Their richness—a figure of 50,000 camels belonging to the āmrī passing into the Draa is mentioned—and this local quarrel were caught up in the ādīdā to explain the end of the Banū Khārizīn and, with their line, the amirate of Sidjilmās.

It will be seen later how this annexation did not affect at all the region's prosperity. There is little mention of Sidjilmās, pillaged at the beginning of the 7th/13th century or adopted as a refuge by the Almohad ruler al-Rašīd towards the end of that dynasty. The Marinīd period gives us more information on the real life of the town and on that long band of territories which, lying between the Sahara and the Mediterranean, were the grazing lands of the Šāhāna Banū Mahdrān, from Fīguig towards the south, along the course of the Mūltīya, and the region which they reached in summer, towards the north. Possession of the town oscillated between the Almohads and Marinīds, who made themselves masters of the town in 653/1255 and then took definitive possession of it twenty years later. The place was also the locus of a clash between the Marinīds of Fās and the ‘Abd al-Wādīd of Tilīmsān, who had to seek shelter under the walls of Sidjilmās like the Fās during the ‘Ārabs’ seizure of the Moroccan oases. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan was probably able to repel them towards Šākiyāt al-Ḥamrā in the 8th/14th century, but the intrusion of these Bedouin tribesmen was irreparable.

At the same time, the town welcomed rebels and fugitives. Thus a son of Abū Sa‘īd, Abū ‘Ali, made Sidjilmās the centre of a dissident amirate which he tried to extend towards Tuwaṭ (Touat) and towards Marrākūj. His brother Abu ‘l-Ḥasan confirmed him in this power, perhaps with the aim of neutralising him whilst Abu ‘l-Ḥasan himself went to campaign against Tilīmsān with the help of the Ḥāfīzīs. Abū ‘Ali nevertheless ended up being executed at Fās, where he died. But Abu ‘l-Ḥasan himself, on his return from his disastrous Ḥifriyān expedition and threatened by his son Abū ‘Inān, took refuge at Sidjilmās, which was welcomed by him but very soon preferred to him the future āmīr. These episodes show that the Marinīds were not really able to control the outer fringes of Morocco from which they had actually themselves come. The end of the mediaeval period marks the end of the role, at times paradoxical, which the town had retained during the period of the Berber empires. Under the Sa‘īdīs, history seemed to follow a similar model. Al-Ma‘mūn, in rebellion against his father al-MaNṣūr, set himself up at Sidjilmās and in the Draa. The town was in Mawlāy Zīdān’s hands in 1012/1603, and it was there that he received an Ottoman embassy from sultan Murād IV, whose ambitions had contributed towards breaking up the regional unity of Mediterranean Africa. But above all, this century saw the rise of the Abū Mata‘lī marabouts who threatened the power of Mawlāy Zīdān (1020/2-1611-13) before another marabout, Abū Zakariyya‘y, replaced his, to be in turn chased out of the Tafilalt in 1070/1660 by another Amīr, ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭālī ‘Alī, under whose direction the town became a kind of “dynastic depot” for them. In 1142/1729, it was at Sidjilmās that Mawlāy ‘Abd Allāh was to be found when people wanted to make him father’s successor. In 1206/1792, when Mawlāy Sīlmān came to power, he was very familiar with Sidjilmās, where he had lived for a long time. In this way, the town and the Tafilalt became merged together in people’s memories, and despite their decadence, the outer fringes of Morocco, of which the town was an integral part, showed itself nevertheless as the origin of four Moroccan dynasties: the Almorāvīds, the Marinīds, the Saʿīdīs and the ‘Alawīs.

However, in regard to Sidjilmās, one should tone down the severe judgment of the Sa‘īdī period historian al-Ḥifrānī, “Sidjilmās has no greater merit except that it had the Sharīfīs, and but for this fact, its name would have neither the popularity which it enjoys nor
the least prestige." In fact, the town was in mediæval times in the front rank as an economic centre. The route to the Orient which joined the southern Sahara to Egypt and the East was both uncomfortable and dangerous; sandstorms are mentioned—sandstorms are mentioned—and dangerous. An itinerary which described a long curve accordingly led caravans to skirt the Sahara by the west. The caravans stopping-point of Sidjilmasa could thus serve both Ifrikiya (al-Bakrī describes the route here) and Fās, or, by travelling northwards by the Mulūya, the Mediterranean. Numerous foreign merchants were known at Sidjilmasa in the High Middle Ages. With the Almoravids, who united under one rule not only the two sides of the Sahara but alsoReset the Mediterranean, the town enjoyed an exceptional situation. The reconquest of the Mediterranean basin by the Europeans impeded this prosperity, whilst the opening-up of the way to the New World, and also the re-opening of the route across the Sudan, finally ruined it.

The texts adduced in references to this trade, in which gold from the Sudan figures, as in also African agriculture are also cited: Sidjilmasa received the pistachios of Tunisia, but above all, it exported dates, henna, spices (caraway and cumin), indigo, cotton and sugar. Alum was valued, but also galls used for the tanning of leather. These rapid indications confirm that Sidjilmasa, an entrepot as well as the Mediterranean, could thus serve both Mediterranean and its customers. By the Europeans impeded this prosperity, whilst the opening-up of the way to the New World, and also the re-opening of the route across the Sudan, finally ruined it.

Descriptions exist from al-Bakrī to Leo Africanus and up to the present day. H. Terrasse has described the site, whose surrounding wall of brick on a stone base, attested in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. Various products of Moroccan agriculture are also cited: Sidjilmasa received the pistachios of Tunisia, but above all, it exported dates, henna, spices (caraway and cumin), indigo, cotton and sugar. Alum was valued, but also galls used for the tanning of leather. These rapid indications confirm that Sidjilmasa, an entrepot as well as the Mediterranean, could thus serve both Mediterranean and its customers. By the Europeans impeded this prosperity, whilst the opening-up of the way to the New World, and also the re-opening of the route across the Sudan, finally ruined it.

In addition to the references given in the text, see, for analyses of his thought, 'Alālī al-Qādirī, Tawassur mustalah "al-tahdīl" fi nazarīyat al-naskh al-adabī 'inda 'l-Sidjilmasī, in Muqarrat al-Khilaf bi-‘adāb wa-‘l-Insīyāt (Fās) 1409/1988, ‘addad khdss 4, 285-334; μuhammad mīdhān, al-Tahdīl wa-‘l-Ta‘wil, Casablanca and Beirut 1994, 61-80.

W. P. Heinrichs
his work on the codices which was, for example, quoted extensively by al-Suyufi in his al-Itqdn fi 'ulum al-Kur'an. al-Sijistani was a contemporary of Muhammad b. Djar al-Tabari (q.v.) and is pictured as his rival in writing a ta'far and the one who lost the competition according to the judgement of history. A dispute arose between the two of them regarding al-Tabari's alleged Shi'ti and Djahmi tendencies, as exposed by al-Sijistani with his Hanbal point of view.


AL-SIDJISTANI, ABU HATIM (see ABU HATIM AL-SIDJISTANI, ABU YAKUB [see ABU YAKUB AL-SIDJISTANI])

SIDJN (A.) "prison". In the Kur'an it is mentioned only in connection with the story of Joseph (stara XII and XXVI, 29). The etymology of the term is controversial, but it seems to be derived from the Latin signum via the Greek variant which meant in more detail is imprisonment for debt. It was imposed if the creditor thought that the debtor still had assets. The sole objective of this kind of imprisonment was to compel a debtor to satisfy his creditors. Thus he was released if it became clear that he was insolvent. Imprisonment was, according to the fikr literature, also used in cases of contempt of court and for apostates. Male apostates could be imprisoned for three days in order to revive their faith in Islam. If they were unwilling to reaffirm their faith within this period, they were to be executed.

The jurists mention pre-trial detention, i.e. to detain a suspect until his trial commences. This was based on an alleged utterance of the prophet who is said to have had people arrested on suspicion (fi talm). In all these cases, the prisoners were subject to the control of the judges. According to the Hanafi Abü Yusuf (q.v.), the maintenance of prisoners should be financed from state funds so that prisoners would not roam about the streets in shackles (K. al-Kharadji, ed. U. Bashez', Cairo 1933, 149). It seems, however, that occasionally prisoners had to pay rent to live in prison if they had assets. In the adab al-kadi literature, the prisoners' rights were strictly defined and it was emphasised that under no circumstances should anyone be kept in prison wrongfully. If there was no plaintiff, the judge had to release the prisoner. If he was sick, the prisoner could be looked after by his servant or he could be discharged from prison. Furthermore, he could receive guests in prison, especially members of his family and sometimes he was even allowed to have sex in prison if an appropriate place for it was available. A prisoner should not be beaten, chained, paraded through the streets or forced to work. Nevertheless, prisoners were prohibited from attending gatherings, festivals, the pilgrimage (hajj) and funerals (al-Khassaf, K. Adab al-kadi, ed. F. Zayadeh, Cairo 1978, 264-5; al-Sarakhsi, Mabsht, Beirut 1986, xx, 90). However, evidence from historical and biographical sources suggests that in practice not all the requirements of the fikr were met.

Imprisonment not as a means of compulsion (like imprisonment for debt) or in the sense of pre-trial detention, but as a punishment, is only rarely mentioned in the fikr literature, and if so, mostly in addition to the hudud, i.e. in addition to corporal punishment. For example, according to the Malikis, in the case of murder, if the wali 'Islam (the next of kin who has the right to demand retaliation) waives his right of retaliation, the murderer is imprisoned for a year. The imprisonment takes place only after he has been whipped a hundred times (Malk b. Anas, al-Muwatta', rauza Yahya b. Yahya al-Laythi, ed. S.M. al-Lahham and M. Kasnass, Beirut 1988, 671, k. al-ukul, hnh al-ajw fi katl al-amd, 627).

In the field of ta'afir (q.v.), imprisonment is generally accepted as a punishment and is listed next to admonishment, flogging and banishment. It could
be for one day or for an indefinite period. Ta'zlr is left to the discretion of the jurists, and the protection in cases of how often imprisonment was imposed.

Ahmad b. Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyya

A.B. Mahmud, Beirut 1967-8, iii-iv, 217), or in the case of refusal to pray (al-Wa'af, Alkhâbân al-tabdîl, Cairo 1947-90, iii-260). However, imprisonment seems to have been a main punishment (cf. Schneider, Imprisonment, 166). This situation prevailed through the Ottoman era (U. Heyd, Studies in old Ottoman criminal law, Oxford 1973, 301 ff.).

In modern Islamic states, punitive detention is now one of the officially recognised and widespread forms of punishment, in addition to fines and—where they still exist—corporal punishment (see e.g. The Gazette of Pakistan, 25 October 1994, 796: it comprises imprisonment for life, rigorous imprisonment with hard labour and simple imprisonment). As in classical times, imprisonment is administered through the penal law, e.g. in the case of kâll al-amd (homicide with deliberate intent), when the walû l-dam voluntarily waives his right of retaliation, cf. above, Malik, Mawsatû, 671, k. al-'udlât, cited above). In many modern Islamic legal codes, e.g. those of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the UAE, imprisonment because of debt still exists (see al-Adîd, Muğallâ Kânûnîyât, Abû Zaby, Ixxii [Rabi` II 1412/1992], 8 ff.).

Historically, the legal aspects of imprisonment have been to distinguish from the political ones. As the ruler had the right to exercise judicial power in most cases concerning public order and safety, he also had the right to imprison people at will. Thus the government could send to prison proven or alleged heretics, or religious fanatics, charlatans and all those guilty of violating public order. Officials who failed to carry out their order were imprisoned. Judges who were not willing to serve could be put in jail.

The same is true for political enemies, who were considered to be hostile to the ruler, and also for prisoners of war (for the 17th century, see e.g. Herberer von Breten, Aegyptus servitus. Warfähige Beschreibung einer Dreijährigen Dienstbarkeit, Heidelberg 1610, new ed. Graz 1967, 125 ff.). The living conditions for prisoners of the ruler are often described in historical sources as appalling. In what al-Mâqrîzî calls "prisons of the governors" (sudîn al-wuldt), prisoners in chains were forced to do hard labour. Their cries of "hunger" were heard in the streets while the warders took the alms originally meant for them (Khitat, ii, 187).

The sources, especially historical works, attest many cases of political imprisonment, often from the ruler's arbitrariness and without any trial; thus scholars like Ahmad b. Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyya, and many others, were put behind bars.


Irene Schniderer

SIDK (a.,) a term in mysticism.

Here, the importance of sidk ("truthfulness, sincerity") and its derivatives, sidâk and sidât ("true, truthful, sincere") is determined by their frequent use in the Qur'an, e.g., iv, 69, v, 119, vi, 115, ix, 119, x, 2, xix, 41, 54, 56, xxxi, 8, xxxiii, ii, xvi, 16, lv, 55, etc. (see also H. Kassis, A. Kassim, A. A. Farah, Conscience and the Qur'an, Berkeley 1983, 1174-7) and in the literature does not lay down special punish-

L. Bein, A. Abu Zaby, Ixxii (see above), cited above). In many modern Islamic legal codes, e.g. those of Saudi Arabia, Kuwayt and the UAE, imprisonment because of debt still exists (see al-Adîd, Muğallâ Kânûnîyât, Abû Zaby, Ixxii [Rabi` II 1412/1992], 8 ff.).

Historically, the legal aspects of imprisonment have been to distinguish from the political ones. As the ruler had the right to exercise judicial power in most cases concerning public order and safety, he also had the right to imprison people at will. Thus the government could send to prison proven or alleged heretics, religious fanatics, charlatans and all those guilty of violating public order. Officials who failed to carry out their order were imprisoned. Judges who were not willing to serve could be put in jail.

The same is true for political enemies, who were considered to be hostile to the ruler, and also for prisoners of war (for the 17th century, see e.g. Herberer von Breten, Aegyptus servitus. Warfähige Beschreibung einer Dreijährigen Dienstbarkeit, Heidelberg 1610, new ed. Graz 1967, 125 ff.). The living conditions for prisoners of the ruler are often described in historical sources as appalling. In what al-Mâqrîzî calls "prisons of the governors" (sudîn al-wuldt), prisoners in chains were forced to do hard labour. Their cries of "hunger" were heard in the streets while the warders took the alms originally meant for them (Khitat, ii, 187).

The sources, especially historical works, attest many cases of political imprisonment, often from the ruler's arbitrariness and without any trial; thus scholars like Ahmad b. Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyya, and many others, were put behind bars.


Irene Schniderer

SIDK (a.,) a term in mysticism.

Here, the importance of sidk ("truthfulness, sincerity") and its derivatives, sidâk and sidât ("true, truthful, sincere") is determined by their frequent use in the Qur'an, e.g., iv, 69, v, 119, vi, 115, ix, 119, x, 2, xix, 41, 54, 56, xxxi, 8, xxxiii, ii, xvi, 16, lv, 55, etc. (see also H. Kassis, A. Kassim, A. A. Farah, Conscience and the Qur'an, Berkeley 1983, 1174-7) and in the literature does not lay down special punish-

L. Bein, A. Abu Zaby, Ixxii (see above), cited above). In many modern Islamic legal codes, e.g. those of Saudi Arabia, Kuwayt and the UAE, imprisonment because of debt still exists (see al-Adîd, Muğallâ Kânûnîyât, Abû Zaby, Ixxii [Rabi` II 1412/1992], 8 ff.).

Historically, the legal aspects of imprisonment have been to distinguish from the political ones. As the ruler had the right to exercise judicial power in most cases concerning public order and safety, he also had the right to imprison people at will. Thus the government could send to prison proven or alleged heretics, religious fanatics, charlatans and all those guilty of violating public order. Officials who failed to carry out their order were imprisoned. Judges who were not willing to serve could be put in jail.

The same is true for political enemies, who were considered to be hostile to the ruler, and also for prisoners of war (for the 17th century, see e.g. Herberer von Breten, Aegyptus servitus. Warfähige Beschreibung einer Dreijährigen Dienstbarkeit, Heidelberg 1610, new ed. Graz 1967, 125 ff.). The living conditions for prisoners of the ruler are often described in historical sources as appalling. In what al-Mâqrîzî calls "prisons of the governors" (sudîn al-wuldt), prisoners in chains were forced to do hard labour. Their cries of "hunger" were heard in the streets while the warders took the alms originally meant for them (Khitat, ii, 187).

The sources, especially historical works, attest many cases of political imprisonment, often from the ruler's arbitrariness and without any trial; thus scholars like Ahmad b. Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyya, and many others, were put behind bars.
tations. As time went on, Sufi psychology provided increasingly detailed descriptions of it. A typical example is al-Ghazālī’s treatment of this concept in a special chapter of his Ihyā', in which six different types of truthfulness are distinguished, in word, in intention and action, in determination, in faithfulness to one’s determination, in deed, and finally, in fulfilling the requirements of the mystical path (tarkī). Despite its importance, adherence to sidk was not considered absolute. According to al-Ghazālī and Ibn ‘Arabī, it is always contingent on concrete circumstances. Thus telling the truth about someone in his/her absence can amount to backbiting and will be reckoned as a sin. A typical exam-
ple is al-Ghazālī’s treatment of this concept in a special chapter of his Ihyā‘. In response, Ibn ‘Arabī squarely disowned his misguided worshippers who took him and his mother for deities and thereby successfully passed the test, showing both a “pure sincerity” and “saintly humility”. Although man shares the attribute of sidk with God, who is sometimes described as “the Sincere One” (al-stādī), human sincerity is of an imperfect, inferior nature, unless, in accordance with the famous hadīth kudrī [q.v.], he has reached the exalted spiritual state in which vobd “becomes his hearing ..., his sight ... his hand ... and his foot”, i.e. his sole raison d’être and mover. This is, in the view of Ibn ‘Arabī and some other Sufis, the utmost degree of sidk, which signifies the attainment of perfect servanthood (ubūdīyya) and thus the consummation of the mystical path.


(A. Kyvsi)

SIDK — SIDR

SIDR (A.), n. of unity, Sidra, a shrub or tree of the various Rhamnaceae belonging to the genus Ziziphus which has a number of representatives in N. Africa and the Middle East. Various species were, and are, cultivated for their fruits, timber, and as hedging plants. Ziziphus are trees or shrubs of varied heights with tangled branches that usually grow in arid regions. The tallest is Z. spina-christi; heights given in modern floras vary between 5 and 12 m. Most species are spiny, although some varieties are thornless. They bear jujube-like fruits (dīm) highly valued for food, especially the cherry-sized bright yellow fruit of Z. spina-christi and the smaller, pea-sized, deep orange of Z. leo-spermum. The fruit have a single dark pip, which was ground up and eaten with the flesh. Fruits were gathered and stored; they were crushed between stones and eaten raw or cooked to a paste in water, milk or buttermilk (Miller-Morris, 1988, 240-2). Z. spina-christi derives its name from its being a possible candidate for the tree from which Christ’s crown of thorns was made; since it does not grow in the region of Jerusalem, however, it has been suggested that Sarcopoterium spinosum (Rosaceae) is a more likely option (Miller-Morris, 1988, 242). There are a large number of synonyms for sidr in classical and modern Arabic. The current Latin name of the genus is also attested in mediaeval Arabic sources; the Syriac name for the ‘enchanted jujube tree’ (zāyba, zahbā), is sidīr, according to al-Birūnī, 1991, 438; cf. Greek σιδήροι.

For medical usage, the soothing and purifying qualities of sidr are applied in various ways. Ibn al-Baytār (Cairo 1291/1874, ii, 5), states that it is good for the stomach; beneficial if eaten before meals; laxative (but in some cases the fruit (nashī) is constipating); it clears the stomach and bowels from yellow bile; and it suppresses heat. Current uses in Dhofar (Miller-Morris, 1988, 242, 329) include: a paste of crushed leaves (preferably of leo-spermum), used for cleansing the scalp, body or hair in general; it is applied to swellings, sores or inflammations, or against headaches; water boiled with its crushed leaves is given to women in prolonged labour or with a retained placenta. The hard wood is used for making utensils (ladles, spoons, fire-tongs) (Miller-Morris, 1988, 242), also for carpentry in former days (cf. a hadīth in ‘Abd al-Razzāk al-Ṣan‘ānī’s Musammāf, no. 19756).

In magic, popular modern treatises advise the use of sidr leaves as a means against sorcery. Sidr leaves are considered just as lawful in this respect as kūtbah, the use of written Qur’anic or other religious formulae. See e.g. al-Ḥanbalī 1409/1899, 41; al-Ṭabbī, 1412/1992, 122; al-Ḵāṭānī, 1412/1992, ch. 88.

The sidr occurs several times in the Qur’an: XXXIV, 16 (description of a poor area); LIII, 14, 16 (the “sidrā of the ultimate boundary”); LVI, 28 (thornless sidr’ in Paradise). All the evidence suggests that the sidr was a tree of considerable importance in pre-Islamic Arabia. This is confirmed by a hadīth which describes a sidr to which the pagan Arabs used to withdraw and on which they used to hang their weapons. The tree was called dāhīt al-awwāt “that of the suspended things”. Upon passing a green sidrā, the Muslims asked the Prophet to give them also a dāhīt al-awwāt, and were rebuked with a reference to the Israelites asking Moses for “a god such as those people have” (Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 218).

The sidr is mentioned in various hadīths, e.g. for washing the hair, corpses or clothes stained with menstrual blood. Cutting down sidr trees, especially those that offered shadow to man and beast, was forbidden by the Prophet, often in very strong terms (Abū Dāwūd, Adab 109, bāb fi kāf al-sidr, nos. 5239, 5241; ‘Abd al-Razzāk al-Ṣan‘ānī, Musammāf, nos. 19756-8). References in the hadīth and elsewhere indicate that sidr trees were popular landmarks; the Qur’ānic sidrāt al-muntahā fits in with this.

The most likely species of Ziziphus to be associated with the Qur’ānic and hadīth references to sidr is probably Z. spina-christi, because its characteristics, size and probably make its connotation as a fruit-bearing (see al-Baydāwī, Tafsīr, on sura XXXIV, 16), shade-offering and landscape-marking tree plausible, as opposed to Z. lotus which is a shrub less than two metres high. The Qur’ānic ref. to the “thornless sidr’ trees” in Paradise (LVI, 28) also points in this direction
(there exists a thornless variety of *spina-christi*).

The Kur'anic *sidrat al-muntahd*, where Muhammad saw Gabriel for the second time "when the tree became covered with leaves as big as the ears of elephants and composed of many indescribable and unknown colours. The four gates of created worlds go back to ancient Sumerian mythologies; the divine are all integral parts of the same mythic structure."

In the *Sidr* description of the quest for the experience of the divine as patterned on the story of the *mi'raj*, the "tree on the boundary" symbolises the point to which knowledge can take the mystic (and up to which point one needs a guide) but beyond which the true experience lies. Other speculations about the tree include the idea that Adam saw Muhammad's name written on the tree and that the tree is actually composed of the "light of Muhammad" ([nur Muhammad] [q.v.]).


For *Sūfī* use, see for example, W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi path of love. The spiritual teachings of Rumi*, Albany 1983, 220-3.

**SIERRA LEONE**, a country of coastal West Africa, in 1961 an independent republic, is in the forest belt of West Africa, separated geographically by inland mountain ranges from the West African Islamic heartland and so protected in the past from Muslim invasion. But individual Muslims, traders and holy men, visited it regularly from at least the 15th century, and settled there increasingly after the *dīḥād* of the early 18th century in Fūtā Djallon [q.v.]. The indigenous peoples were not attracted to Islam and retained their own religions, which suited their own ways of life.

A British settlement was founded on the coast in 1787. In 1807 it became a British colony where slaves who had been captured by the British navy from slave-ships crossing the Atlantic were liberated and settled. Muslim traders, chiefly Fula and Mandingo, were attracted to Freetown, the capital, and by at least 1830 they had built a small mosque. Also, some of the liberated peoples, chiefly Yoruba (from modern Nigeria), known locally as "Akusu," were Muslims, and formed their own Muslim community in East Freetown. Eventually the Akusu split into two factions, worshipping in rival mosques, a division that has survived into the 1990s.

Though individual governors were occasionally hostile to Islam, official British policy tolerated Muslims, and they became recognised as part of the Freetown community. Some left Freetown and settled in neighbouring villages. Fearful of sending their children to Christian schools, they organised their own Kur'anic schools, and a few went to study in the notable West African Islamic centres. From 1890 the government gave a small grant for Muslim education.

In 1896 a British Protectorate was established over the area of the present Sierra Leone (measuring 73,326 km²), with an artificial frontier separating it from the neighbouring French Guinea and Liberia. When railways and roads were built the population became more mobile. People who left their villages were often ready to adopt a new religion, and, as a result, Islam spread, particularly in the northern part of the country where Christian missionary influence was weak. Many Muslims, however, remained (and many today still remain) members of the ancient and deeply-rooted secret societies, like the male *poro* and female *sandé* societies.

From 1911 the government made explicit provision for educating Muslims. Government secondary schools were open to them, thus letting them into the higher strata of society and, as a result, Islam became recognised as part of the Freetown community. Some left Freetown and settled in neighbouring villages. Though individual governors were occasionally hostile to Islam, official British policy tolerated Muslims, and they became recognised as part of the Freetown community. Some left Freetown and settled in neighbouring villages. Fearful of sending their children to Christian schools, they organised their own Kur'anic schools, and a few went to study in the notable West African Islamic centres. From 1890 the government gave a small grant for Muslim education.

In 1896 a British Protectorate was established over the area of the present Sierra Leone (measuring 73,326 km²), with an artificial frontier separating it from the neighbouring French Guinea and Liberia. When railways and roads were built the population became more mobile. People who left their villages were often ready to adopt a new religion, and, as a result, Islam spread, particularly in the northern part of the country where Christian missionary influence was weak. Many Muslims, however, remained (and many today still remain) members of the ancient and deeply-rooted secret societies, like the male *poro* and female *sandé* societies.

From 1911 the government made explicit provision for educating Muslims. Government secondary schools were open to them, thus letting them into the higher ranges of employment. Though politics in the pre-independence years were dominated by non-Muslims, a leading Freetown Muslim, M.S. Mustapha, played a prominent part and became a cabinet minister after independence. Subsequently, though no Muslim has been head of state, Muslims have held senior cabinet posts in successive governments. The main Muslim festivals are recognised as public holidays and there is normally no open animosity between the members of the different religious faiths.

When, from the 1950s onwards, illegal diamond mining suddenly spread wealth throughout the country, much of it was diverted into mosque-building. Sub-
stantial new mosques were built in Freetown by members of the Temne, Limba and other ethnic communities who tend to worship apart from one another. Except for a small Ahmadiyya [q.v.] presence, and a few Sufi orders in the Lebanese commercial community, the Muslims belong to Sunni Islam. There are no influential religious fraternities. In 1990 Muslims were estimated to constitute 30% of the total population of about four million.


**SIFA** (a), lit “description”.

1. In grammar, here, the meaning is “attribute”, *syn. na’t*. Its syntactic sense overshadowed that of a quasi-part of speech “adjective” (cf. *sifa* al-sifat al-mugabbahah for such forms as fa’il and fa’l) already in Sibawayhi’s Kitāb. The fact that Kufan grammarians employ the terms *nafa* “to give sub stance” (roughly, Bagran zarf; see below) may explain why na’t is considered Kufan although both terms appear in Sibawayhi’s Kitāb and in al-Farra’s Ma’dīnī. Their recurring definition as indications of praise or blame may well hark back to Dionysius Thrax’s characterisation of “adjective” (*εν τινος*). Early occurrences of both *sifa* and *nafa* are documented in several 2nd/8th-century exegetical works in which they are non-technical. The earliest modifications in the Graeco-Syriac origin of this grammatical category may be reconstructed according to Ibn Mufik’s *K. al-Manṭūk*, where the term *sifa* signifies *inter alia* both *nafa* (“quality”, the third of the ten categories) and the whole group of nine categories (also *nafa*); “substance” [*‘ayn, ḥaqc; Gr. ousia*] excluded. In his elaborate epitome of *De Interpretatione*, he employs the terminological expression al-kalām al-ma‘ṣīf and the term *sifa* to signify such syntactic entities as the locative (in predicate position), the material modes (“possible, impossible, necessary”) and a semi-adverbial qualifier musīfīd in fuldīn al-tawli kātib musīfīd. *Nafa* translates the Syr. *κύναινα* (Gr. *κυνηγοί*) of early treatises whereas *sifa* renders the early *znā* with its two significations mentioned above. The Kufan grammarians, who were more faithful than Sibawayhi and al-Khalīf to the teaching of the earliest ‘Irākī grammarians, maintained a double role for *sifa*: the locative and, with *nafa* as synonym, the adjective/attribute. By extension, the locative came to denote not only nouns expressing time and place and prepositional phrases but prepositions as well. Later works attribute to the earlier al-Kisāʾī and al-Farrāʾ the terms *sifa* ṭammāma and *sifa* nākisā (*loc. in predicate position and as adjunct, respectively.* On the use of *mawṣūf*-*sifa* as “subject-predicate” in logical and theological writings see, e.g. Verstegh, 1977 (index, s.v.) in translations of philosophical writings, Zimmermann 1972, 334. Possible vestiges in Sibawayhi’s book of a similar conception among grammarians include the contrast *yasa‘ul bāḥi‘* and *gacuqr yadfula ulyawiy mā kānina minhu* (i, 235, 5; similarly, al-Farrāʾ, *Ma’dīnī*, iii, 215: *sifa* min al-*sifat* vs. *sīm ṭabī‘*). On the basis of the data in K. al-ʿĀyn (e.g. ii, 43, 52, 246) we may conclude that Basran grammarians previous to Sibawayhi had adopted the two denominations of *sifa*; however, Sibawayhi neglected the locative denomination. He introduced two significant modifications in the context of the adjective/attribute category which have become part of all the later syntactic formulations in Arabic grammatical writings: (a) Such nominals which may qualify pronouns (*hall*, *nafṣ*) are rejected from this category and become an independent category of *talkīd*; (b) The copular pronoun is isolated from this category and is identified as *fatl*.


2. In theology. This originally grammatical term was subsequently borrowed by the theologians (mu'takallimūn), who made it one of their key-words. In its “theological” usage, the word is generally translated by “attribute”—the reference being above all to the “divine attributes” (*ṣīfāt Allāh*)—although in certain contexts, translation by “quality” seems preferable. As for the precise meaning to be given to this term, the issue is the cause of fundamental disagreement between theologians, essentially between Sunni and Mu'tazili theologians.

In grammar, as seen in 1.above, *ṣīf* represents a word of a certain kind, more precisely a certain type of the “noun” (im *qf.*), what we would call a qualifying adjective. Al-Zamakhshari gives the following definition of it: “The *ṣīf* is a noun which indicates a certain state of an essence (*ba’d awsūl al-ṣīf*), e.g. long, short, intelligent, stupid, standing erect, seated, ill, in a good state of health, poor, rich, noble, of low degree, honoured, despised” (Mafṣūl, Cairo 1323, repr. Beirut n.d., 114 l. 4-7).

It would normally be expected that, when a theologian speaks of the *ṣīf* Allāh, he means by these all the qualifications capable of application to God, such as *kādīr, ‘ālim, bāy, karm, laṭīf, kāhid, rāziq, etc.* And such indeed is the interpretation favoured by the Mu'tazili theologians, in particular al-Dhubbāʾī [q.v.]. For the latter, the “attributes” of God—which could also, in most cases, be called His “names”—are nothing other than the words (awṣūl) by which we describe Him, words such as “knowing”, “powerful”, “living” (cf. al-ʿAqīl, Makālāt, 2nd ed. Ritter, 172, ll. 14-15, and 198, ll. 10-11). These “attributes” are definitely not all of the same sort: there are those which God merits from all eternity, on account of His essence (ṣīfī al-ṣīfī or al-nafṣī), and others which He merits on account of His acts (ṣīfī al-ʿāfī). But it is always a matter of words. Thus al-Dhubbāʾī is concerned to know whether the “word” *kāmīn*, the “word” *ḥakīm* and the “word” *samad*, constitute part of the “attributes of the essence” or of the “attributes of the act” (cf. ibid., 528, ll. 9-14; cf. abd 506, ll. 8-9). It comes as no surprise to find that, henceforward, just like the grammarians, the Mu'tazilis distinguish no difference between *ṣīf* and *wa‘f* (cf. al-Bākīllānī, Tumībīd, ed. McCarthy, § 367). In numerous instances in the Makālāt, they are observed to be wondering, still, whether a certain *wa‘f* applied to God belongs to the *ṣīf* al-ṣīfī or to the *ṣīf* al-ʿāfī (cf. 492, ll. 11-12; 506, ll. 10-507, ll. 10-11; 512, ll. 10-532, ll. 4-5). That *wa‘f* and *ṣīf* are synonyms, expressing qualifications in parallel, was a principle expressly sustained by al-Dhubbāʾī (cf. ibid., 529, ll. 14-15). Such would
also be the position of later Djubba'is: thus 'Abd al-Djabbar, in al-Mughni, vii, 117, il. 10-12.

Sunni theologians see things quite differently. For them, on the one hand, the *sifat Allāh* represent not only a *wasf* of the corresponding substantive, *kāfūn, 'ām, 'adl,* on the other hand, and in the same vein, these *sifat* are not only words, they are real existents. They are "things" which exist in God (attributes of the essence), or produced by Him (attributes of the act), and by means of which He is worthy to be described by the corresponding qualitative. Al-Bākīlānī expresses this in the form of a universal principle (i.e. one which is appropriate to every "qualified thing")—whatever it may be: "The quality (*sifat*) is that which exists in the qualified (*yāsaddū bi l-mawsuf*), or which belongs to it [in some manner] (*yākunū lahu*), and which makes the qualitative (*yusubū bi l-wasf*) appropriable to every "qualified thing", whatever it may be: The *sujūd* (*safīd Allah*), the epithet (*na*) which derives (*yāsduru*) from the quality (*Tamhādī, § 359*).

Here, the distinction between *sifā* and *wasf* is clear: that which is a "word", exclusively, is the qualitative. "As for *wasf*," Al-Bākīlānī continues, "it is a word (*kawālīd* or *kawālid*) of God, or someone other than God, saying of Him that he is knowing, living, powerful, beneficent, benevolent. This qualitative (*wasf*), which is a saying that is heard, or an expression of this saying, is other than the quality (*sifā*) residing in God, the existence of which in Him causes Him to be wise, powerful, purposeful. Similarly, when we say "Zayd is living, wise", what we have is a qualitative (*wasf*) of Zayd...

Whereas the wisdom and the power of Zayd are, for *wasf* [*q.v.*], *arf it is already *mukhtasar* of *Sunnī* theology: before al-Ashābī, Al-Dajjal expresses this, systematically, in the work of Ibn Kullab [*q.v.*], *Tamhid*, § 359). Here, the distinction between the wisdom and power of Zayd are, for *wasf* [*q.v.*], "it is already... *mukhtasar* of *Sunnī* theology: before al-Ashābī, Al-Dajjal expresses this, systematically, in the work of Ibn Kullab [*q.v.*], *Tamhid*, § 359). Here, the distinction between* wasf* and *sifā* is seen, comparatively few quotations in earlier works.

The bat-de,
were cases in which two cousins, or a father and his son, faced each other (Nasr b. Muzahim, Wak'at al-Siffin, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1401/1981 [= henceforth WS], 334-5, 443; two sons of the famous Khaibī b. al-Walid [q.v.] fought on opposite sides: Ibn al-Kalbi, Djamhurat al-nasab, ed. Nādir Ḥasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 88; cf. Ibn Mākūla, al-Imāl, ed. al-Yāmānī, Haydārābād 1381/1962, i, 26-7). The battle ended in Safar 37 July 657 with an arbitration agreement (Da'marāt al-nasab, Haydarābād 1381/1962, i, 36-7). The battle included a description of short episodes whose arrangement often creates an illusion of successive events; Islamic historiography typically sacrifices the overview for a plethora of atomistic detail (cf. Wielhausen, Arab kingdom, Eng. tr. B.; The description of the battle is not only based on individual sources dealing with episodes, and the attempt of the editor to make a mosaic unity of it is a failure. There is a lack of inward connection; you cannot see the wood for the trees). The compilers of the 2nd Islamic century were certainly not uninterested in reconstructing the course of events, but they were limited by the nature of the atomistic source material at their disposal.

We stand on relatively firm ground when we deal with evidence about the identity of the tribal units on both sides, the names of the leading warriors as opposed to the battle order at any given stage of the fighting) and the weapons and military tactics employed. Significantly, although Shī'ī and pro-Shī'ī compilers are responsible for most of the literary output on this battle available to us now, Mu'āwiyah's army is described in no less detail than 'Ali's. The equal attention paid to the formation of both armies can be demonstrated by the following example which takes us back to the earliest days of Islamic historiography. We have a detailed description of the battle and the precise chronology of its stages. The reason is by no means a lack of source material, since a huge literary output exists on Siffin, much of which is still unexplored. The reports on the battle include the description of short episodes whose arrangement often creates an illusion of successive events; Islamic historiography typically sacrifices the overview for a plethora of atomistic detail (cf. Wielhausen, Arab kingdom, Eng. tr. B.; the description of the battle is not only based on individual sources dealing with episodes, and the attempt of the editor to make a mosaic unity of it is a failure. There is a lack of inward connection; you cannot see the wood for the trees). The compilers of the 2nd Islamic century were certainly not uninterested in reconstructing the course of events, but they were limited by the nature of the atomistic source material at their disposal.

Some of 'Ali's troops returned while on the way to the battlefield (WS, 156). This was the outcome of fierce and at times cynical propaganda tactics in which Mu'āwiyah was on the whole more successful than 'Ali (on how the former won the support of Shurabībī b. al-Smiq al-Khand and turned him into a propagandist, see al-Dinawari, 169-70; E.L. Petersen, 'Ali and Mu'awiyah in early Arabic tradition, Copenhagen 1964, 31-2). Mu'āwiyah performed better than his rival with regard to material benefits promised to tribal leaders in return for their loyalty. Mu'āwiyah appears to have been less scrupulous, possibly because his standing was more precarious than his rival's (see, for example, WS, 306; Ibn A'tham al-Kufī, Futūh, Beirut 1406/1986, iii, 40-41; cf. Mukhassas Ta'rīkh Dimashq, vi, 397). 'Ali, on the other hand, perhaps due to self-confidence and the better prospects for which he hoped in the conflict, applied strict measures to governors who embezzled state money, and this led to their defection.

Among the tribal leaders alienated by 'Ali should be made of Djarfr b. 'Abd Allah al-Bagjalī, 'Uthmān's governor in Hamadhan, who was dismissed by 'Ali after the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] (WS, 15). He moved to Karbī (as a group together with men of his tribal group, the Kasr of the Bagjalī, and later joined Mu'āwiyah. As a result, few of the Kasr fought at Siffin on 'Ali's side (WS, 60-1). On the whole, Mu'āwiyah's Żamīn or 'well-considered opportunism' (E.L. Petersen, 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah. The rise of the Umayyad caliphate, 656-661, in AO, xxii [1959], 157-96, at 180; also idem, 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah in early Arabic tradition, 12, 118-19) was more fruitful than 'Ali's strictness. The latter reacted to the defection of Djarfr b. 'Abd Allah al-Bagjalī by destroying his court in Kufa (WS, 61).

Far more influential than Djarfr was another tribal leader, al-Ash'ath b. Kays [q.v.] of Kinda, who, unlike Djarfr b. 'Abd Allah, fought at Siffin on 'Ali's side (WS, 140; cf. Lecker, Kinda, 355; for Ash'ath's position among his fellow-tribesmen see idem, Judaism among Kinda and the ridda of Kinda, in JAO, cvxv/4 [1995], section 2). 'Uthmān safeguarded Ash'ath's loyalty by appointing him governor of Adharbaydjan (q.v.). He was still its governor for some time under 'Ali (al-Baladhurī, Futūh, 329, i. 7; Ibn al-Fakih, 294, i. 2; Crone, Slaves on horses, 110), but after the Battle of the Camel he was dismissed (al-Tabari, i, 3254). 'Ali also dismissed al-Ash'ath from the 'ādār of Kinda

Kindī who disliked 'Ali left Kufa when he came there, and went to Ṭūḥā in the Ṭabarān. Reportedly, they could not bear to abide in a place where 'Uṯmān was being cursed. At Siffin, they fought with Mu'āwiyah (M. Lecker, Kinda on the eve of Islam and during the ridda, in JRAIS [1994], 333-56, at 345-7; Ibn Ḥabīb, K. al-Muhabbār, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Haydarābād 1361/1942, 295). The people of al-Rakkā were then 'Uṯmānīya, including a tribal leader of the Asad, Simāk b. Maḥrama, who defected from 'Ali with one hundred fellow-tribesmen and then convinced six hundred more to join him (WS, 140). But even among those who chose to remain in Kufa, there was no unanimous support for 'Ali's policies. When he left for Siffin, people in Kufa who had little respect for him became outspoken (istakhfaffa 'Allīya fa-lamā mahrūda zahūrā). Moreover, the man whom 'Ali left in charge of Kufa, Abī Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī, was foolish enough to express indifference regarding the outcome of the battle and was dismissed immediately after 'Ali's return from the battlefield (al-Ṭabarānī, al-Muḏām al-kabīrī, ed. al-Salaḥī, Cairo 1400/1980 ff., xviii, 195).

Some of 'Ali's troops returned while on the way to the battlefield (WS, 156). This was the outcome of fierce and at times cynical propaganda tactics in which Mu'āwiyah was on the whole more successful than 'Ali (on how the former won the support of Shurabībī b. al-Smiq al-Khand and turned him into a propagandist, see al-Dinawari, 169-70; E.L. Petersen, 'Ali and Mu'awiyah in early Arabic tradition, Copenhagen 1964, 31-2). Mu'āwiyah performed better than his rival with regard to material benefits promised to tribal leaders in return for their loyalty. Mu'āwiyah appears to have been less scrupulous, possibly because his standing was more precarious than his rival's (see, for example, WS, 306; Ibn A'tham al-Kufī, Futūh, Beirut 1406/1986, iii, 40-41; cf. Mukhassas Ta'rīkh Dimashq, vi, 397). 'Ali, on the other hand, perhaps due to self-confidence and the better prospects for which he hoped in the conflict, applied strict measures to governors who embezzled state money, and this led to their defection.

Among the tribal leaders alienated by 'Ali should be made of Djarfr b. 'Abd Allah al-Bagjalī, 'Uthmān's governor in Hamadhan, who was dismissed by 'Ali after the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] (WS, 15). He moved to Karbī (as a group together with men of his tribal group, the Kasr of the Bagjalī, and later joined Mu'āwiyah. As a result, few of the Kasr fought at Siffin on 'Ali's side (WS, 60-1). On the whole, Mu'āwiyah's Żamīn or 'well-considered opportunism' (E.L. Petersen, 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah. The rise of the Umayyad caliphate, 656-661, in AO, xxii [1959], 157-96, at 180; also idem, 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah in early Arabic tradition, 12, 118-19) was more fruitful than 'Ali's strictness. The latter reacted to the defection of Djarfr b. 'Abd Allah al-Bagjalī by destroying his court in Kufa (WS, 61).

Far more influential than Djarfr was another tribal leader, al-Ash'ath b. Kays [q.v.] of Kinda, who, unlike Djarfr b. 'Abd Allah, fought at Siffin on 'Ali's side (WS, 140; cf. Lecker, Kinda, 355; for Ash'ath's position among his fellow-tribesmen see idem, Judaism among Kinda and the ridda of Kinda, in JAO, cvxv/4 [1995], section 2). 'Uthmān safeguarded Ash'ath's loyalty by appointing him governor of Adharbaydjan (q.v.). He was still its governor for some time under 'Ali (al-Baladhurī, Futūh, 329, i. 7; Ibn al-Fakih, 294, i. 2; Crone, Slaves on horses, 110), but after the Battle of the Camel he was dismissed (al-Ṭabarānī, i, 3254). 'Ali also dismissed al-Ash'ath from the 'ādār of Kinda
and Rabī'i (WS, 137; Ibn Aṭhab, Futūḥ, iii-iv, 64-5; Ibn Abī l-Hadīl, Sharḥ Naḍīr al-baligha, ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1378/1959 ff., iv, 74-5). At the most crucial stage in the fighting, al-Aḥṣa'ī supported the arbitration which was to cost 'Alī both his title, that of amīr al-muʾminīn, and then his life. With regard to the defection of these leaders of the Yemen, it should be borne in mind that most of Muʿawiyah's troops at Sīfīn belonged to Yemen while most of 'Alī's troops were of the Nizār b. Maʿādd [q.v.], i.e. Rabī'i and Muḍar [q.v.] (Ch. Pellat, Une rasilā inédite de Gâhīz sur l'arbitrage entre 'Alī et Muʿawīya (Râsilā fl ḫ-hakamsaṃy...), in Al-Maqrīzī, Lī [1958], 417-91, at 426-7).

In addition to these tribal leaders 'Alī lost the support of 'Ubayd Allāh, son of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who fled to Muʿawiyah for fear that 'Alī might execute him for having avenged his father's assassination by murdering innocent Persians. 'Ubayd Allāh was killed at Sīfīn, where he commanded Muʿawiyah's cavalry (Mukhtasar Taʾrikh Dimashq, xv, 345, 346-51).

While with regard to the formation of the two camps we stand on relatively firm ground, this is not the case with regard to the figures given for warriors and casualties. For example, the two armies were supposed to have been of about the same size, each including 150,000 warriors (WS, 156). Another report mentions that in 'Alī's camp there were 100,000 men or more, while on Muʿawiyah's side there were 130,000 (WS, 157; but cf. WS, 226; Khālia b. Khayyat, Taʾṣīlā, i, 218-19). However, far more important for the study of early Islamic historiography are the conflicting statistics and contradictory claims made by the two camps about the Islamic credentials of their respective supporters.

No sooner was the battle over than polemics began. The terrible bloodshed during 'Alī's rule, at Sīfīn and elsewhere, had to be accounted for and justified and the positions of both sides had to be fortified. Eschatology was employed, the most widespread theme being the claim made by 'Alī's camp that the Prophet foretold the killing of 'Alī's aged supporter, 'Amār b. Yāsir [q.v.], by "the rebel band" (al-ḥaṭbīyā). Interestingly, Muʿawiyah's alleged response to this is recorded that the one who killed him was the one who sent him out (to the battlefield); with these words, our pro-Shīʿī informant continues, Muʿawiyah was deceiving the fools among the people of Syria (WS, 343, cf. E. Kohlberg, The development of the Ismaʿīlī doctrine of jihād, in ZDMG, cxvi (1976), 64-86, at 69-70, 76-3).

Kab al-Abʿābī foretold the battle of Sīfīn; the Banū Isrāʾīl fought nine times at that very place until they destroyed one another. In addition to these tribal leaders who were in the right, eschatology was to teach the Muslims that Sīfīn was part of a scheme of world history, the understanding of which was beyond human grasp.

Some of the polemics surrounding Sīfīn are associated with 'Alī's conduct during the negotiations which led to the arbitration agreement. The true itself, the arbitration and 'Alī's relinquishing in the agreement of the title amīr al-muʾminīn all belong to the crucial theological debate which accompanied the emergence of the Kharijītes. The Shiʿī apologists justified 'Alī's conduct, by referring to the Prophet's agreement with the Kuraysh [q.v.] at al-Hudaybiya, which was met with opposition from many of the Prophecy's Companions who were reportedly willing to fight the Kuraysh. Moreover, the Prophet relinquished his title rasūl allāh (see esp. al-Bayhaqī, Dalʿī al-naḥwawa, ed. Kāfārī, Beirut 1405/1985, iv, 147, where the scribe of the Hudaybiya agreement is 'Alī himself; the Prophet informs him that he will live through the same experience; WS, 508). The analogy with al-Hudaybiya is even more explicit in a version of this report, according to which it was Muʿawiyah's father, Abū Sufyān, who demanded that the Prophet remove from the agreement his prophetic title (Ibn Aṭhab, Futūḥ, iii-iv, 197). It seems that the apologetic need to justify 'Alī's attitude at Sīfīn influenced the shape, if not the contents, of the Hudaybiya story (cf. Ibn As̲ākir, Taʾṣīlā madā'in Dimashq, from Ulūdā, ed. Awaṭ to 'Abū Allāh b. Tābānā, Anṣāb, iii, ed. al-Dūrī, Wiesbaden 1398/1978, 44).

But there was more to the link between the story of Sīfīn and the Prophet's biography. Shiʿī historical tradition sought to establish that the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, 'Alī, continued the former's fight against the infidels who were now led by the son of the Prophet's arch-enemy, Muʿawiyah son of Abū Sufyān (for the presentation of 'Alī's jihād as an extension of Muhammad's jihād see Kohlberg, The development, 70-1). 'Alī rode on the Prophet's mare and she-mule and wore the Prophet's black turban (WS, 403; H. Eisenstein, Die Mauslire und Esel des Propheten, in Il., lxi [1985], 98-107, at 106). 'Ammār b. Yāsir allegedly said that he had fought Muʿawiyah's chief counselor, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ [q.v.], three times (i.e. at the time of the Prophet), and that the battle of Sīfīn was the fourth (al-Baladhūrī, Anṣāb, i, 171). The Umayyad army is referred to as the akhābūr or combined forces, with reference to the battle of the moat (khuwānd) between the Prophet and Kuraysh led by Abū Sufyān. Finally, Muʿawiyah's brother, 'Utbā, is supposed to have mentioned at Sīfīn the Umayyads killed by 'Alī in the battle of Badr [q.v.] (al-Baladhūrī, Anṣāb, iv/a, ed. M. Schloessinger, rev. M. J. Kister, 99).

The other party answered with reference to the Islamic prestige of its own men which similarly went back to the Prophet. A black piece of garment raised by 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ on the tip of a spear was a banner (līḥā) tied for him by the Prophet (i.e. giving him command over an expedition force; WS, 215). Another case in point was that of Ziml b. 'Amr of Sīfīn who fought on Muʿawiyah's side. One of the two reports included in the section of Ibn Saʿd (i/2, 66-7) which deals with the Umayyad's delegation to Muhammad (wafd al-Ughra) is in fact the story of Ziml's conversion to Islam. The Prophet reportedly tied for him a banner which was carried by Ziml at Sīfīn (Ibn Hāḍjr, Ḥbā, ii, 567-8). Al-Baladhūrī (Anṣāb, ms. Reisūkātta Maṣṭūfa Efendī 597, fol. 188a) significantly includes a report on Ziml's visit to the Prophet and the banner given to him in the section of the Anṣāb dealing with Sīfīn. Al-Baladhūrī addsuce the report from Ibn al-Kalbī (♂ his father) and he probably took it from Ibn al-Kalbī's monograph on Sīfīn. The report on Ziml's banner, which seeks to establish that the Prophet gave his blessing to Ziml's support of Muʿawiyah, is precisely the kind of report one expects Umayyad propaganda to have used.
The competition over Islamic prestige is also reflected in various statistics. In 'All's camp there were 2,800 Companions, 25 of whom were killed (al-İsāmī, Sim' al-rażīfum al-awṣālī, Cairo 1380, ii, 454). Those killed in 'All's camp at Siffīn (Ya'qūb Mūt'amina, Ms. 119) were reported to include 'Ammār b. Yasir (al-Dhahābī, Bi'arr al-awṣālī, musannaf (ed. al-Afghānī, xxvi, 1984), i, 239). One claim puts the number of Badr veterans in 'All's camp at 130, and Sa'dī b. Dhūbyār reportedly stated that among 'All's troops there were 900 Ansār and 800 Muhājīrūn. (Bībār al-amārī, xxiii, 572). It is recorded that 800 of the Companions who pledged their allegiance to the Prophet at al-Hudaybiya fought with 'Ali and 63 of them were killed, including 'Ammār b. Yasir (al-Dhahābī, Ta'rīkh al-islām, 'Abī al-khalāṣfī al-rażīfūn, 545; R. Vesely, Die Ansār im ersten Bürgerkrieg, 36-40 d. H., in AR, xxvi [1958], 36-58, at 31-2, is not fully aware of the polemical value attached to these statistics). Beside confirming that 'Ali was in the right, the Prophet's Companions, and in particular the Badr veterans among them, testify to the truthfulness of the Prophet's statements on which 'Ali based his bid for power (Bībār al-amārī, xxiii, 147-51 = Kītāb sa'yam b. kays al-Kaffī, Naḍafājī, Naḍaf, n.d., 149 ff). Unlike 'Ali's companions, the two Ansār who fought with Mūwāyiya could not boast of having participated in the 'Akbāha meeting, or the battle of Badr, or the battle of Uhūd (WS, 445, 448-9; for a list of the Companions who fought with 'All in the battles of the Camel and Siffīn, see Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbār, 289-93; it is followed by a list of the Companions who fought with Mūwāyiya at Siffīn, 293-6; cf. al-Dhahābī, op. cit., 547).

The effect of the 'Ali-Mūwāyiya conflict on early Islamic historiography can be illustrated by the conflicting biographical details given for a central figure in Mūwāyiya's camp, the Kurāshī Būsī b. Abī Arta'ā a-l-Ĥāmidī. Būsī's Companion status was disputed; the Syrians claimed that he heard the Prophet when he was a small boy (i.e. that he could transmit hadīth on the Prophet's authority). The counterclaim was that Būsī was born two years before the Prophet's death and did not transmit any hadīth from him (Ibn Ḥadjar, Isāba, i, 289-90; Mūnasārīf Ta'rīkh Dīnawārī, v, 182-3). The battle of Siffīn was a popular topic among compilers of historical monographs. We find among them Shī'īs, scholars of Shī'ī sympathies and Sunni, similar, which define the particular features of each of them. For example, the name and tribal affiliation of the Syrian warrior who killed 'Amār b. Yāsīr were disputed. Al-Balāḏūrī (Asad, ms., fols. 186a-9a) cites various claims made by al-Wāṣīfī, Abū Mūkhfīn, Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Maṭāfīnī and which are probably taken from these authors' monographs on Siffīn.


14. Abu '1-Hasan 'Abd al-Rahman b. Husayn b. 'Ali al-Kisâ'at al-Hamdanî, better known as Ibn Dizîl (d. 281/894; GAS, i, 321; Dhahâr, xv, 52, no. 335; Petersen, 'Ali and Ma'âtûya in early Arabic tradition, 159; Sharh Nadji al-balaghah, xxi, 264; Bihar al-anwaar, xxxii, 491; xxxiii, 300-2, 303). The overlapping of Siffin monographs can here be demonstrated by reference to several quotations from this monograph (the fragment from Ibn Dizîl < ... Nasr b. Muzahim, in Ibn Kathir, Bidâyâ, vii, 255, l. 5, is found—with differences—in WS, 147-8; see also Bidâyâ, 259-60, = WS, 188-91; Bidâyâ, 269, l. 18 = WS, 324; other passages from Ibn Dizîl in Bidâyâ, vii, 261, l. 9-4, 264, l. 14, go back to Dhabîr al-Dîr'î). Ibn Dizîl's book goes on to describe 'Ali's fighting against the Kharijites (Sharh Nadji al-balaghah, ii, 269-71, 276, 310-11; Bihar al-anwaar, xxxii, 345-7).

15. Abu '1-Hasan 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad al-Jâfaka, one of whose ancestors was 'Ali's governor in Madâ'in (d. 283/896; GAS, i, 321; Yâkût, Usdabâz, i, 105, l. 8; Dhahâr, xv, 52, no. 334).

16. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Zakarîyâ b. Dhînâr al-Bâsirî, a mawallâ of the Banû Ghahil, compiled a monograph entitled Siffin al-kabîr (d. 291/904; U. Sezgin, Abî Mîmaf, 104 n.; Dhahâr, xv, 52, no. 340; Fâbîrât, 108, l. 14; al-Nadjâshî, ii, 240-1), and another entitled: Siffin al-saghir or al-mukhbasan. Note, however, that he also transmitted some of Dhabîr al-Dîr'î's monographs, including Kitâb Siffin (Muhsin al-Amîn, A'yn al-Qâfî, Beirut 1356/1938 ff., xv, 200). In addition, he transmitted at least some of Abû Mîkhâf's monographs which were transmitted, several decades earlier, by Ibn al-Kalîl (al-Nadjâshî, ii, 192-3).

17. Siffin al-saghir or al-mukhbasan. Note, however, that he also transmitted some of Dhabîr al-Dîr'î's monographs, including Kitâb Siffin (Muhsin al-Amîn, A'yn al-Qâfî, Beirut 1356/1938 ff., xv, 200). In addition, he transmitted at least some of Abû Mîkhâf's monographs which were transmitted, several decades earlier, by Ibn al-Kalîl (al-Nadjâshî, ii, 192-3).


19. Abu '1-Lâhdsâh Ahmad b. 'Ubayd Allah al-Tha'- kaffî, nicknamed kîmar al-sagîr (d. 314/926; Yâkût, Usdabâza, i, 364, 367, l. 2).

20. Ibn A'tham al-Kûfî compiled Ishdâhî khabar wâ'ad Siffin (presumably d. in 314/926; GAS, i, 329).

21. Abu '1-Kâsm al-Mundhir b. Muhammad al-Kâbûsî (d. at the beginning of the 4th century; GAS, i, 323; U. Sezgin, Abî Mîmaf, 104 n.).


Nag Siffin (Â), a term which appears in Arabic diction- aries with the meaning of "void" and, by exten- sion, of "zero". But it should be borne in mind that its doublet sifr signifies the opposite (Kazimîrî, i, 1098b), Carra de Vaux (in JA [1917], ii, 459-460, and Penseurs de Hslam, ii, Paris 1921, 102-10) drew attention to the conceptual opposition between the two roots "empty place" as against "written place". In the latter sense, the Hebrew sefer and Persian zîrîf, etc. "book", are encountered. Hence derive the medi- eval Latin ziffa, zîff, the Castilian cifra (1495), the French chiffre, the German Ziffer, all of which denote forms of numbers, unlike the English cipher which sig- nifies "zero".

The sense of "empty place" was applied to a space left empty in the writing of numbers, for lack of a graphical and conceptual element facilitating the preser- vation of the order of units, tens, hundreds, etc. in a system of numeration by position such as the deci- minal system. The two meanings were known in the High Mediaeval period: primes have an absolute value, as also applies to rûmi figures and the abjadîd system generally employed in astronomical tables. In one case (based on the numerical values of Arabic letters), the written signs used are more than ten in number (Irani, Arabic numeral forms, in Centauro, iv [1955], 1-12, repr. in St. Is. exact sciences, by E.S. Kennedy, Beirut 1983, 710-20); in the other, the number of signs (figures) used can only be nine, if the zero is not acknowl- edged, or ten, if it is introduced. The latter system is now known as guarismos or algoritmos.

The importance of the usage of the figures which are now called Arabic does not reside in the form of the numbers, which can be multiple, but in the fact that one individual, or a determined social group, uses them in a positional system, as is currently the case with motor vehicle registrations. In so far as these use only numbers, they are understood, as ideographical nota- tions, throughout the world, although each language uses, in speech, very different words. In countries where motor vehicles exist in abundance, it is often the practice to introduce an alphabetical element which is less comprehensible to readers of all languages. This element could be "identified" with rûmi, Coptic fig- ures, etc. (see Sánchez Pérez, in al-Andalus, iii [1935], 97-125; Ritter, in RO, xvi [1936], 212-13; Levi Della Vida, in RO, xiv [1933], 281-3, and xvi [1936], 213- 14; Bartrina, in Studia papyrologica, vii [1968], 99-110). It differs from the former.
The only grounds for confusion in Arabic numeration (just as was the case 4,000 years ago in the Sumero-Babylonian sexagesimal positional system) may be found in the absence of the 0 (zero) to mark the lack of units in a determined order. When, during the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., Greek astronomers adopted the Babylonian system of numeration (with zero included) for sexagesimal fractions (minutes ['], seconds ["]... they filled the temporary void of which Carra de Vaux was conscious. The latter, to account for the connection between Babylonia and Greece on the one hand, representing Antiquity, and the Arab Middle Ages on the other, propounded the hypothesis that numeration by position must have been confined to marginal groups, neo-Platonists and neo-Pythagorians who, taking refuge in Persia from the religious persecutions of the Byzantines, could have re-introduced to Mesopotamia the knowledge forgotten there. This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by a reference from Severos Sabaot, Bishop of Kinnasrin (ca. 662) to the arithmetic of the Indians with its nine symbols (F. Nau, La plus ancienne mention orientale des chiffres indo-ears, in JA [1910], ii, 223-7). Numeric notation with nine symbols may be ambiguous, and recalls the uncertainty (Neugebauer, Ancient mathematics and astronomy, in HT, i (Oxford 1965) which must have afflicted the Babylonians. In the decimal system, 2 4 could signify 24, 204, 2040, etc., until the introduction of the zero made it possible to establish the exact reading. The difficulty could be similar to that faced today by a person of limited expertise confronted by the screen of a computer which moves automatically, to show large or small numbers, from ordinary to technical or scientific notation. The zero was known in the Orient and the decimal system well-established. On the other hand, in the West, Leonardo Pisano still spoke, in his Liber abbaci, of the "nine Indian figures".

However, the figures, fairly similar to those of today, which appear in the avemis manuscript of the Escorial (R. ii. 18), are not decimal, as is the case in most of folio 53. These are rumi figures, as has been proved by Anna Maria Albano and Ingrid Marie Barcelo (Numero cifra in los documentos arabs-hispansos, Cordoba 1988). It may be concluded from their study that, while the decimal system was known in scientific and mercantile circles through the medium of Latin translations or adaptations of the Kitâb al-Djâmil wa-tafrîkât of al-Khârazmî, the same did not apply among Spanish Christians before the 15th century.

Attempts have been made to explain the form of the figures which are used today in terms of a linear evolution or a polygenesis. Woepcke considered that the primitive form corresponded to the first letter of the Sanskrit word denoting the number. Carra de Vaux, seeing that the numeric value of the letter depended upon its position within the corresponding alphabet, stated that the primitive figures were formed by interlinked rods as far as 6, and that the others were obtained by the rotation of the former from left to right (7, 8) (cf. G. Beaujouan, Etude paleographique sur la "rotation" des chiffres..., in RHS, i [1948] = Par raison des nombres, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, CS 344 [1991] no. IX; A. Allard, L'époque d'Adélard et les chiffres arabs dans les manuscrits latins d'arithmétique, in the series of articles concerning Adélard edited by Ch. Burnett, London 1987, 37-43; G. Menéndez-Pidal, Los llamados numerales arábigos en Occidente, in BRAH, cxxiv (1959), 179-208). See also art. AL-ĞARĀZMĪ, above, vol. IV, 1060b, and J. Vernet, Ce que la culture doit aux Arabes d'Espagne, Paris 1985, 70-77, to be amended in accordance with the content of this article.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

SIGETVĂR, the Ottoman orthography for SIGETVÁR, a town and centre of a voivodship temporarily of a beglerbegilik, in Transdanubian Hungary. The originally not very important town and castle, situated in the morasses of the rivulet Almás, became a significant military centre of Habsburg Hungary after the fall of Székeseßérhav and Pécs, the main royal and episcopal towns in Transdanubia. An unsuccessful Ottoman attack was directed against it in 963/1556. Ten years later, Suleymán the Magnificent [q.v.] led his last campaign against Sigetvár, which put up a strong resistance. The sultan died two days before the final assault on 8 September 1566, during which Count Mihkloš Zrínyi ran out of the castle with his retinue and died after an heroic fight. Suleyman's internal organs were buried in the vicinity of the town, and a türbe was later erected above his tomb.

Sigetvár immediately became the centre of a sandjak, first governed by the former alaybeg of Pécs, Istvánkai (Peterew, Türkî, i, 430), confirmed by archival evidence: Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kepeci 74, p. 102, and Maliye defteri 563, p. 54). The territory of the livâ consisted of ten nahiyes, including former districts of the sandjak of Pécs-Mohács and new acquisitions, side-by-side with places which, it was hoped, would be controlled in the future. In Ramadán-Shawwal 1002/June 1594, Tiryakî Hasan, who had been governor here on five occasions, was nominated beglerbeg of Szegvár, and the sandjak of Pozega (Podbeghâ) and Pécs (Pekûv) were subordinated to his province (BÖA, Mühteme defteri 73, p. 104, no. 236; Kepeci 344, pp. 362-3). Two years later, the pasalîk was abolished and the sandjak of Szigetvár became part of the vilayet of Kanizsa (Kanîçh) in 1600.

The town had been abandoned by its Hungarian inhabitants by 1579, from which year the only mufasal defter of the livâ survives (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Turc. 138). The registered civil population consisted of 5 converted gipsy households. The castle gave shelter to a modest, and in the 16th century decreasing, number of Ottoman soldiers.

Szigetvár surrendered to the Habsburg forces on 13 February 1689. Today, the ğâmi's of Sultan Süleyman and ‘Alî Pasha, together with a building of unknown purpose, keep in remembrance the Ottoman period.


SIGHŇAK, SUGHŇAK, (Hudud al-‘alam, tr. 119, Sünâkh), a mediaeval Islamic town on the middle Sir Daryâ, in the district known as Fârâb, between Isfâjûl and Djang [q.v. in Suppl.]. It seems to have been, together with the "new settlement" Yengikent, Sawai râ, and others, one of the settlements there of the Turks, explicitly defined by Mahmûd Kâshgârî as "a town of the Oghuz" (Tkish. tr. Atayal, i, 471; Eng. tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 352). Al-Mukaddasî, 323 n. k, links it with Utrâr [q.v.], 24 farasâkh further up the Sir Daryâ. In Turkish, sighnâk means "place of refuge" (see Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, 813b), and the same name is found for several other places in Transcaucasia.
In the 4th/10th century, Sighnak was probably a frontier town where semi-sedentarised or sedentarised Oghuz exchanged products with the Islamic lands to the south; the Hudūd al-ʿilm, loc. cit. and cf. comm., 358 mentions the manufacture there of bows for export. The region long remained dār al-khuṭṭ. In the 6th/12th century it was the centre of a khānate of the pagan Kipcak [q.v.], and ghazawwât against it by the Khāzān Shāhs are mentioned for 547/1152, and specifically against Sighnak and its then ruler Kayr Toku Khān in 591/1195, until in the early 7th/13th century ʿAṭī al-Dīn Muhammad incorporated it within his empire (see Barthold, Turkestanı, 328, 340-3, 369; idem, Histoire des Turcs d’Asie Centrale, Paris [1945, 91]. The Shāh’s control of it was, however, brief, for in 617/1220 a Mongol army besieged Sighnak and eventually captured it, massacring its population. (Djuwaynî-Boyle, i, 86-7; Barthold, Turkestanı, 414-15).

Sighnak continues to be mentioned sporadically in the next three centuries or so. In the 9th/15th century it was a centre of the Čingizid Shāhs clan, and was held towards the end of that century by Muhammad Shībdū Khan before he began his career of expansion in Central Asia [see Shībdū Khān]. Thereafter, Sighnak fades from mention. Its ruins now lie at Sunak kurgan, a few miles north-west of the post-station Tiumen Arik on the Orenburg-Tashkent road and railway (see Hudūd al-ʿilm, comm. 358).

 Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. Bosworth)

SHİHAFÂ or ŞİHAFÂ (Ar.), the written press, journalism, the profession of the journalist (saḥaf). The nineteen-fifties witnessed the attainment of national independencies and major political upheavals, such as the Egyptian revolution of 23 July 1952. The Arabic press which, paradoxically, enjoyed great success during the colonial period [see ŞARDA, ḥal], despite the somewhat repressive nature of judicial regulation of the press (since what was seen was the proliferation of any journal, would nominate boards of publication of any journal, would nominate boards of
tangim), promulgated a few months previously, in January 1956. The first news agency (M.E.N.A.) was founded in 1956. The first news agency (M.E.N.A.) was founded and was led by General Nagīb [see MUHAMMAD NAQĪB] and Kālid Muḥyyī l-Dīn, and the militant faction under the leadership of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [q.v. in Suppl.]. The latter emerged victorious and imposed his own point of view: on 15 April 1954 the professional Union of Journalists (founded in March 1941) was dissolved. Leading journalists were imprisoned, including Mahmūd Abu l-Fath, proprietor of al-Misn, and Ihsān ʿAbd al-Kudūs, editor-in-chief of Rūz al-Yaṣīf. Censorship was rapidly restored, and even strengthened.

Some new titles appeared: in 1954, a literary and artistic review, al-Risāla al-Qadīdah, with Yūsuf al-Sīhāt as its editor-in-chief, joined, by a second review, al-Ẓāura, and a magazine for women, Hāwawīt al-Qadīdah in 1956. The first news agency (M.E.N.A.) was founded in February 1956.

The Nasserite era (1956-70)

In July 1956 ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was proclaimed President of the Republic. The provisional constitution had been promulgated a few months previously, in January 1956. The Revolutionary Council was dissolved. Censorship, abolished in July 1956, was soon restored, at the time of the tripartite aggression in October 1956. Private ownership of journals still being the norm, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir organised the production of the following titles: al-Shaʿrā, an important daily (June 1956); al-Masāʾi, editor-in-chief Kālid Muḥyyī l-Dīn, of the Revolutionary Council; and Maǧallat Bināt al-Watān, a propaganda monthly (1958).

The year 1959 was marked by the detention of numerous journalists suspected of opposition to the regime, including in particular Luwīs ʿAwaḍ, Luṭfī al-Khālīfī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Anis and Mahmūd al-Sulṭānī. The year 1959 marked a turning point in the life of the Egyptian press. The law imposing the organisation of any journal, would nominate boards of
tanẓīm of the press came into being on 24 May 1960. This tanẓīm, a disguised form of taʾmīm (nationalisation), effectively confiscated the leading publishing houses involved in the production of journals (i.e. those belonging to private persons), to the advantage of the National Unity Party, al-इnābī al-Raʾūmī, created in January 1956 and renamed al-इnābī al-Liṣṭāk al-ʿArabī. This law was the first in a series of nationalisation laws applying to banks, factories, etc. Henceforward, it was the National Unity Party which would issue the authorisation necessary for the publication of any journal, would nominate boards of directors and would appoint editors-in-chief.

Thereafter, and until ʿAbd al-Nāṣir’s death, the world of the press was destabilised, with arbitrary changes, dismissals and imprisonments. Fikrī Abaza, President and Director General of the Dār al-Ḥilāl, was barred from publication and dismissed. Muṣṭafā Amin, of Aḥkār al-Taʾwīn, was sentenced in 1966 to hard labour for life, and did not obtain a conditional release until 1973.

It should, however, be acknowledged that the Dār al-Ḥarām, moving into its new premises in 1968 and equipped with all the latest technology, became, through the leadership of the distinguished journalist Muhammad Ḥasanayn Haykal, a respected press institution. The weekly editorial of Haykal, who had
bi-saraha the ear of 'Abd al-Nasir, was reprinted in all the world's major newspapers.

The defeat of June 1967

This was preceded by a campaign orchestrated by the régime and tending to extol the Egyptian armed forces, emphasising the Israeli enemy within a few hours. It was not until 9 June 1967 that 'Abd al-Nasir announced the _naksa_ and his own withdrawal from office. Large public demonstrations persuaded him to stay.

The next development to affect the press was the publication on 30 March 1968 of the Manifesto _baya‘i_, proclaiming the establishment of a permanent constitution; the régime, by taking certain liberal measures, seemed to be relaxing its grip. Cultural reviews of superior quality came into being, all edited by the Ministry of Culture: _al-Muqāllal, monthly_; _Turāth al-Insāniyya, quarterly_; _al-Qāhir al-Mu‘āṣir, monthly_; _al-Qāhir al-'Arabi, quarterly_; _al-Kāmil, monthly_; _al-Funūn al-Sha‘biyya; al-Maraqī_; and _al-Shamā_.

On 17 September 1970, a few days before his death, 'Abd al-Nasir issued a new decree regulating the Union of Egyptian Journalists. The decree stipulated that no member of the Union could be arrested or detained, nor interrogated except in the presence of a member of the board of the Union, and then after judicial enquiry.

The Sadât era (1970-81)

This was marked by a series of measures of _de-Nasserisation_, generally known as measures of openness ( _infāḥi_: elimination of the 'pressure centres' _marāţik al-kauwá_ which had been all-powerful in 'Abd al-Nasir's time; _naksa_, capitulation in 1971 of the permanent constitution; military success in the war of October 1973; in 1974, laws relating to _infāḥi_ al-dīnāfā _iqqāmā_; or _infāḥī al-dīn_ al-kabīr_ _economic openness_; creation in 1975 of tribunes within the Arab Socialist Union (A.S.U.); expulsion of Soviet advisers in 1976, and the creation of three parties independent of the A.S.U.; visit to Jerusalem on 19 November 1977; and permission given to the Wafd Party to resume its activities under the name al-Wafd al-Dimūkrdti.

On the other hand, Sadât was also responsible for anti-democratic measures: a law of 1978 aimed at the protection of the social fabric and social peace ( _dismissal of all persons who had held public office before 1952_; a law of 1979 modifying the law on parties; a law of 15 November 1980 on the protection of values against dishonour ( _kānīn al-qibli_), consisting in depriving the offender of his political and union rights; a law of 20 May 1980 instituting tribunals of state security ( _maḥākim ann al-dawā_), on a continual and permanent basis, whereas previously they had been constituted only in times of emergency; a law of 20 November 1980 creating the Consultative Assembly ( _al-Sāhīrah_) alongside the National Assembly.

In matters specifically affecting the press, Sadât used dilatory manoeuvres. Although at the end of 1971 his Minister of Culture, 'Abd al-Kādir Ḥātim, suppressed with the stroke of a pen all the reviews edited by this ministry, Sadât took measures to benefit of journalists; re-assignment and regularisation of the situation of journalists arbitrarily silenced in the time of 'Abd al-Nasir; abolition of censorship after the war of October 1973; liberation of the brothers 'Alī and Mustafā Amin; dismissal of Muhammad Ḥasanayn Haykal; creation on 11 March 1975 of the first Higher Press Council ( _al-Muṣāfa‘ al-‘Āth ‘i ‘l-‘Ishāfā_), Presiding over this council was the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the A.S.U., and it comprised notably the following persons: the Minister of Information; the President of the Journalists' Union; the President-Director General of the M.N.E.A.; the Dean of the Faculty of Journalism; and three editors-in-chief of newspapers. Its functions were the promulgation of codes of conduct and the issuing of authorisations for the publication of newspapers.


The opposition press showed great hostility towards the dictatorial laws of Sadât, in particular, the law of 1978 regarding the protection of the social fabric, the law of 1980 concerning the protection of values against dishonour, and the law of 1980 on the authority of the press ( _kānīn ‘al-.y al-qiblā_), which made no changes in relation to the law of _tanzim_ of 1970, since the ownership of national papers ( _kaṣīmiyya_) reverted to the Consultative Assembly ( _al-Sāhīrah_) and the president of this assembly was the President of the Higher Press Council ( _al-Sāhīrh_).

The opposition parties, the Journalists' Union, the Lawyers' Union, as well as independents, joined to form a united front against the dictatorship of Sadât. Under the pretext of combating _fitนา ta‘īyya_ _sectarian sedition_, the latter responded with the following draconian measures, brought into effect in September 1981: confiscations and imprisonments, the blacklisting of 1500 journalists and intellectuals, the arbitrary transfer of 60 university academics to non-university institutions, and restrictions imposed on correspondents of _Le Monde_ newspaper and of the American television station ABC.

A month later, 6 October 1981, Sadât was assassinated by an Islamic fundamentalist.

The Mubarak era (1981-)

During the fifteen years following his accession to the highest office, President Mubarak has practised and is still practising a liberal policy. Beginning in 1982, he attempted to lower the temperature by allowing the reinstatement of formerly blacklisted journalists. Between 1982 and 1984 he permitted certain titles, which had been prohibited in the latter years of the Sadât régime, to re-appear: _al-‘Irāb_, of the _Hizb al-‘Arabī al-Iṣlāmī_; _al-Tal‘a_, progressive, editor-in-chief Lutfī al-Khuli; _al-‘Īṣāmiyya_, Islamists; _Watanī_, weekly; and _al-‘Ahli_, of the _Hizb al-Taqṣīm‘am_. Also, during the same period (1982-4), new titles appeared: _al-Daw‘_ al-‘Īsāmi, Islamists weekly; _Shabib Bilādī_, of the _Hizb al-Watanī al-Dimūkrdti_; _al-Wafā_, of the _Wafā_ al-Dawā‘; _al-‘Imāma_, of the _Hizb al-‘Imāma_; and _al-Ahlim al-Dawā‘_, (London).

The legislative elections of May 1984 established the hegemony of the _Hizb al-Watanī al-Dimūkrdti_ ( _390 seats_) and the success of the Wafā ( _58 seats_). Between 1984 and 1986, there appeared for the first time: _Wafā al-Nil_, cultural monthly, editor-in-chief Anas Manṣūr; _al-Khāira_, monthly; and _Awtīrk ‘Arabiyah_, monthly, editor-in-chief Maḥmūd al-Ma‘arīgh. Journalists barred from publication have resumed their writing, including Muhammad Ḥasanayn Haykal. Administrative bodies such as the Higher Council of...
Information have maintained stable and amicable relations with the Journalists' Union. Ibrahim Nafi, president of the Union since 1985, still leads this influential institution. New titles appeared in 1990: Al-Akhbar al-Riyadh, a weekly supplement to Al-Akhbar al-Tasdr; al-Ahram al-Riyadh, a journal edited by the Dár al-Ahram; Naf al-Dunya, a women's magazine edited by the Dár al-Ahram; Al-Yaar (The Left), edited by the Hizb al-Taqaddum al-Watan al-Takaddumi al-Wahdaoui.

On 12 January 1990, President Mubarak dismissed his Minister of the Interior, ZakI Badr, following a press campaign objecting to the minister's attitude towards journalists. There is only one blot on the landscape, Law no. 93 of 1995, which provides for the imprisonment of a journalist as a preventive measure: a hundred journalists risk falling foul of this "unjust law". The Journalists' Union is poised for further conflict in the future.


Sudan

This country enjoys a long-standing journalistic tradition on account of its proximity to Egypt. It has known weekly dailies since 1939, when Al-Nil was published for the first time. October 1940 saw the appearance of Sawt al-Suddn al-ajadid. In 1945 and 1946, daily papers to cease publication. The dictatorship of General Ibrhim 'Abbd (1958-64) was marked by the taming of the press. Only the daily al-Tarana, official organ of the military junta, was able to survive until 1964, alongside the two dailies al- 'Ayydm and al-Sahdfiya, which laboured under severe restrictions.

After the fall of 'Abbd's régime and the revolution of October 1964, the press enjoyed a period of relative prosperity, especially following the introduction of multi-party politics: eleven dailies and seven weeklies came into being. But on 29 May 1969, the army regained power under the leadership of General Da'dar al-Nunamy. The dictatorship of the latter lasted fifteen years (1969-85). It was characterised by outright nationalisation of the press in the interest of the Single Socialist Unity, al-Itibâr al-Lajâriyya, the Nasserite model having proved its worth in the régime's eyes. The two dailies al- 'Ayydm and al-Sahdfiya continued to appear, although nationalised. One new title came into being: al-Kuwatomal al-Mussallaha (The Armed Forces).

The fall of Nunamy took place on 6 April 1985, and General Shârîl al-Dhohab took power. Unlike his predecessors, he allowed a resurgence of the press and political pluralism. It was thus that the following titles, belonging to parties, came into existence: al-Itibâr, al-Nida, Sau'st al-Ummma, al-Madâ'in (parties of the Left); Sau'st al-Dimâshkhi (Islamic front); al-Munadidl (the Syrian Ba'th); and al-Badîl (pro-Nasserite). All these papers opted for the tabloid format and were obliged to restrict their circulation, on account of the high cost of newspaper production.

On 30 June 1990, a fourth coup d'etat took place, that of General 'Umar al-Bashir, with the support of Islamists led by Hasan al-Turâbî. Once again, political parties were abolished and the press was muzzled.

It is interesting to note that five English titles have come into being in recent years, produced by southern Sudanese: Forward, Guiding Star, Heritage, Nile Mirror, and Sudan Times.

Sudan experienced the first legislation on the press in 1930; a second law in 1973 nationalised the industry in the interests of the Socialist Union; and a third in 1985 placing the Press and Printing Council under the authority of the Council of Ministers. This last-mentioned law abolished the Socialist Union's ownership of newspapers, but maintained the previous system of authorisation.

(iii) Lebanon

In the opinion of observers and of the public at large, Lebanon is a paradise for the press, both in terms of freedom and of superior technology. However, despite the liberal régime and the influx of foreign finance, economic precariously remains the Achilles' heel of the Lebanese press.

After the end of the French mandate in 1946, and during the presidency of Hijârâ al-Khârî, there was that of Camille Shammîn, the press was subject to the promulgation of two codes, both of a liberal nature. Two trends divided public opinion: pro-American and anti-American. The presence of numerous Palestinian refugees on Lebanese territory after 1948 had traumatic repercussions on public life. One phenomenon which appeared at this time was as unforeseen as it was alarming: terrorism (abductions and assassinations), of which journalists were the victims.

As early as the inter-World War period, daily newspapers existed in profusion: al-Shârî, from the al-Kâ'î dynasty of Lebanese journalists, since 1926; al-Nahâr, of Djubran Tuwaynî, since 1933; al-'Amal, of the Phalangist party, since 1939; al-Dîyêt, since 1945; al-Haydt, of Kâmil Muruwwa, since 1946; al-Musâra, of Ilyâs al-Huwayk, since 1951; and al-Amadîr, since 1950. In the 1960s, a further fifty dailies were circulating in Beirut. Others were added: the Hizb al-Kawam al-Sâri launched a daily paper in Beirut in 1955, al-Bînâ'. al-Hussâsidht, a political weekly, became the property of Sâlim al-Lâzîf and appeared in Beirut from 1955, having previously been published in Tripoli.

The period of General Fu'âd Shâhîb (1958-64) saw the appearance of some important newspapers: al-'Usbîl al- 'Arabi, a weekly, and likewise al-Hurmû, but did not escape the wave of attacks and abductions which has since then characterised the life of the press in Lebanon. The period of the President Charles Halâl (1964-70), himself a journalist, was marked by the granting of increased freedom to the sector and the promulgation of a "code of conduct for journalists", which unfortunately was never put into effect. The defeat of June 1967 had the most calamitous effects on the Lebanese press, especially in terms of finance, the collapse in advertising revenue forcing certain papers to cease publication.

The time of the President Sulayman Farandjiyya (1970-7) saw the birth in 1970 of the daily L'Orient-Le Jour, in French, following the fusion of two titles which had appeared separately. The foreign financing of Lebanese journals assumed tragic dimensions: in 1974, the Council of Ministers imposed control of advertising expenditure in the press sector.

The presidency of Ilyâs Sarkîs (1976-83) saw the intensification of the civil war between nationalists (Phalangists) and Palestinians and Islamist progressives.
Two courses of action were then open to the Lebanese press: emigration or extinction. President Sarkis promulgated a new law on the press (1977), instituting censorship and curtailing the excessive freedom which the press had previously enjoyed. Despite instability, the dailies continue to appear: al-Ammar, al-Nahar, al-'Amal, al-Safeer, al-Bank and L'Orient-Le Jour.

The presidency of Ilyas al-Harawi has experienced some easing of tension, especially since Michel 'Awn has applied for political asylum in France.

After the French mandate and the evacuation of British and French troops, the first daily newspaper of the Syrian Ba'th Party, al-'Aijn, was established in 1947.

The first military coup led by Husnif al-Za'im took place on 30 March 1949, followed a few months later by that of Sami al-Hinnawi, on 14 August 1949. The latter was deposed the same year by Adib al-Shishakli, who maintained his grip on power until 1954.

During this "black series" of coups d'état, the press was muzzled; with the accession of Shukri al-Kuwatli to the leadership of the Republic in 1954, a much more tolerant atmosphere prevailed in the land. In 1958, union between Egypt and Syria was proclaimed (the United Arab Republic) and in 1959 the model of the Egyptian press was applied to Syria: the press was confiscated by the Nationalist Union, al-Ithihad al-Kasemi, single party of the Province (iklim) of the North (i.e. Syria). A law dating from 1958 allowed proprietors of newspapers to waive their rights in exchange for compensation; 47 titles waived their rights, and 19 continued to appear.

The U.A.R. was dissolved on 28 September 1961. In 1969 Hafiz al-Assad came to power, and on 12 March 1971 he was proclaimed President of the Republic. In 1974 the General Union of Syrian Journalists was founded, followed in 1975 by the Syrian Arab Foundation for the Distribution of Printed Matter. In 1973 a new daily paper was launched, Tashrin, published by the eponymous press institution. Currently, the following dailies appear in Syria: al-Bo'gh, founded 1946 in Damascus; al-Thawra, founded 1963 in Damascus; Tashrin, founded 1973 in Damascus; al-Qamahir, founded 1973 in Aleppo; al-Fida', founded 1973 in Hama; al-Uruba, founded 1973 in Hims; and the Syria Times, in English, founded 1973 in Damascus. In addition, there are literary reviews of high quality, such as al-Masna, founded 1974, and al-Mu'arafa, founded 1983.

The situation of the Palestinian press is complex in that it is possible to speak of an internal press (Israel and the territories occupied since 1967) and an external press published in Arab and western capitals.

The declaration of the State of Israel in 1948 and the Arab defeat of 1967 had a considerable impact on the Jordanian Press. Four dailies were already appearing: al-Dift (suspended in 1971), al-Dustur, al-'Urdun, and al-Redy.

In 1973 a Press Code was promulgated, imposing draconian conditions on the publication of newspapers (caution-money, the need to subscribe to foreign agencies of information, etc.). In 1975 the English language daily newspaper Jordan Times appeared; in 1976, a new daily Sawt al-Sha'b; in 1982, the English language weekly Jerusalem Star; and in 1989, another daily from the publishers of Sawt al-Sha'b.

It is important to note that in 1966 a law was promulgated replacing private ownership of newspapers with publicly-quoted companies in which private proprietors could hold shares amounting to a maximum of 30% of the overall capital. It is also worth noting the emergence of a juvenile press: since 1980, Rimu'aw-Mamduh (becoming Saim in 1983) and Farsi.

After the abolition of the monarchy and the success of the conspiracy of the military junta on 14 July 1958, several newspapers continued to appear, including the daily al-Bilad. The new regime launched a number of titles: al-Damhuriyya in Baghdad, from 17 July 1958; al-Baghar in Kirkuk; and al-Ahmar in Baghhdad.

The new regime issued a law nationalising the press and placing it under the direct authority of the Presidency of the Republic. On 17 July 1968, the military wing of the Ba'th seized power and installed Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr as head of state. In 1975, al-Ta'dhiqati changed its title and became al-Iraqi. In 1979, Saddam Husayn seized power and displaced Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr; he embarked on two wars, commonly known as the "Gulf Wars", the first against Iran (1980-8), the second against Kuwait (1990). Two other dailies appeared: al-Khidisiyya from 1981 and al-Rujaudi from 1984. Two titles belonging to the category of juvenile press came into existence during the 1980s: Magalitiyat and al-Mizmar. After the crippling defeat of Saddam's regime in the Gulf, 'Irak was subjected to an economic blockade. The grip of the dictatorship of Saddam becomes ever tighter; the press has been the first victim of this dictatorial regime.

The Hidjaz, within the Ottoman sphere of influence, was the first region of Arabia to adopt print-media. The Hidjaz, within the Ottoman sphere of influence, was the first region of Arabia to adopt print-media. The Hidjaz, within the Ottoman sphere of influence, was the first region of Arabia to adopt print-media.
be followed in December 1924 by the bi-weekly al-
Barid al-Hiḍāṣ, printed under the auspices of the
Hizb al-Waṣṭāni al-Hiḍāṣ.

The Saudi dynasty

In 1924 King 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Suūd launched Umm al-Kurā in Mecca; a literary weekly, Suqūt al-Hiḍāṣ, appeared in 1932. With the development of the oil industry, titles proliferated, and in 1953 the monthly al-Yamāma appeared. In 1962 a Ministry of Information was created, and a code of press institutions promulgated. The al-Yamāma house published several titles, including the daily al-Riyyād.

The Saudi Press Agency (W.A.S.) came into existence in 1957. In 1973, two faculties of journalism were created, in King 'Abd al-'Azīz University of Riyadh, and in King 'Abd al-'Azīz University of Jeddah. In 1973, a third faculty was established at the Imām Muhammad b. Suūd University.

Currently, the landscape of the written press is composed as follows:

(a) Dailies: al-Biāl (since 1932 in Jeddah); al-
Maṭīna al-Munawwara (since 1937 in Medina); al-Nadwa (since 1956 in Mecca); al-Riyyād (since 1959 in Riyyād); 'Uthmān (since 1960 in Jeddah); al-Ta'zi (since 1963 in Dammām); al-Daqīqīn (since 1964 in Riyyād); al-Sabāḥ (since 1965); al-Siyāsah (weekly from 1962 and daily since 1974, editor-in-chief Djasim al-Mutawwa); al-Anba' (1976, proprietor and editor-in-chief Bībi Khālid al-Mazrūk); and Arab Times (1977, proprietor and editor-in-chief Abd al-Dār Allāh).

Besides these dailies, scores of weeklies and monthlies have come into being. The Ministry of Information edits the bi-monthlies al-'Arabi, Alam al-Faṣr, Thakfā Amiyya, and the monthly Maqāllat al-Kuwayt. For its part, the University of Kuwait publishes more than ten reviews of a high academic standard. Ministries, faculties and government departments all have their own review or liaison bulletin.


Newspapers belong to individuals or to mercantile families. The circulation of dailies varies between 70,000 and 100,000.

The Kuwaiti Association of Journalists, created in 1964, comprises both Kuwaiti journalists and residents belonging to various expatriate communities (Arab and Indian). Laws and decrees concerning the press, promulgated since 1961, revolve around the problem of the suspension of newspapers (duration and legal competence) (articles 35 and 35A). The state subsidises the press: 45,000 K.D. (= U.S. $135,000) are contributed annually to the dailies, 30,000 K.D. (= U.S. $90,000) to periodicals. At the time of the 'Irāqī aggression of 2 August 1990, the daily press had to choose between internal, or external resistance. During the seven months of occupation, a press of resistance continued to circulate and was successfully disseminated: Naṣrāt al-Samā'd al-Shēbī; al-Sabāḥ; Suqūt al-Haqq; Mās (a thorn in the flesh of the 'Irākī enemy); and Anba' al-Qaḥīb. Externally, there was Suqūt al-Kuwayt al-Dawati, a daily launched in London (12 August 1990-31 December 1992), editor-in-chief M. Rumayhī. Immediately after liberation, a new daily paper appeared in Kuwait, al-Faṣr al-Qudāli (21 April 1991-31 December 1991), editor-in-chief Yūsuf al-Yūsuf. On 12 December 1992, censorship of newspapers was abolished.

(x) United Arab Emirates

The union of these seven principalities (Abū Zabī, Dubayy, al-Shārīka, Ra's al-Khayma, Umm al-Kaywayn, 'Adīman and al-Fudjajrya) was declared on 2 December 1971. Before this date and since 1966 Aḥḥār Dubayy had been in circulation, as well as the official journal of the government of Dubayy, Abī Zabī also had its own press: a government official journal, and Abu Zabī News. After unification, a major daily came into existence, al-Iṣṭihlāl, followed by an English language daily, Emirate News.

It is interesting to note that the proliferation of titles in the U.A.E. is due to the concern of governmental organisations and private institutions to issue their own journals or liaison bulletins, such as the following titles: al-Dīnī (since 1974); al-Adīlā (since 1974); al-Ann (since 1976); and al-Dhīlimāt (since 1971).
Currently appearing are five dailies in Arabic, and three in English: Al-Imahad; Al-Khalidi; Al-Bayan; Al-Fadjr; Al-Wahda; Gulf News; Khalid Times; and Emirate Times. Circulation varies between 45,000 and 50,000 for each daily. A press code was published in 1971.

(xii) Kuwait

In 1969, the Ministry of Information launched the monthly Al-Dauha. The same year, the Dar al-Uruba of 'Abd Allah Al-Hasan Nima created a weekly, Al-Uruba, also announcing the intention to launch a daily entitled Al-Arab. In 1976 the review Alkhali Al-Khalidi appeared. Currently, four dailies appear regularly: Al-Raya, Al-Sharq and Gulf Times, as well as two weeklies: Emirate Times and Al-Khalid Times, in addition to the official journal of Katara, a monthly.

(xii) Bahrain

In 1939, 'Abd Allah Zayid created the first newspaper for Bahrain, Al-Bahrain; Saat Al-Bahrain came into existence ten years later. From 1957 the government's official journal appeared on a weekly basis, and from 1970 Hum Al-Bahrain, edited by the Ministry of Information. In 1976 a major daily, AlKhali Al-Khalidi, appeared, with an English version following in 1978, and 1989 saw the creation of a new daily, Al-Ayam, the editor-in-chief being Nabil Al-Humr, formerly Director-General of the National Information Agency.

Sport and cultural weeklies, in Arabic as well as in English, enjoy wide circulation.

(xiii) Sultanate of Oman

Before the accession of Sultan Kabu on 25 July 1970, the majority of Umnah periodicals were printed outside the sultanate. The first official journal, AlKhali Umnah, came into being in 1970, changing its title to Djirida Rasimiyya in 1971. The first weekly, Al-Watan (a tabloid), appeared at Maskat on 28 January 1971. It became a daily in 1974. The first government-controlled daily, published initially as a weekly from 1972, as a bi-weekly from 1975, appeared in 1980.

In 1975 and 1981 appeared respectively the Observer and the Times of Oman. As is the case in all the Gulf States, the periodical press emanating from both public and private sectors has flourished. Currently, there are two dailies in Arabic, Al-Watan and Umnah, and one in English, Oman Daily Observer, alongside a very active weekly and monthly press. The weeklies are Al-Nahdi (since 1973), Al-Adwad (since 1974), Al-Ura (since 1974), and the monthlies Al-Qam and Umnah (1974), Al-Umidya (women's magazine, 1980), Al-Tijaria (1980), Al-Ghurfa (Chamber of Commerce, 1980) and Risalah Al-Masjad (1980).

(xiv) Yemen

On 29 May 1990 the Republic of Yemen was declared, following the fusion of the two formerly separate states. In 1877, during the period of Ottoman occupation, the first Yemeni weekly appeared, San'a', in Arabic and in Turkish. In 1926, with the independence of Yemen, a monthly appeared, AlImam. The revolution of 26 September 1962 swept away the rule of the Imams. Three days later a new daily appeared, Al-Thaeras, published in 1963 at Taiz and then at San'a, followed by a second in 1968, Al-Qamhahiyah. These two dailies continued to appear in North Yemen until unification.

In South Yemen, the Democratic and Popular Republic of Yemen (P.D.R.S.Y.) came into existence in 1960, with a single daily: Al-Utiba, alongside numerous weeklies and monthlies. Before reunification in 1990, the P.D.R.S.Y. was considerably more liberal, in terms of press legislation, than the Yemenite Arab Republic (i.e. of the North). In anticipation of fusion, it had tolerated the presence of the foreign press since 1959.

(xv) Somalia

The Republic of Democratic Somalia came into being in 1960 after a long struggle against the British, the Italians and the French. Djibouti gained its independence in 1977; its press is Francophone.

The Somali government instituted two dailies, one in Arabic, Saat al-Sumah, and the other in English, Somalia New. The opposition parties published weeklies and monthlies.

After the revolution (1969-89), the revolutionary government launched three dailies, Nadjam Utkhir (in Arabic), Stella di Ottobre (in Italian) and October Star (in English). From 1973 onwards there appeared an edition in the Somali language of the daily Nadjam Utkhir with the Somali name Xudugta Oktober.

Bibliography: al-Mansu'a al-sahhiba al-arabiyah, i (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq), Jules, i, Tunis 1990, passim; ibid., ii (Egypt, Sudan, Somalia), Tunis 1991, passim; Khalil Sabat, op. cit., passim; Didi al-sahhiba al-arabiyah, op. cit., passim; Muhammad al-Fili, La liberté de la presse au Kouf, unpubl. thesis, Caen 1981, passim. See also Qardha, i. A.

2. North Africa

(i) Algeria

At the time of the revolution (1954-61), Al-Mudjaddid, a clandestine weekly in the French language, printed in Tunis, was in circulation. In 1962, the new régime brought to power by the revolution created two dailies, Arabic and French editions of the same title (Al-Sha'bi). In 1963, a new daily newspaper in Arabic, Al-Qamhahiyah, appeared in Oran, and the same year in Constantine Al-Nasr, a French language daily. The first evening daily newspaper, Alger-Soir, came into existence in Algiers in 1967. The same year, the three veteran daily newspapers of the colonial period were nationalised, these being Le Dépêche d'Algerie, L'Echo d'Oran and Le Dépêche de Constantine. Al-Mudjaddid resumed publication in 1965, as a French language daily.

The riots of 1988 constituted a turning-point in Algerian political life. A new press code was promulgated in 1990; it abolished censorship and introduced the private ownership of newspapers. The Ministry of Information was abolished, and the Higher Council of Information created, this consisting of twelve members: three appointed by the President of the Republic, three by the President of the National Assembly, and six elected from among professional journalists.

It is interesting to note that, despite tireless efforts aimed at literacy and arabisation, the circulation of newspapers in the Arabic language remains very meagre: 80,000 for each of the two Arabic dailies, compared with 350,000 for each of the French language dailies.

(ii) Morocco

After gaining its independence in 1956, Morocco, under the leadership of Muhammad V and of his son Hasan II, instituted a multi-party system, promulgated a law covering civil liberties in 1958, established a centre for the training and exchange of journalists in collaboration with the German-based Friedrich Naumann Foundation, and in 1959 created the press agency Maghreb Arab Press (M.A.P.). In 1963, the Union of Moroccan Journalists came into being. In 1987, Hasan II instituted an annual subsidy to the press of the order of 20 million dirhams (10 million to cover the costs of paper and of telephones, 10 million
to compensate for the cost of subscriptions to the M.A.P.; free transport on Moroccan railways, 50% discount on airline tickets and on accommodation in the kingdom's hotels.

Periods need to be distinguished in the evolution of the Moroccan press:

(a) From independence (1956) to the proclamation of the state of emergency (1965).

First to be noted is the maintenance on a temporary basis of titles inherited from the colonial press. Censorship and the payment of caution-money were suppressed. Newspapers such as al-A'lam, of the Istiklāl, al-Ra'y al-Amm, of the Hizb al-Shārāq, and Ḥādīyat al-Samālīn of the Moroccan Communist Party, resumed publication. The government launched a new daily newspaper, al-'Āhd al-Di'dādī (1957-60). The Istiklāl Party inaugurated a French language daily, L'Opinion, in 1965.

(b) From 1965 to 1970.

Following incidents in Casablanca in 1965, a state of emergency was decreed, but did not affect the freedom of the press; the parties continued to publish their newspapers. Furthermore, two new parties came into being in 1967: the party of Dr. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Khaftār, Hizb al-Haraka al-Sha'bīyya al-Dimārkhātīyya, and the party of 'Ali Yāta, Hizb al-Taḍrīr wa 'l-Ikhtirākhātīyya. Thirteen or more titles appeared during this period, besides those already in place. Only four were subjected to enforced suspension: Maroc Information, Libration, al-Ahdi and al-Kīf al-Watam.

(c) From 1970 to the "Green March" (1975).

This period saw the creation of three new parties: al-Hizb al-'Imārī, Hizb al-'Amal al-Qādrī, and Hizb al-Ittihād al-Istiqlālī li 'l-Kuwāt al-Sha'bīyya. In 1974, the independent newspaper al-Sabāb (1974). In 1974, the independent newspaper al-Sabāb (1974) and al-Ittihād al-Ishtihādī li 'l-Kuwd al-Sha'bīyya, and the party of 'Ali Yāta, Hizb al-Taḍrīr wa 'l-Ikhtirākhātīyya. Thirteen or more titles appeared during this period, besides those already in place. Only four were subjected to enforced suspension: Maroc Information, Libration, al-Ahdi and al-Kīf al-Watam.

(d) From 1975 to 1983.

Five new parties emerged, each with its own newspaper.


This period saw the creation of the Consultative Council for Human Rights (April 1990), press clubs after 1988 and the granting of the royal subsidy to the press. The same year, fifty new titles appeared to enrich the already burgeoning repertoire of the Moroccan press.

(iii) Mauritania

Mauritania obtained its independence in 1960. Four parties united to form the single ruling party headed by Mokhtar Walih Daddāh and known as Hizb al-Sha'b al-Maudātīn.


Change of title corresponds to the change experienced by the press in Mauritania since 1991, the date of the promulgation of the first constitution and the inauguration of the multi-party era. Besides this daily newspaper, there exist an independent press and an underground press, with very limited resources.

(iv) Libya

On the independence of Libya in 1951, the Sanūsī kingdom was divided into three departments, each having its own daily newspaper: in Tripoli, Sahifat Tarhbulus al-Qarab; in Benghazi, Sahifat Barbak al-Qa'dudīs; and in Sebha, Sahifat Fezzān. A year after the abdication of the monarchy, the Ministry of Information changed the titles of the three daily newspapers. Independent dailies also existed, in Tripoli, al-Ra'īd and al-Hurrīyya, and in Benghazi, al-Ha'īkēta, in addition to two foreign language dailies, the Giornale di Tripoli and the Libyan Times.

With the accession to power of Colonel Kadhdhāfi in September 1969, a new daily came into being, al-Shura (1969).

Two periods may henceforth be distinguished in the evolution of the Libyan press:

(a) Between 1969 and 1977, promulgation of the law of the press (1972), and creation of the General Foundation of the Press, which published from 1 September 1972 a second daily in Tripoli, al-Fadhir al-Qa'duddīts, a third, al-Qa'duddīts in Benghāzī, and in Tripoli in 1977, an evening daily paper, al-Ra'y.

(b) After 1977. On 2 March 1977, Kadhdhāfi proclaimed the institution of popular congresses and committees, and the implementation of the theories of the Green book (al-Kitāb al-akhdūr). According to the "Brother-Colonel, Supreme Guide of the Revolution", the press is at the service of society and cannot be subject to private ownership. Daily newspapers ceased to appear, and since 1977 a specialist press has been created, covering particular sectors. Among these are al-Sallīf al-akhdūr, a weekly since 1980, edited by the office of revolutionary committees; al-Qāshārīyya, bi-annual, edited by the same Bureau; and al-Faṣūl al-arba'a, edited by the League of Libyan Writers.

(v) Tunisia

With Tunisia's accession to independence in 1956, the Neo-Destour Party led by Ḥabīb Burgība seized power and proclaimed the Republic in July 1957. From 1956 to 1964, titles from the colonial period co-existed with those of the new era. Alongside the independent daily newspaper al-Sabāh, founded in 1952, there appeared from 1956 onward al-A'mal, an Arabic language daily, and L'Action, a French language daily; Presse de Tunisie, Dépêche tunisienne and Petit matin continued to appear until 1968. La Presse de Tunisie, nationalised, resumed publication and continues to appear today, as a governmental daily managed by the Ministry of Information.

In 1961, at the time of the war over evacuation of the military base of Bīzerta, and especially from 1964 onward, the single ruling party, which had become the Parti Socialiste Destourien (P.S.D.), imposed severe curbs on the press, both the independent and oppositional sectors. The newspapers of the Tunisian Communist Party, al-Talā'a and Tribuna du progrès disappeared, as did al-Taghīt, mouthpiece of the Old Destour.

Bashīr Ben Yahmed, first Secretary of State for Information in the first post-independence government, opted for exile and founded the weekly Jeune Afrique in Paris. The student movement, suppressed in 1967, founded a review which was produced in Paris and widely distributed, surreptitiously, in Tunisia, Perspectives Tunisiennes.

With the failure of the collectivisation of agricultural land and the collapse of the co-operative movement, Burgība decided on a change of course and opted for a degree of openness. Supporting the government were two weeklies, Dialogue (1974) and Bilādb (1974). In 1974, the independent newspaper al-Sabāb launched a new French language daily, Le Temps. In 1975 a new press code was promulgated, amending that of 1956. The League for Human Rights was created in 1977, and three weeklies came into existence: al-Ra'y (in Arabic), Dimūrītī (in French) and al-Sha'b, organ of the General Union of Tunisian Workers. The former two belonged to the Movement of Democratic Socialists (M.D.S.) and the third to the
U.G.T.T. of Habib 'Aghur, which had never collaborated with the régime.

Two crises occurred in rapid succession, in January 1978 with the conflict between the ruling party and the U.G.T.T. in January 1980 with the invasion of Gaia, a city of southern Tunisia. In 1980, Burgiba appointed a new Prime Minister, thereby inaugurating a change of policy. Multi-partyism was to be tolerated, as well as relative freedom of the press. Three opposition parties were recognised, and the Islamist Party barely tolerated. At the same time, the media landscape changed, and new weekly titles came into existence: al-Mustakbal-L'Avvenu, of the Movement of Democratic Socialists (M.D.S.), al-Wahda, of the Popular Unity Movement (M.U.P.), al-Tarik al-djadjid, of the Tunisian Communist Party (P.C.T.) and al-Mo'afa, of the Islamic Tendency Movement (M.T.I.).

Independent journalists have also launched weekly titles: Maghreb Arabe, bilingual, of Umar Shabib, and Realités, also bilingual, of Munisif Ben Mrad. Another independent, Salah al-Din 'Amri, produced al-Annah (1981) and al-Sahaf (1984). Al-Sahaf, an independent newspaper, has launched three new weeklies: al-Sadi (in Arabic), al-Sahaf al-Ushait (in Arabic) and Le Temps-Hebdo (in French).

The "bread revolution", following the decision to increase the price of bread, put an end to this liberal euphoria. The régime returned to its repressive ways, and in 1987, it was on the point of extinguishing the Islamist movement when the constitutional change of 7 November 1987, inaugurated by Prime Minister Zayy, and al-Abidin Ben 'Ali, came into effect. According to the terms of the constitution and in view of Burgiba's inability for health reasons to continue in office, became President of the Republic. On 2 August 1988 he instituted a new press code, requiring economic transparency of press institutions, and reckoned fairly liberal by the profession.

Since then, the Tunisian press has regained a limited degree of its former prosperity.

Bibliography: al-Mawsu'a, op. cit., iv (Tunisia, Algeria, Djibouti, Morocco, Mauritania), Tunis 1995, passim; Khafif Sahabi, op. cit., passim; Dalil al-sahaf, op. cit. See also IGARDA. i. B.

3. The Arab Diaspora

Three factors account for the emigration of the Arab press to foreign capitals (London, Paris and Nicosia): the Lebanese civil war, the expulsion of the Palestinians from Lebanon in 1982, and the suppression of freedom in the majority of Arab states. The financial resources of this press remain difficult to elucidate; it may be wondered to what extent it is dependant upon various régimes and their financial support. On the other hand, despite the popularity of this press, it does seem to ignore its primary, most directly accessible public, i.e. the Arabo-Muslim communities of Europe (France and Britain in particular).

(i) Paris


Al-Watan al-'Arabi, founded by Walid Abi Zahr in 1977, ceased publication after the Gulf War; it was pro-'Irakii.

Al-Nahd al-'Arabi al-Duwali, founded in 1977 by Qasim Tuwaynf.

Mais Al-Arabi, weekly, managed by Yasir Harawi (pro-'Irakii), ceased publication in 1991.

5. Turkey [see Suppl.]

6. Persia [see Suppl.]

SIHAK, like musdhaka, verbal noun of stem III of a verb meaning "to rub" (compare the Greek ἡπιός, Eng. "tribadism"), commonly used to indicate lesbianism. Other derivatives of this root indicating the same are the stem verbal nouns sahh and shahka. Occasionally, stem VI tasshaha is found. Women engaging in lesbian love-making are referred to as sikhdtak, sahhdkat or musdhakat. The Ladin al-urab calls the term musdhakat al-nisat a lafic musdual, an expression of post-classical origin. The earliest recorded, probably legendary, instance of lesbian love among the Arabs is a report of the asad'It genre [q.v.], cf. Abu l-Faraj al-Islahani, Agha'nii, ii, 132, in which it is alleged that, forty years before the emergence of male homosexuality (= liwat [q.v.]), the first woman who loved another woman was Hind, the daughter of the last Lakhmid king of Hira, al-Nu'man b. al-Mundhir [q.v.], who fell in love with Zarka' b. al-Hasan from Yarmouk. The story is told in some detail in ch. 9 of al-Salhibi tilii mu'asaran al-abhib by Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Ali Ibn Falita (d. 764/1363), ed. Mohamed Zouhair Djabri, diss. Erlangen-Nurnberg 1968, 1-2 (see also Bibl.).

On the whole, shahk is frowned upon in Islam. There are no ambigious references to it in the Kur'an, but there is one remark traced to Mu'adh b. Ja'far (d. 100-1/718-9) who, according to the Mu'atass exegete Abi Muslim Muhammad b. Bahy al-Islahani (d. 322/934, cf. GSA, i, 42-9), is
reported to have identified the word *fdhisha*, "abomination", from *Kur'an*, IV, 15, with *musahaka* and not with *zinā* "fornication", "adultery", as all the other exegetes did, cf. his *Mutakāf* *qāmi* al-*asālif* li-*mushkam* al-†angīl, ed. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī, Calcutta 1934, 44, and also Abū Ḥayyān, al-†Bakt al-*muṣāḥāt*, Cairo 1328, iii, 194-5. The punishment for *sahk* laid down in this verse is house arrest until death. In al-Tabarî's *Tafsīr*, Muṣāḥādî's interpretation cannot be traced, but in those of al-Zamâkshârî and al-Baydâwî there is a vague reference (without indication of the source) that *saḥkāt* may have been meant in IV, 15, and for- nicators in v. 16 (cf. also M.R. Ṭaḥ, *Tafsīr al-*manâr*, Cairo 1346-54, iv, 453-40). While describing the powers or faculties that determine a person's body, the exegete Fakhr al-†Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mašāḥ* al-*ghayb*, cf. ed. Cairo 1278/1862, ii, 383, ill, 23-5, also mentions the power of sensuality (*kwvws* *shahruxnīyāt*) and the corrupting influences that emanate from it: *zinā*, *liżdāt* and *sahk*. The *Shi‘a* trace *sahk* indirectly to the *Kur‘ān* too. While dealing with it in his *Man lā yahduruhu al-fakih*, 5th impr., Tehran 1379, iv, 31, the *Shi‘i* jurist Ibn Bihāwawayhi (d. 381/991 [q.v.]) records a statement ascribed to the imām Dā‘ār al-Šādîk (*q.v.*). That the *asālif* al-*ra’s* [*g.v.*] were responsible for the spread of this perversion. These were a community of pre-Islamic unbelievers, cf. *Kur‘ān*, XXV, 38 and L, 12. Their story and the spread of lesbianism among them on the instigation of a daughter of Iblîs, al-Dalîn, is recorded in al-†Hasabil, *Fiṣay al-anbā‘*, ed. Cairo 1297, 144, 1 ff. Cf. also al-Kulaynî, *al-†Rāf*, ed. ‘Alî Akhūnî, al-†Ghâfîrî, Tehran 1954-61, v, 551-2, where we find a eulogy for *sahk* having been allotted to (or *ma‘a*) *al-lawāt*, who will be tormented in Hell in a spectacular manner. Another daughter of Iblîs, Lâkîs, is mentioned here as having had a hand in its spread. For *ashk*, there are a few pre-canonical traditions, probably hailing from the time of the Prophet, as indeed do some forms of stem III *sahk*. While dealing with it in his *Man iya‘duruhu al-fakih*, the so-called *mutara‘* al-*mawdûd*, who tried to resemble women, the term *sahk* is probably the originator *sahk* al-*nisd* (*nisz*), who died sometime after his husband has left the marital bed, rubs her husband's sperm into her slave girl by means of the wording, if not also of the gist, of this tradition. The Shr‘a trace *sahk* indirectly to the Kur‘ān too. The *Shi‘i* tradition there is the story of a woman who, just after her husband has left the marital bed, who, just after her husband has left the marital bed, rubs her husband's sperm into her slave girl by means of this act, which results in the slave girl becoming pregnant, cf. al-Kulaynî, *al-†Raf*, vii, 203. In many major legal works, some of which are of a decidedly scientific nature, more or less elaborate chapters are devoted to it, sometimes interlarded with verse. Perhaps the longest and most extensive treatment of *sahk* with a graphic description of its techniques is found in ch. XI of Ahmad al-†Tâhshî (d. 651/1253), *Les délices des cœurs ou ce que l'on ne trouve en aucun livre*, tr. by René R. Khawam, Paris (Phébus) 1981. There are, furthermore, special sections devoted to it in al-†Djâdîg (d. 257/659 [g.v.]), *Iṣwad*, ed. *A.M.* Ḥārin, Cairo 1937-65, v, 109, al-†Nasā‘t, al-†Sâ‘mân al-†ku‘bîr, ed. *A.S.* al-†Bundârî and S.K. Ḥasan, Beirut 1991, v, 390, and for a commentary, see Ibn Ḥadij al-†Askâlnî, *Fath al-bârî*, Cairo 1939, xi, 292-3. The term *mukamā* has the variant *mukamama*, cf. Ibn Abî Shaybah, *Musannaf*, iv, 398, which is also interpreted as the pressing of one's lips on the lips of a person of the same sex, a meaning which makes good sense in the present context. Both traditions are reflected in a passage from a text by a North African jurist published in M.J. Viguera Molins, *La censura de costumbres en el †Tabîb al-†hukkâm de Ibîn al-†Munṣîf* (1168-1223), in *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Arabe e Islamica*, Madrid 1985, 591-611, which says on 602, 6 ff., that women should be discouraged from showing one another their finery and their naked bodies during gatherings in places of rejoicing as well as bath houses. The Shr‘a trace *sahk* indirectly to the Kur‘ān too. The *Shi‘i* tradition there is the story of a woman who, just after her husband has left the marital bed, rubs her husband's sperm into her slave girl by means of the wording, if not also of the gist, of this tradition. The *Shi‘i* tradition there is the story of a woman who, just after her husband has left the marital bed, rubs her husband's sperm into her slave girl by means of the wording, if not also of the gist, of this tradition. The *Shi‘i* tradition there is the story of a woman who, just after her husband has left the marital bed, rubs her husband's sperm into her slave girl by means of the wording, if not also of the gist, of this tradition. One other canonical tradition does not allude to lesbianism as such, but commentators think it does. The Prophet is supposed to have cursed certain women, the so-called *mutara‘* al-†mawdûd, who tried to resemble women, the term *sahk* being the variant *sahk*. As Ibn Abî Shaybah, *Musannaf*, iv, 398, which is also interpreted as the pressing of one's lips on the lips of a person of the same sex, a meaning which makes good sense in the present context. Both traditions are reflected in a passage from a text by a North African jurist published in M.J. Viguera Molins, *La censura de costumbres en el †Tabîb al-†hukkâm de Ibîn al-†Munṣîf* (1168-1223), in *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Arabe e Islamica*, Madrid 1985, 591-611, which says on 602, 6 ff., that women should be discouraged from showing one another their finery and their naked bodies during gatherings in places of rejoicing as well as bath houses. One other canonical tradition does not allude to lesbianism as such, but commentators think it does. The Prophet is supposed to have cursed certain women, the so-called *mutara‘* al-†mawdûd, who tried to resemble women, the term *sahk* being the variant *sahk*. As Ibn Abî Shaybah, *Musannaf*, iv, 398, which is also interpreted as the pressing of one's lips on the lips of a person of the same sex, a meaning which makes good sense in the present context. Both traditions are reflected in a passage from a text by a North African jurist published in M.J. Viguera Molins, *La censura de costumbres en el †Tabîb al-†hukkâm de Ibîn al-†Munṣîf* (1168-1223), in *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Arabe e Islamica*, Madrid 1985, 591-611, which says on 602, 6 ff., that women should be discouraged from showing one another their finery and their naked bodies during gatherings in places of rejoicing as well as bath houses. One other canonical tradition does not allude to lesbianism as such, but commentators think it does. The Prophet is supposed to have cursed certain women, the so-called *mutara‘* al-†mawdûd, who tried to resemble women, the term *sahk* being the variant *sahk*. As Ibn Abî Shaybah, *Musannaf*, iv, 398, which is also interpreted as the pressing of one's lips on the lips of a person of the same sex, a meaning which makes good sense in the present context. Both traditions are reflected in a passage from a text by a North African jurist published in M.J. Viguera Molins, *La censura de costumbres en el †Tabîb al-†hukkâm de Ibîn al-†Munṣîf* (1168-1223), in *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Arabe e Islamica*, Madrid 1985, 591-611, which says on 602, 6 ff., that women should be discouraged from showing one another their finery and their naked bodies during gatherings in places of rejoicing as well as bath houses. One other canonical tradition does not allude to lesbianism as such, but commentators think it does. The Prophet is supposed to have cursed certain women, the so-called *mutara‘* al-†mawdûd, who tried to resemble women, the term *sahk* being the variant *sahk*. As Ibn Abî Shaybah, *Musannaf*, iv, 398, which is also interpreted as the pressing of one's lips on the lips of a person of the same sex, a meaning which makes good sense in the present context. Both traditions are reflected in a passage from a text by a North African jurist published in M.J. Viguera Molins, *La censura de costumbres en el †Tabîb al-†hukkâm de Ibîn al-†Munṣîf* (1168-1223), in *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Arabe e Islamica*, Madrid 1985, 591-611, which says on 602, 6 ff., that women should be discouraged from showing one another their finery and their naked bodies during gatherings in places of rejoicing as well as bath houses.
This term is applied (1) to that which entrances the eye and acts on the psyche of the individual, making him believe that what he sees is real when it is not so. This is called al-’ukhdha, “charm, incantation” [see RUKYA], “artifice, stratagem” [see NUR A, SMYA]; in short, everything that is known as “white magic”. This also refers to (2) things, the apprehension (ma’khad) of which is fine and subtle; this applies, for example, to certain poetry and certain eloquence, that of the Kharija in particular. The Prophet was allegedly told, “Inna min al-’ukhdh al-sihr st "there is a form of eloquent expression which has the effect of magic." The false prophet al-Awdaw, who sought to restore the tribes of the Maghribi [see] to paganization, “made them see wondrous things and enchanted the hearts of those who heard him speak” (al-Tabari, i, 1766).

Thus sihr consists essentially in a falsification of the reality of things and of actions. As such it is reprehensible, being allied to falsehood (sfk), to trickery (qhdh) and to astrology (ilm al-nudum; see NUDJUM (a)).
In fact, for the aforementioned author, *sihr* is included among the physical sciences and covers, thereby, divination [see *khwān*], natural magic [see *nikiš*], properties *qawwāl* [see *gawākas*] of the Most Beautiful Names (al-*asnā* al-*humā* [q.v.]), of numbers [see *tafsir*, *bustur*] and of certain invocations [see *istinjā*l], sympathetic magic [see *ruyga*], demoniacal conjuration, incantations ('*azdā*), the evocation of spirits of corporeal beings (*istišdār*), the invocation of the spirits of planets (al-*wādat al-*kawākit al-*sayyārā*), phylacteries (amulets, talismans, philters), the faculty of instantaneous disappearance from sight (khafī'), artifacts and fraud (al-*būdāl al-ṣāliḥīna*), the art of disclosing frauds (kaḏḏ al-ṣadd), spells (al-*āllāh al-kalīb) and recourse to the properties of medicinal plants (al-*is-tūn* bi-*khawās* al-adnāya).

This classification of Hāджī al-Kahlīfā is presented as a development of that given by Ibn Khādhūn (Mukādīmu, ed. and tr. De Slate, iii, 124 ff., tr. 171 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 156 ff.). For the latter, "the souls of magicians possess the ability to exert influences in the universe and to tap into the spirituality (nīhānīya) of the planets, in order to use it in the exercise of their influence, by means of a psychic or satanic force" (126). These souls are classified in three categories:

1. Those which act exclusively through the force of the will (*hammer*), without instrument or aid. This is what the philosophers denote by the term *sihr*.

2. Those which act through the intermediary of the temperament (mizāḏ) of the celestial spheres and of the elements, or with the aid of the occult properties of numbers. It is this which is known as theurgy [see *talīm*]. It is of inferior rank in relation to magic.

3. Those which act on the imaginative faculties [of spectators], using them, in a certain sense, and introducing various kinds of phantasms, images and forms, in connection with that which they mean to realise. Subsequently, they cause these elements to descend to the level of the sensory perception of spectators, this by means of exerting influence on the senses of the latter. Spectators imagine that they see these forms outside themselves, whereas in reality there is nothing there. The philosophers call these practices prestidigitation or phantasmagoria (*gha*bdālīt or *gha*wcdaīq [q.v.]).

Such a diversification in the definition of the concept is encountered, considerably earlier, in the *Fūṣrīt* of Ibn al-Nadīm, who devotes to this question the second section or *fām* (308-13) of the eighth *makāla* of his work, a section intitled "Exorcists, jugglers, magicians, practitioners of white magic, conjurers and makers of talismans" (ed. Flugel, 304 ff.; Eng. tr. B. Dodge, New York 1970, ii, 725-33; section summarised by R. Lemay in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, in BEO, xiv [1992], 24-5).

Similarly, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' deal with magic (*sihr*), incantations ("azdān, the evil eye (*am*), in their fifty-second and last *rizāla*, where all the aspects of magic, as later classified by Ibn Khādhūn and Hāđji Khālīfā are already involved. They go even further in basing the existence of magic, in its multiple and diversified forms, on the writings of the philosophers (Plato, Prolemy, Abū Ma'ṣhar), on astrology, on the sacred books (Bible and Kurān), with particular reference to the stories of Nimrod, Moses and Aaron, Jacob, Esaú, Saul and Goliath, Solomon, on texts from India and the customs of the Sabians (ed. Beirut, iv, 283 ff.).

As for the proofs to be applied to each of the topics addressed, "the writings of the ancients and of the philosophers are full of them; it is impossible to exhaust the subject in a single book or in a single *rizāla*" (306). The definition given by these authors to *sihr* illustrates this difficulty. "*Sihr*", they write, "denotes, in Arabic, clear expression (biyān), elucidation (kaḍḏ) of the true meaning of things and the exploitation of this, rapidly and with precision. It also signifies the announcement of an event before it takes place, induction on the basis of astrological data, divination, zafrār and fa*li* [q.v.]. All of this is obtained by means of astrology...." Also involved here are transmutations of substances (*kalb al-am*), miracles, prestidigitation, vile smells, etc. (312-13). On "Magic among the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'", see Pierre Lory, in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, 14, 57-17.

Having shown the vast extent occupied by magic in the occult sciences, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' give the following definition of it. "It is everything which enters the intellect and everything which bewitches the soul, word or action, in the sense of amazement, attachment, inclination, submission, appreciation, obedience, acceptance" (314). The example which they give is quite illustrative of their manner of conceiving *sihr*: "The people of the Dāhlīyya said of those who followed the Messenger of God and adhered to Islam: Such a person has been converted to the religion of Muḥammad; the magic (sihr) of the latter has had this effect on him (ibid.; cf. al-Tirmīdī on sūra LIV; Ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 57, 82; Abū Dāwūd, Adab, 87). This is licit *sihr*, whereas that exercised by enemies of the prophets and sages, with the aim of abusing the credulity of simple people, is illicit *sihr*" (314/15).

On the basis of these classifications and these generalising definitions, it is possible to tabulate the numerous manifestations of *sihr* under three headings: black magic, theurgy and white or natural magic. Theurgy will be addressed under *talīm*, while white magic has been dealt with under *nīhānī*, *ruyga*, *simv*ā. This article will focus on black magic.

The essence of this magic, as stated by the author of *Lūṣūn al-ʿArab*, quoted above, is the recourse to demoniacal forces and the solicitation of their aid in the performance of the magical act. These forces are actually represented by the gods of paganism. In fact, *sihr* is the equivalent, in the Kurān, of *kfr*, infidelity (VI, 7; XI, 7; XXIV, 43; etc.). The message of Muḥammad is described as *sihr* by his Meccan adversaries, as had previously happened to the message of Moses (VII, 129; V, 110; X, 67; XXVII, 13; XXXVIII, 36; XX, 57, etc.). *Sihr* itself is of demoniacal origin: Ḥārij and Mārūt, two fallen angels, taught *sihr* to men: "They instructed nobody in their art without saying to him, 'We are a temptation! Beware lest you become an infidel!' People learned from them the means of sowing discord between man and woman—but they could not injure anyone without God's permission. Thus men learned that which was harmful to them and not that which could be advantageous to them; they knew that any person who had acquired this art was disinheritcd from any share in the future life. Such people had sold their souls cheaply!" (II, 102).

"*Ilim al-sihr* is often seen as equivalent to *ilm al-nīhān*. This results from the notion that the planets exert beneficial and baneful influences over the three domains of the created being. The author of "*Ghāyat al-bākīm*, Abū Maslama Muḥammad (not Abū 'l-Kāsim Maslama b. Ahmad) al-Maḏjrīṯ, who wrote between 443/1052 and 448/1056 (Sezgin, GA, iv, 298-8), taking inspiration from the Raḍd al-*il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' which Abu 'l-Kāsim Maslama b. Ahmad al-Maḏjrīṯ (cf. *kwa* 398/1007) had made known in
Andalusia, and from the Nabataean agriculture, apparently the work of Abu '1-Kasim al-ZahrawI (d. ca. 400/1009), author of a Mukhtasar Kitb al-Fildha (ms. Paris, 5774, fols. 152-86; Algiers, 1550, 2, fols. 154-80), writes: “Magic essentially comprises two parts: one theoretical and the other practical. The first consists in knowledge of the positions of the immobile heavenly bodies (which is where, in fact, the forms are located), the modalities of their radiation on the planets and, finally, aspects of conjunctions of the celestial spheres at the precise moment that the successful outcome of a project is desired. Under this heading, the ancients placed everything having to do with dis- cernment of the beneficial and of the baneful [see urayya’i and with theurgy [see tilasim]). As for practical magic, it consists in the knowledge of the three domains of the created being (al-muwalladat al-thalidh) and of the qualities of the planets which would be disseminated there. This is what is expressed by the term khwaeds” [q.v.].

Ibn Khaldun, who knew well the Ghaya and the Nabataean agriculture, underlines the astral connections of magic and its claims to inflect “the celestial spheres, the planets, the worlds above and the demons, by various types of veneration, adoration, submission and self-abasement” (iii, 127, tr. de Slane, iii, 176, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 159). On the concept of sbr in Ghaya al-hakim, see Fahd, in vol. i of Ciencias de la Naturalia en Al-Andalus, Granada 1990, 11-21, entitled Sciences naturelles et magie dans Ghaya al-hakim du Pseudo-Maynti.

Considering the hostility of the Kur’an and of Hadith with regard to sbr, one can only be astonished at the development experienced by the Hellenic conception of magic in the lands of Islam.

While sbr (mentioned 23 times in the Kur’an) is not explicitly denounced there, being seen rather as an enchantment exerted over spirits, as a falsehood, as possession by a djinn, it is clearly abjured in Hadith, where it is mentioned more than 29 times (see Concluence). The following hadith may serve as examples: “Kill every sbr ... and sbrna” (Ibn Hanbal, i, 190, 191); “The punishment (haddt) of the sbr (as decapitation) by the sword” (al-Tirmidhi, Hadud, 27); “Among the seven sins which merit death” (al-mubikdt) are “the attribution of a partner to God (dhibk) and sbr” (Muslim, Imn, 144; al-Bukhri, Wasyya, 23, Tibb, 48, Hadud, 44).

The attitude of the Kur’an is explained by its angelology and its demonology: the angels, charged with guiding men towards God, make use of physical beings belonging to the three domains, capable of acting on the spirit of men. Such is the case with the staff of Moses which becomes a serpent before Pharaoh (Kur’an, XX, 18-24); it is also the case with the demons in the service of King Solomon (II, 96). Having refused to bow down before Adam (XXV, 26-34) Iblis was expelled from Paradise with those who had followed him. Then the angels divided into two groups, the loyal and the rebellious. The former guide men towards God; the latter, opponents of men, seek to estrange them from Him by means of seduction (sbr). The procedures of this seduction constitute the bulk of magical practices (on this subject, see Fahd, in vol. viii of Sources orientales, entitled Anges, demons et djimms en Islam, Paris 1971, 155-214, Ital. tr. Rome 1994, 131-78).

It follows from this principle that magic represents the débris of a celestial knowledge, transmitted to mankind by fallen angels such as Harut and Marut in Babylon (Kur’an, II, 96). The djinn, inferior spirits, acquire their knowledge by eavesdropping at the portals of Heaven, whence the custodians of these portals chase them away, pelting them with shooting stars (XXXVII, 6-10). The fallen angels married the daughters of men and begat children with them; they taught them sorcery, enchantments and the properties of roots and of trees” (cf. Book of Enoch, VII, 1 ff., inspired by Gen. vi). Others taught men “the art of resolving spells”, “signs” (dydt), “the art of observing the stars” and “the movements of the Moon” (Kur’an, VIII, 3-8). Against men and their informants, “the Lord has decided in his justice that all the inhabitants of the earth shall perish [in the Flood], because they have in their hands the hostile power of the demons, the power of magic” (LXVI, 6) and furthermore: “They have discovered secrets which they had no right to know; this is why they shall be judged” (LXIV, 10). See Fahd, in Sciences occultes et Islam, 37-8, whence this summary is taken.

It is on this angelological and demonological conception that the approach to sbr in Islam is based. On the one hand, there are the miracles (dydt) performed by the prophets and associated by the unbelievers and the feeble-minded with magic (the staff of Moses, mentioned above, the four birds cut into pieces and placed on the mountains by Abraham and returning to him (Kur’an, II, 262), the wind and the demons obeying the orders of Solomon (XXI, 81-2; XXXIV, 11-13), the birth of Yahya (John the Baptist) to a very old father and a sterile woman (III, 33-6), and the bird which Is (Jesus) formed out of mud, breathing life into it (V, 109-110).

On the other hand, there is sorcery (sbr) which, in the eyes of the Prophet, is one of the greatest sins of mankind (al-Bukhari, lv, 23, bxxvi, 47). He himself had been bewitched by a Jew (iedem, Tibb, 47, Bad al-klkh, 11, Dzyla, 14; al-Nasa’T, Tahrij, 20). This took place at the end of the year 6/628 and lasted forty days. He learned of what had happened from two beings in human form who were conversing by his bed. He went to the well where a lock of his hair, taken from a comb, had been deposited, retrieved it and was cured (Mulsim, ii, 275).

Thus Hadith, supplementing the Kur’an, condemns the sbr to death, whereas what emanates from Kur’anic verses is rather a denunciation of those who allow themselves to be bewitched by the sbrna, agents of fallen angels, who are reckoned to put men to the test, as in the case of Satan with Job (see in this connection the term jina in the Kur’an, in particular XXII, 52-9).

Reflection on the part of the fakah acute resulted in the separation of permitted from prohibited magic. What is permitted is natural magic, such as “white”, including, among other elements, charms [see rubya; nraad; smya]; imaginary phenomena produced by natural means, on the basis of properties [see krwa]; having no connection with religion; psychic phenomena materialised by the use of philtres and amulets (aaita in); activated by means of absorption or fumigation of heterocletic powders and fats; etc. (see the classifications set out above).

The practice of this magic is tolerated insofar as it causes no harm to others. But when the magician influences nature with the object of doing harm, he is exercising prohibited magic. This, as was stated at the outset, implies recourse to demoniacal inspiration (black magic) and to the invocation of the planets (theurgy).

It is by awareness of the causal mechanism which rules nature and by penetrating the affinities which bind mankind and the cosmos closely together that
the magician attempts to influence the course of natural events, harnessing the forces emanating from the causality and relativity which he establishes between beings. This is why the magician’s art is no business for amateurs; an innate predisposition, rich and multifarious knowledge, and consummate skill in handling composition, conjunction, mixture and combinations, are indispensable.

To attain his objective, the magician sets in motion two procedures aimed at constraining higher forces to place their efficacy at his disposal:

1. Demoniacal conjuration, known as 'īm al-‘azāʾīr, “the science of the formulas of conjuration”, which is, according to Ḥaḍḍūl al-Dānī, w. 2057, an imperative stern and insistent language, by which djinn and demons are commanded to put a scheme into effect. Each time that the magician pronounces the formula “I adjure you” (a‘zānīt u‘lāykaum) he claims “to obligate them to obey, to respond to the summons without delay, to submit and to humble themselves before him”. And the author adds, “This is possible and permissible, according to reason and to the Law …, since subjecting and binding the spirit, humbling him before God and rendering him submissive to men, is one of the marvels of Creation”. This conjuration becomes illicit when it consists in directing the spirit towards an object which is not God, and consequently, in being disloyal to Him. Such an attitude is aggravated by the depraved conduct of the magician and the harm caused by it to other beings. Hence the question which was the object of controversy between jurists, “Is the death penalty, inflicted on a magician, the consequence of the disloyalty which precedes the act, or is it rather the consequence of the depraved conduct in which he has indulged and the harm caused by it to other beings?” (Ḥaḍḍūlīn, Mukaddima, iii, 127 tr. de Slane, iii, 176, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 159).

The opinion which has prevailed in Islam, after centuries of theological and judicial cogitation, is that of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who gave Islamic theology its definitive formulation. For him, magic is based on the combined knowledge of the properties of certain terrestrial elements and of propitious astral dispositions. This knowledge is not culpable in itself, but its only practical application is to harm others and make mischief (ḥiyāt ‘ulām al-dīn i, 49-50).

Another question demanded clarification. What is the difference between magic and miracle, meaning those karāmāt attributed to the Šūfīs which border on black magic, such as, e.g., making the words of the dead heard, walking on water, transforming substances, practising ubiquity, making inanimate objects talk, altering the passage of time, having prayers answered, binding and releasing tongues, winning support in a hostile assembly, communicating certain secret knowledge and unwrapping mysteries, disposing of things which one does not possess, distant vision, intimidating people by looks alone, being spared an evil contrived by another and turning it into something good, immunity from poison, epidemics, fire, etc. (cf. al-Suhkī, Tābātāt al-ṣūfiyya, Cairo 1224/1906, i, 2, 59-77; I. Golezihār, La divination arabe, in RHR, ii [1880], 336-7).

Ḥaḍḍūlīn replies to this question as follows: “The difference between miracle and magic resides in the fact that the miracle is [the effect of] a divine force which confers upon the soul [the power to exert] influence [over beings]. Thus [the thaumaturge] is supported, in his action, by the Spirit of God, while the magician realises his project through his own resources, through his own psychic force and sometimes with the assistance of demons. Therefore, the difference which separates them is simultaneously an issue of concept, reality and essence” (iii, 133-4, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 166-7).

2. The evocation of spirits, whether those of the dead (necromancy), those of less demons or those of planets.

(a) Necromancy belongs rather to the realm of divination (cf. Fahl, La divination arabe, Paris 1987, 174 ff.) but in terms of technique, it is allied to black magic, to the same degree as are the other two types of evocation. It consists of two phases. The first, of a material nature, comprises the preparation of a mixture of various products drawn from a special pharmacopoeia, and all kinds of fumigations; the second, of an intellectual nature, consists of the composition, in the form of an invocation, of a prayer mentioning all the qualities and all the attributes of the spirit invoked, and formulating all the pleas with which compliance is requested.

(b) The evocation of demons is accomplished with the aid of incantations (cf. above, no. 1). Three terms denote three procedures of spiritism: istiḥkām (making a spirit do a certain thing), istinzal (making a spirit descend in the form of an endowment) and istiḥdār (making a spirit descend into a body).

(c) The invocation of the spirits of planets is described at length by al-Maḏjrītī (Ghānya, 182-6). It consists in drawing to oneself the spirituality (rūḥāt nāṣīḵ) of the planets. For this to be done, the nature of each one of them must be known: its colour, its taste, its odour; then it is necessary to observe the moment when this planet reaches the point corresponding to it in the zodiacal sphere, in a straight line which does not cross a line from another planet of different nature. If this is so, the line starting from this planet and terminating on the earth will be straight and unbroken. Subsequently, a cross is made from the same mineral as that associated with the planet invoked, and placed on an image representing the request that is to make of the spirit invoked (see the detailed description of the manner in which this image is used, according to the result which is sought, in Fahl, in Sources orientales, vii, 170-1).

Al-Maḏjrītī concludes (ibid., 85) that it is a perfect nature which fulfills in man the condition of his accession to the world of the spirits; his progressive assimilation to the forces which he conjures, evokes or invokes, contributes to the efficacy of his action and to the success of his enterprise. Spiritual beings (al-rūḥāt nāṣīḵ) appear to him then as personalities, speak to him and give him all kinds of information.

From the simple bewitchment of the Prophet, using a lock of his hair, to the invocation of the spirits of planets, a long road has been travelled. Along the way Islam, the heir to the ancient civilizations, whether they be Semitic, Iranian or Hellenistic, has incorporated in its rich patrimony ideas, customs and practices which developed and intermingled throughout the vast area of the Near and the Middle East.

From pre-Islamic Arabia, the inheritance is scanty: incantations against “the evil (arising) from those who breathe on the knots” (al-naṣāfīti fī ṭ-ṣukūl), a practice analogous to that known as “tying the aglet”, designed to keep husbands and wives apart (Kūrān, CIXII, 4). According to the commentators, this usage was the inspiration for the revelation of the three earliest stūras of the Kūrān (CIXII, CIXIII, CIXIV), the last two being called al-mu‘āwilatul ṭābilāt (q.v.).

In writings initiated al-Tībī al-nabawi and al-Tībī fī ‘Kūrān, numerous examples illustrate the use of incantations and charms by the Prophet and his
contemporaries (see Sources orientales, iv, 195-6, notes 63 ff.). Al-Bukharl, Tibb, 53, devotes a bāb entitled al-dawā ' bi l-tadāwī li l-sīhr to the use of date-pulp as a remedy against enchantment (see H. Reinfried, Brauche bei Zaubern und Wunder bei Bukhārī, diss. Freiburg, i. Br., Karlsruhe 1915; cf. also Goldziher, Chatham al-Bukhārī, in Isl., vi [1916], 214).

Originating in this popular witchcraft, which serves, furthermore, as a motif in the poetry of the court, magic takes a new turn with the translation of Greek magical works. Michael of Syria, ed. Chabot, 478b, 30, relates that the Byzantine emperor Leo IV, the Khazar, 757-80, sent as a gift to the Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī (158-89/775-85) the book by Iinas and Imbras dealing with the secrets of Egyptian magic. From this period onward there is a proliferation of magical works attributed to Indians, Copts, Nabataeans, Sabians, etc. A work of Hellenistic magic produced a synthesis of the concepts linking magic with astrology, namely Ghāvat al-hakīm by al-Majdūrī, utilised previously and translated into Latin under the title of Picatrix. It played an important role in the development of magic in the West (ed. J. Crone, in Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 13, Leipzig 1933; Ger. tr. H. Ritter, Brauche bei Dauber und Wunder bei Bukhdān, Sources orientales, vi [1916], 214).

Since the translation of Greek magical works attributed to Indians, Copts, Nabataeans, and the Arabs, the magus in Islam has experienced prodigious development. A very substantial magical library has been constituted, to which a competent scholar has yet to devote the study which it deserves. Particular attention should be given to the Ikhwan al-Safā, a synthesis of magical lore in Islam, which has appeared in three editions: lengthy, medium and short. The first was edited in Cairo in 4 vols. in 1909; many lithographs and a vast number of manuscripts exist. It may be noted that Pierre Lory has taken an interest in this; see his La magie des lettres dans le Shams al-Madīrī de l'ilm al-talāsim wa l-sīhr wa l-mundjūt wa l-nuajum, in Genèse de la Naturelaza en Al-Andalus, ed. E. Garcia Sanchez, i, Granada 1990, 11-21. For Ibn al-Nadīm, the Ikhwan al-Safā and the Ikhwanī, see refs. in the text. Particular attention should be given to Shams al-maṣāʾīf by Ibn-Būnī, a synthesis of magical lore in Islam, which has appeared in three editions: lengthy, medium and short. The first was edited in Cairo in 4 vols. in 1909; many lithographs and a vast number of manuscripts exist. It may be noted that Pierre Lory has taken an interest in this; see his La magie des lettres dans le Shams al-Madīrī de l'ilm al-talāsim wa l-sīhr wa l-mundjūt wa l-nuajum, also known by the title al-Sīr al-Makhtūm fi mukātibat al-nuajum and lithographed in Cairo; numerous ms. of it exist, the one consulted here being Nurussamīyeh 2792 (220 fols., 28 x 19 cm, fine naskh, where the illustrations are lacking, their place having been left blank; the ms. Koprulū 925 (100 fols., naskh, 25 x 17 cm) specifies that the work is by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and not by Fakhr al-Dīn.


SHIHYAWN, the Arabic name of Biblical Siyyôn. The etymology of the Hebrew word ṣyyôn (Siyyon) is uncertain. It may be related to a Semitic root "to be dry", "to suffer from thirst". But it is not entirely impossible that the root may be related to the Arabic root y-ar-n, also appearing in Ge'ez, meaning "to guard", "to preserve". In the works of the Arab lexicographers, the word has the nominal formal of Siyyon meaning Jerusalem or Byzantium. The word possibly appears in this sense already in a verse of al-'Asha Maymūn (d. after 625). This form, Siyyūn, is most probably derived from an Aramaic dialect which pronounced the word as in Syriac syāyūn. Siyyūn, David's Citadel and his traditional burial place, extended over southeastern Jerusalem, below the Temple Mount. By Josephus' time it was identified with the upper city, the southwestern hill of Jerusalem, including the sites presently identified with Mount Zion. The early Christians located the Biblical Mount Zion in the southwestern hill of Jerusalem not only following Josephus's mistaken identification, but also because early scenes and events of the Christian church sanctified this hill.

I. The Church of Zion.

The existence of a modest church on Mount Zion is first noted by Cyril of Jerusalem, around the year A.D. 348. In the days of Bishop John II (386-417), the Zion church was rebuilt becoming one of the largest and important churches in Jerusalem. Also, the tradition of Zion as the site of the Last Supper, the place where Mary fell asleep and where the Holy Spirit descended upon the disciples on the Pentecost, became established from the end of the 4th to the middle of the 5th century. During the Persian conquest (A.D. 614), the church was burned down, probably leaving its interior looted and despoiled. Modestus, Acting Patriarch of Jerusalem, rebuilt the church from its ruins.

Mount Zion and the Zion church are noted in
early Arabic texts from the beginning of the Arab conquest and onward. Prior to the 10th century, the word Sihyawn (Sahyun?) is rare and refers to Jerusalem as a whole or an area in Jerusalem. Noteworthy is a rare tradition identifying Sihyawn as Mecca, possibly an attempt of an early tendency to enhance the holiness of Mecca by attributing to it holy merits of Biblical places and persons (al-Sira al-Halabiyya, i, 296; Ibn al-Djawz, Waga', i, 69).

The Muslim conquest of Jerusalem (638) did not result in the immediate destruction of churches and monasteries, but many fell into abandonment and ruin. The Byzantine church of Solomon, which the Christians built in Palestine at the beginning of the 10th century bypassed Jerusalem. However, in 966 the Church of Zion was burned and pillaged with the direct encouragement of the Ikshidid governor of Jerusalem, Muhammad b. Isma'il al-Sanadjî. At the beginning of the 11th century, Mount Zion and the Church of Zion were evidently outside the city walls. In the framework of the wall-building activity, by order of the Fatimid caliph al-Zâhir in 424/1033, the workers used stones of the many churches outside the city, including those of the Church of Zion, which was apparently destroyed.

2. The Crusader and Ayyûbid period.

On the Frankish capture of Jerusalem, the church and most of the sites on Mount Zion were handed over to the Latin Church. Presumably it was reconstructed a short time after the conquest on the site where the Holy Church of Zion previously stood. It was already noted by Christian pilgrims in the first decade of the 12th century; the building was evidently completed in 1141. The church was built in the cellular vaulted Latin fashion; it included the Cenacle, in the southwestern corner of the central hall, and under it, the room in which David's Tomb was identified.

David died in the City of David, which extended southeastward to the Temple Mount. Despite this, the ancient Christians located David's Tomb in Bethlehem or its close vicinity, an identification that prevailed for the entire Byzantine period, up to the 7th century. An early Muslim tradition locates David and Solomon's tombs in the Church of Gethsemane (Kanisat al-Dirasâmiyya, Siht Ibn al-Djawz, Mir'at al-ramaîn, ed. Ihsân 'Abîs, Beirut 1983, i, 492, 523; Muqirî al-Dîn, ed. Nadjaf, i, 116, from Waabh b. al-Munabbih; al-Mas'ûdî, Mu'allaqât, i, 111).

The first Christian source that mentions explicitly David's Tomb on Mount Zion is dated slightly before the 11th century. The source of this tradition is apparently in memorial services for David and James, Jesus's brother, found in the liturgies conducted in this church on the 25th of December and later, on the 26th, already in the Byzantine period, and not in the later Muslim tradition that was influenced by Jewish sources. The ancient structure that has been identified as David's Tomb from the Crusader period to the present day was not a part of the Byzantine Church of Zion. Muslim writers and geographers of the 10th century, indeed, connect David with Mount Zion; however, they do not locate his grave on the mountain and certainly not in the church on it. The testimony of al-Mu'addadî, 46 (most probably from the mid-10th century), that "people of the book say that David's Tomb is in Sihyawn" is not unequivocal evidence that the tomb is located on Mount Zion and certainly not in its church; this may possibly refer to the Biblical identification of Zion.

Nonetheless, it is apparent that the tradition claiming that David's Tomb is in the Church of Zion was already established at the beginning of the 11th century (Ibn al-Muradjdî, 297, no. 368; but cf. al-Thalâbî, Buluk 1320, i, 240, who locates it on Mount Zion, and not in the Church). In spite of its dubious origin, it was accepted by all three religions. The tradition claiming that David's tomb is in the Church of Zion also appears from the beginning of Crusader rule, and was noted often by the Christian pilgrims who visited Jerusalem in later centuries. Al-Harawî (1174) notes the tradition of David's tomb on Mount Zion, but is also familiar with other traditions regarding the site of the tomb.

When Salah al-Dîn approached Jerusalem (1187), the Christian churches outside Jerusalem, including the church of St. Maria of Mount Zion, were destroyed or seized. During the time of his stay in Jerusalem, Salah al-Dîn's brother, al-Malik al-Âdî, lived in the Zion church, while his soldiers set up their tents in front of the church. Salah al-Dîn built up and renovated the walls of Jerusalem (1192), which were extended to include Mount Zion and the church on it. Al-Mu'azamât 'îsâ began restoration in Jerusalem and on its walls in 1202-3, yet in 1219 he ordered the walls to be destroyed. The targeted area also included Mount Zion and apparently also the church on it. It does not seem that, prior to leaving Jerusalem in 1229, Frederick II took on the task of building and fortifying the walls of the city and its bastions. Mount Zion was never walled again. On Crusader maps of the 12th to 14th centuries, it appears outside the wall.

The church suffered destruction by the Khazarazian troops that reached Jerusalem in 1244, and at the end of the 13th century it was described as desolate and in ruins.

3. The Mamlûk period.

In 1333 King Robert of Naples and his wife bought the place and gave it to the Franciscans, who restored the Cenacle and built a small monastery around the room to the south of it.

In decrees and documents from the Mamlûk period, the church is termed Kanisat Sahyun, Kanisat 'Ulliyat Sahyun or Kanisat Dayr Sahyun, and the monastery: Dayr Kanisat Sahyun or Dayr Sahyun. At the beginning of the reign of each new sultan, the Franciscan monks requested a royal decree confirming their rights on Mount Zion to the church, the monastery and other sacred constructions. The last decree in hand is Kâthibîyâ's, from 8 Din 'l-Ka'da 876/17 April 1472, in which he renewes the decree of the preceding rulers of Egypt. Among the 28 documents from the Mamlûk period that Riciani published, eight are royal decrees, extending from the rule of al-Âshraf Shâ'bân up to the 14th year of Kâthibîyâ's rule. Often these decrees respond to letters of complaint from Jerusalem Christians in general, and from monks from Mount Zion, on the violation of rights and requests to repair parts of the holy constructions that were ruined.

In the 15th century several attempts were made by the Muslim rulers to take control of David's tomb and to expropriate it from the Franciscans. The Jewish community in Jerusalem took an active part in these efforts. In 1428 the Muslims took control of the place and took it out of the hands of the Christians. In 1430 the Franciscans were allowed to enter the place, but the arrangements for prayer services depended on the good will of the régime and of the guards at the place. In 1448 David's Tomb and the Upper room were evidently returned to the Christians; but in 1452 the place was taken out of their hands permanently, a kibla was built in it and a supervisor was appointed.
to oversee the hall of David's Tomb. From this time on, Christians were forbidden to enter the premises. In 1436 the upper room was renovated and renewed from one of the documents (11 Dumbad 311 814/1 10 November 1437, Barsbay's reign), ten years later the Upper Room, which is called 'Ulliyat Sahiyin, is found on the roof of the monastery, most of whose vaulted roof and walls was destroyed. The chapel remained desolate until 1452, when it was completely destroyed by the Muslims. The Ottomans returned David's Tomb and the church of the Cenacle to the monks in 1519. In 1523 an order was given to banish the monks from the monastery and the Cenacle church and to turn the place into a mosque. In 1524 the hall was destroyed, the Cenacle church became a mosque and a mahrab was erected in it. The inscription on the eastern wall of the Cenacle commemorates this transformation to a mosque, which since then, together with David's Tomb, is known as Masdjid Nabi Dawud.

4. The Ottoman period.

In the course of 25 years, step by step the Franciscans inserted themselves into the buildings they held on Mount Zion, all while suffering confiscation of property, fines and imprisonment from the hard hand of the Ottoman régime. Already in 1549 the sultan endowed the Cenacle monastery and adjacent gardens to the Shaykh Abjad al-Dajjani, his offspring and his dervish followers. They were permanently removed from the monastery between 1551 and 1552. From that time the monks were not permitted to enter the Cenacle or the place identified as David's Tomb.

The Franciscans were first allowed to pray again in the Cenacle during the period of Egyptian rule (1831-40), but only twice a year. At the end of the 19th century, the guards permitted the Christians to enter against payment. During the British Mandate, the Jews were allowed to pray at David's tomb once a year.

At the end of World War I, within the framework of its endeavours to gain a sphere of influence in Palestine, the Italian government attempted to lay claim to the Cenacle on Mount Zion and to transfer it to its authority, on the basis that the Italian king was the heir of the Neapolitan kings who pur chased it. These efforts, accompanied by the intervention of the Vatican, continued until 1933, but came to naught. In 1936 the Franciscans returned to Mount Zion and settled in a small monastery north of David's tomb.

Today the Cenacle is identified in the second floor of the ancient structure that was part of the Crusader church. It is a long room built in the Gothic style of the 12th century. A cenotaph in honour of David has been erected in it. The inscription on the eastern wall of the Cenacle commemorates this transformation to a mosque, which since then, together with David's Tomb, is known as Masdjid Nabi Dawud.

4. The Church of Zion, the Coenaculum, David's Tomb, the Franciscans on Mount Zion.

An extensive bibliogr. (excluding items in the Documenti e firmani, Serie chronologica dei reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Sancia, Jerusalem 1898; idem, Bibliotheca biblica bibliotheca della Terra Santa e dell'Ortento Francescano, Florence 1927, iv (1333-1450), v (1346-1400); P.E. Castellani, Catalogo dei firmanni ed atti documenti legali emanati in lingua araba e turca concernenti i santuari dei pellegrini e dei cristiani della Custodia di Terra Sancia conservati nell'Archivio della stessa Custodia in Gerusalemme, Jerusalem 1922; N. Riciani, Documenti e firmanni, Jerusalem 1931; Abjad Darradj, Watfa'ik dayr Sahiyin bi 'l-Kuds al-Sharif, Cairo 1968, I. Shur, Jerusalem in pilgrims and traveller's accounts. A thematic bibliogr. of Western Christian itineraries 1300-1917, Jerusalem 1980, 40-1 (Mount of Zion), 41-3 (Tomb of David); M. van Berchem, CTA, Synne du Sud, i, Jerusalem, 1922, 929, 410.


4. The Church of Zion, the Coenaculum, David's Tomb, the Franciscans on Mount Zion.

An extensive bibl. (excluding items in the Arabic language) is to be found in K. Bieberstein and H. Bloodhorn (eds.), Jerusalem, Grundziege der Baugeschichte vom Chalchibiblon bis zur Früheit der osmanischen Herrschaft (Bethefe zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orants, Reihe B. 100/1-3), Wiesbaden 1994, ii, 118-27, 163-5. (A. Elad)
The Turkish town of Siirt, now the chef-lieu of an il or province of the same name.

1. History.
(a) The pre-Ottoman period. Si‘îrîd is mentioned very little in early Islamic sources; the absence of fortifications apparently made it of little strategic or military value. Some authorities accounted it as administratively within Armenia, others as within al-Djazîra. Si‘îrîd (Syriac, Se‘îrîd) was, however, a notable centre for Eastern Christianity, and al-Shabbûthî (3rd/9th century [q.v.]) mentions there the monastery of Awa î (Syr. “ancorite” = Ar. ḥabīb) which had 400 monks in their cells. A. El-Dm Muhammad al-Is‘îrdî (d. 656/1258 [q.v.]) mentions in his History of Hisn Kayfa; but we cannot have revived, since Hamd Allah Mustawfî, Eine 205, tr. 104, describes it as a rich town, famed

(b) The Ottoman and modern periods. For a short time, the Sa’âdî Shâh Ismâ’îl I held Siirt; but after the latter’s defeat at Câlîdrîn, a surviving descendant of the Ayyûbid lords, by the name of Mâlîk Khâlîf, submitted to the Ottomans. Under the suzerainty of the Il Kânîds and their successors the Djâlîyîrîds, Si‘îrîd was ruled by the local Ayyûbid line of Hîn Kâfû and A çîd until in ca. 866/1462 the A ç Köyûnlu Uzûn Hasan [q.v.] ended this petty dynasty.

They do not seem to have been any ‘alamûd’ of note from Si‘îrîd, but it did produce a poet in Nûr al-Dîn Muhammad al-‘îrdî (d. 566/1258 [q.v. in Suppl.]), author of poems in praise of hashish-eating and wine-drinking (see F. Rosenthal, The herb, hashish versus medieval Muslim society, Leiden 1971, 6, 163-6 and index).

Bibliography. See also Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 114; Marquart, Südarmenien und die Türkenwelter nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen, Vienna 1930, 341; Canard, H’amandîses, 85-6; Elî art. Se‘îrîd (J.H. Kramers). (C.E. Bosworth)

2. Description.

In the 11th/17th century, Ewliyâ Celebi enumerated Siirt as an “Ottoman” sandjak of Diyarbekir; by this term he meant that the sandjak was not governed by a local Kurdish family of hereditary governors but formed part of the regular administrative structure. The kâdis of the governor of Siirt supposedly produced 223,772 aktses a year. In 1080-1/1670-1, the accounts of the Diyarbekir governor Wezîr Silâhîdar Hâdîddî ‘Omer Pasha showed Siirt once again as a kadi. The pasha collected a small sum as ordu pazâr akâlî, dues presumably in connection with the obligation of the local craftsmen to furnish services to the army. Probably the campaign referred to here was directed against Bedouins; for a few lines later in the text, the misâelcîm of Siirt was excused from participation in just this campaign. Moreover, the kâdi of Siirt owed 350 ghurush as dues from vineyards, fabrics and firewood. These dues make it appear likely that Siirt, famous for its vineyards in the early 13th/19th century, and to some extent, down to the present day, already possessed them in the later 11th/17th century. As to the fabrics, they may correspond to the cotton, both white and striped, which Macdonald Kinneir observed in the area in the early 19th century, or to the calico from Bitlîs which the Christians of early 19th century Siirt used to dye. This same traveller estimated the population of Siirt as numbering about 3,000; in addition to the Muslims, there were some Armenian, Chaldaean and Nestorian Christians. At that time, Siirt was ruled by a personage which the traveller describes as a “chief”, but does not name; he controlled the harvested crops of the area, which he then passed out to his followers.

Many houses in the town, built of a locally manufactured gypsum, known as āqas, possessed some arrangements for defence. Houses of this type, with domes and vaults to minimise the need for wood, are still to be found in the older quarters of the 20th-century town; however, due to the fragility of the material, the buildings must be reconstructed about once in twenty-five years. At the time of Macdonald Kinneir’s visit, there were three mosques and a medrese. This total should have included the Ulu Djamî, probably a Seldjûk structure whose wooden minbar has been preserved in the Ankara Museum of Ethnography, and the Čarsi Djamî, going back to Artukid times.

In the summer of 1838, von Molke reported that three years before his visit, Siirt had been conquered by Reshd Pasha [q.v.]. At that time, the authorities counted 600 Muslim and 200 Christian households; but due to excessive and constantly renewed demands for recruits, the Muslim population had subsequently been reduced to 400 households. When von Molke visited Siirt, only boys and old men were visible on the streets.

When Cuinet collected his information in ca. 1890, Siirt had been transferred from the wilâyet of Diyarbekir to that of Bitlis. He thought that the town contained about 3,000 houses inhabited by 15,000 people. Among these, almost two-thirds were Muslims, while apart from the Christian churches which had been present in the town at the beginning of the 13th/19th century, there were now Protestant Armenians and Catholic Chaldaeans, whose schools were run by American missionaries and French Dominicans respectively. The number of mosques had now increased to five, one of which possessed two minarets which Cuinet considered to be of great antiquity. He also refers to an ancient fortress, complete with towers, crenellations and moat, where in the past Kurdish aghazar had resided. These must have been the personages whom
Macdonald Kinneir had compared to mediaeval Scot-
tish earls, but who had probably disappeared as a re-
result of the repressive campaigns of Sultan Mahmud II.

Under the Republic, Siirt remained a remote lit-
tle town, although the oil pipeline by 1932 reached
Kurtalan, 32 km/20 miles away, and Siirt was pro-
ounced to be a regional centre. According to the 1927
census, it had 14,380 inhabitants; increase was slow up
to the 1970s, but in 1980 there were over 42,000
people. The building of local roads in the 1950s added
yards, and oil was found in the Kurtalan region, with
up to the 1970s, but in 1980 there were over 42,000
people. The building of local roads in the 1950s added
yards, and oil was found in the Kurtalan region, with
up to the 1970s, but in 1980 there were over 42,000
people.

Bibliography: J. Macdonald Kinneir, Journey
through Asia Minor, Armenta and Koordistan in the years
1813 and 1814, London 1818, 408-11; D. Shiel, Note on a place in the Koordistan, in
JRC, viii (1838), 76-7; W.F. Ainsworth, Travels and researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldaea and
Armenia, London 1842, ii, 357-60; H. von Molte, Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus
den Jahren 1835 bis 1839, Berlin 1876, 280; V. Cuinet, La Turquie d'Ase, ii, Paris 1892, 596-605; Shems
al-Din Sami, Kâmil al-Türk, 2574-6; Nejat Göyünç,
Diyarbakr beyiberbeylinin ilk idari taksimine, in Tarih
Dergisi, xxri (1969), 33; Figen Hüt, Osmanlı
kudar Anadolu Türk köpürden, Ankara 1978, 149-54;
I. Metin Kunt, Bir Osmanlı valisiinin yillik gelir-gideri,
Diyarbakı, 1670-71, Istanbul 1981, 75-6; M. van
Bruinessen and H. Boeckhoven (eds.), Elyâa Çelebi in
Diyarbekir, Leiden 1988, 121-5; IA, art. Sirt (Besim
Darkôt); Türt Anıkoledesis, ix, 666-6745 (by several
authors, extensive bibliography). (Soraya Faroqi)

2. Arabic dialect.

The Arabic dialect of Si'îrd and the closely-related
dialects of six neighbouring villages constitute a sub-
group of the Anatolian branch of the Mesopotamian
gûlû dialects [see 'ãrâk. iv. Languages [a] Arabic dia-
lects]; they form a linguistic island in the Kurdish
language area.

A unique feature of the Si'îrd subgroup is the reg-
ular shift of the interdental fricatives ð, ɹ and (the latter resulting from the merger of O[I]'I[A]rabic] ðð and ɹ/or) to the labio-dental fricatives ɾ and (baʃ/ "he sent", "he is good", cf. Mardîn
(âræ)h, paruh "the heat", pârən "noon"). OA q has been preserved as a voiceless uvular stop
but alternates under undefined conditions with a glot-
tal stop or even zero, thus qal ~ ðal ~ ð "he said";
in a few lexical items OA ʕ can appear as q (qary
"earth"). The voiced pharyngeal fricative (devoiced is a word finally (ytal'â < ytal'â) "he looks", cf. ytal'â
"they look"); word final ʕ in turn is pronounced rather
weak and can be dropped altogether (ytal'â "he looks", yrâ "he goes" but yrâ "they go"); ã has been elided in the demonstratives: ârâ "this (m.)", ânti "this
(f.)", âte æše these). The vowel system comprises five
long vowels (ï, ù, â, ø, ø), all while preserving OA
diphthongs ay and æw. As in all Anatolian gûlû dialects,
OA i and u have been merged into (bani "daugh-
ter"), ætææ "sister"); in unstressed word final -C the
vowel has the allophones æ and ø depending on front
or back consonant environment (yxallos "he lives", yonsâl "the weaves").

Arabic verbs stems II, III, V, VI and X have a
single inflectional base for perfect and imperfect show-
ing (v/ð) in the last syllable (yallos/ytallos "to free",
âllem/ytâllem "to teach", tâllem/ytâllem "to learn",
štumyor/ytštumopar "to wait"). The 1. person sing. per-
fect ends in -tu, a hallmark of the qûlû dialects (tâllem
"he learned", şuštumâr "I waited"). In the imperfect,
final -t has been dropped in the 2. f. sing. and 2.
and 3. pers. pl., but stress has been retained on the
final vowel (yrâhâ "they go"), cf. Mârdîn yrâhîn. The
characteristic copula of Anatolian gûlû dialects is found
also in Si'îrd Arabic but precedes the predicate rather
than following it (âwâ nadî "he is good", cf. Mârdîn
maltî-/a.

Bibliography: The only treatment so far is to
be found in O. Jastrow, Die mesopotamisch-arabischen
gûlû-Dialekte, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1978-81, esp. ii,
217-307. (O. JASTROW)

SIKANDAR [see ISKANDAR.

SIKANDAR b. KUTB al-DR Hindâl, called BUT-
SHIKAN, sultan of Kashmîr (r. 791-813/1389-
1410), who derived his name of "idol breaker" from his
rigorous Muslim policies and draconian measures
against the local Hindus.

As a minor, he had his mother as regent until
759/1359 when, with the support of the Bayâkhi
Sayyidîs [q.v. in Suppl.], refugees who had fled before
Timûr [q.v.], he threw off this tutelage and became
the effective ruler, now having the âhâtha read in his
own name and minting coins. The campaigns of Timûr
brought a considerable number of immigrants into
India, and the most distinguished of these to reach
Kâshmîr in Sikandar's reign was Sayyid Muhammad
b. 'Ali Fadlî, who remained in Kâshmîr for twelve
years. The sultan lavished land-grants on him and
others, and built ikhânakâhs for Şâhîs. He also
embarked on a strongly Muslim policy of enforcing the
ghari'a, imposing the âliya on non-Muslims and
destroying Hindu temples. It was only after his death
and the succession of his son 'Ali Şâh that there was
a reversion to more Pacific and tolerant ways in
Kâshmîr.

Bibliography: Mohibbâbul Hasan, Kâshmîr under the
Sultans, Calcutta 1959; R.K. Parmu, in M. Habib
and K.A. Nizami (eds.), A comprehensive history of India
v. The Delhi Sultanate, New Delhi 1970, 745-50. See
also Kâshmîr. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SIKANDAR LÖDÎ [see LODTS.

SIKANDAR ŞÂH, Sultan of Bengal, son of
Ilyâş Şâh, the founder of the independent Sultanate in
Bengal that lasted nearly two centuries. During his
long rule (759-92/1358-90) Bengal enjoyed a steady
growth and prosperity. Soon after his enthronement,
Bengal was invaded by Fîrûz Şâh Tughluk, the mighty
Dilî Sultan. In order to avoid direct confrontation,
Sikandar Şâh retreated to Ekdala fort near his capi-
tal Pandû'â [q.v.] and finally reached a peaceful set-
tlement with Fîrûz Şâh. Except for two years of exile
in Sonârpa'on, the famous Câbir Şâhîk 'Ali' al-
Hâkî lived mostly in Pandû'â during his reign.

A great patron of architecture, Sikandar Şâh is
mostly remembered for Adîna Dâmî Masâqilî in
Pandû'â—a very imposing architectural expression of
his time in the Muslim world (see for it, Yolande
Crown, Reflections on the Adyna Mosque at Pandua,
in G. Micheli (ed.), The Islamic heritage of Bengal, UNESCO,
Paris 1984, 155-64). Epigraphic evidence suggests that
his rule once extended up to the present district of
Campanagar (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, Arabic and
Persian inscriptions of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal, Watertown,
Mass. 1992, 107-8). Sikandar Şâh died in a power
struggle with his son and heir-apparent Olyâhî al-
Dîn 'Azâm Şâh.

SIKANDARĀBĀD, SECUNDERABĀD [see HAYDARĀBĀD, a. City.]

SIKBĀDĪ (α), a vinegar- and flour-based meat stew or broth cooked with vegetables, fruits, spices and date-juice. It was apparently a popular ‘Abbāsīd dish but very likely considered simple folk’s food, as borne out by the many anecdotes that make satirical mention of it. Its origins, however, seem to have been royal, namely the Sāṣānīd court: Ibn Sāyār al-Warrākī (d. second half 4th/10th century) mentions, in his Kāl al-Ṭabīḥ, ed. K. ʿOmrānī and S. Mrouh, Helsinki 1987, 132, that Khusraw Anūshīrāwīn [q.v.] once asked several cooks to prepare the finest dish they knew and all independently cooked sīkbādī. (This perhaps explains the interest of certain ‘Abbāsīd caliphs in the dish.) It merits inclusion here for its interesting appearances in: (1) numerous 3rd/9th- and 4th/10th-century collections (e.g. al-Shāhīsūhī, al-Dīrāṣīt, ed. Aswād, Ṣaḍbīḥīd 1386/1966, 96; al-Ṣāḥīḥ, al-ʿAkhdhāl, al-Ḥabib, ed. al-Ḥadīrī, Cairo 1971, 24, 122, 288, 335; al-ʿAzīzī, al-Risālāt al-Baghdadīyya, ed. al-Ṣāḥīḥī, Beirut 1940-1980, 159, 167; al-Masʿūdī, Muṣāf, § 2905; (2) important adab collections of later centuries (e.g. Yāṭik, ʿUlāba, Cairo 1400/1980, xii, 102; al-ʿBaṣbīḥī, Muṣāṭṭah, Beirut 1988, i, 261); (3) two cookbooks, Ibn Sāyār, op. cit., 132-7, and Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Baghdadī, d. 637/1239, Kāl al-Ṭabīḥ, ed. al-Bāḥrī, Beirut 1964, 13-14; (4) ‘Abbāsīd proverbs (al-Ṭalakhānī, Risālāt al-Amathāl al-Baghdadīyya allati taghir bān al-ʿāmma (ṣūma’ah ēf sanat 421), ed. Massignon, Cairo n.d.); and (5) poetry—in one of Ibn al-Rāmī’s satires, for instance (Dīmān, ed. Naṣṣār, Cairo 1973, 1062), and also in some verses by al-Ḵalīfī the younger, who, according to an anecdote reported by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir [q.v.], was present one day when a certain Abū Ayyūd presented a pot of sīkbādī to Ibn Mukarram (Mukarram): Ibn al-Dīrāṣīt, al-Ḥarakiyat, ed. ʿAẓzām and Farrāḏī, Cairo 1953, 9).

Sīkbādī is an Arabicised word deriving from the Persian skūd, meaning “vinaigre”, and bādī (or bāḏī) meaning “type”, i.e. of meat; TA also suggests a derivation from sīrka (vinegar) and bāṭa (trotters) (Lane, I, 1389). In al-Ḵaḏrīb al-Baghdādī, al-Tāfīl wa l-ṭibāyītul al-rajāfīyīn, Damascus 1346/1927, 86-7, sīkbādī is described as most delicious with eggplant (al-bāḏgīnj). But, in keeping with the sarcasm that often accompanies the mention of sīkbādī, the gloss to the epic thematic proverb summat bākār, used to describe an arrogant man, reads “the cow’s anus is the best thing in sīkbādī” (al-Ṭalakhānī, op. cit., 18, no. 264). It is likely, therefore, that the opening line in a letter from Ibn Mukarram to the wit Abū l-ʿAynā [q.v.], which reads “I have a sīkbādī stew that is the envy of its connoisseurs...” (al-Ḥaṣāf, al-Kaṣāf, Ṣuk, al-ṣūrāʾ, ed. al-Ḍundūṭī, Damascus n.d., 352), is tongue-in-cheek. The preparation of sīkbādī has generated the verb sakbādī and prompted the writing of at least two works, both lost, praising its virtues: the K. Fīdāʾil al-sīkbādī of ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Abīmān. Abū Tāhir [q.v.] (Fībrīṣ, 147) and that of the great wit, Dīhāṣa [q.v.] (Fīfrīṣ, 145, 317).

The proverbs tīlā kom al-sīkbādī “What! Sīkbādī again!” and Tīr bīrīd kom sīkbādī loosely, “You blockhead! How much more sīkbādī (al-Ṭalakhānī, op. cit., 8, no. 123, and 36, no. 597), are explained by al-Ṭalakhānī as proverbs to be used when one has had enough of something. Indeed, it seems from the anecdotal literature that, satirically or otherwise, people either had enough, or could not get enough, of sīkbādī.


(SHAWRAT M. TOORAWA)

SIKHS (Skr. śrīvācya “disciple, learner”), a religious group of northern India whose beliefs and practices combine Islamic and Hindu elements and which was founded in the later 15th century by Nānak, the first Guru or teacher.

1. General.

The authoritative rāhī-nāma or manual of Sikhism of 1950, the Sikh Ṣahīḥ Mūrayda, defines a Sikh as one who believes in Akāl Purāṇ ("the Eternal One"); in the ten Gurus ("preceptors", identified with the inner voice of God) and their teachings; in the Adī Granth ("the Ancient Book"); the chief Sikh scripture, and the initiation (amrit) instituted by the tenth Guru; and in no other religion. In practice, this rigorous definition is widened to include persons who are not amrit-dhārī, i.e. those who have received the Khāṣa initiation, but are also recognised as Sikhs, such as the Kṛṣṇdhārī Sikhs, who do not receive initiation yet keep their hair uncut. An act of the Indian Union legislature has defined a Sikh as “one who believes in the ten Gurus and the Granth Sāhīb ["Revered Book", sc. the Adī Granth].

The centre of Sikhism has always been the eastern Pandjāb [q.v.], where the Sikhs by ca. 1980 numbered some ten millions. But there was always a movement of Sikh traders to other parts of India, and after the mid-19th century this movement was enlarged beyond the subcontinent by the substantial numbers of Sikhs who served in the British Indian Army in such outposts as Hong Kong and Singapore, so that a limited migration began to Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, mostly of Jāt (Jātī) Sikhs (Jats being the dominant caste today in the rural parts of the Pandjāb and Haryana states of the modern Indian Union, and a particularly prominent social element—over 60%- in the Sikh community), initially of unskilled labourers. Others moved to the west coast of North America and to East Africa, engaged, e.g. in railway construction. Early in the 20th century, these doors to emigration were closed, but after the Second World War there was extensive emigration from both India and Pakistan, mainly to Britain but also to North America. By the early 1990s, there were approaching half-a-million Sikhs in Britain plus communities of over 200,000 each in Canada and USA.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Doctrines.

Sikhism aimed at purifying the religious beliefs of the Hindus. The teachings of its founder were therefore mainly negative. He strongly protested against caste restrictions and superstitious beliefs. He preached absolute equality of mankind; he taught that mechanical worship and pilgrimages do not elevate the human soul; that spirit and not the form of devotion was the real thing. No salvation is possible without a true love
of God and good deeds in this world. Sikhism, like Islam, condemns idolatry and teaches strict monotheism. Its God is the God of all mankind and of all religions, "whose name is True, the Creator, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and beneficent" (Adi Granth, Guru Nanak).

Reverence for the Guru is much emphasised, for although "God is with man, but can only be seen by reverence for the Guru" (Macauliffe, The Sikh religion, ii, 234). Sikhism also believes in the doctrine of Karma and metempsychosis.

The theology of Nanak was not formal; his sole object was to bring about a social and moral reform. Sikhism remained a pacific and tolerant cult until the social tyranny of the Hindu and political friction with Muslims transformed it into a militant creed. Govind Singh made Sikh theology more formal and prescribed rules for guidance in private and social affairs. He forbade the use of tobacco and wine, though the latter is now more freely indulged in by the Sikhs.

The sacred book of the Sikhs is the Granth, which is held by them in great reverence. The first portion of it, called the Adi Granth, was compiled, as mentioned below, section 3, by the fifth Guru Arjjan. It includes the hymns of the first five Gurus together with selections from the compositions of saints and reformers anterior to Nanak, notably Kabir, Namdev, Day Dev, Ramanand and Shaykh Farid. The Granth is composed wholly in verse with different metres. The bulk of it is in archaic Hindi written in Gurmukhi characters; other portions are in various other Indian dialects and languages including Sanskrit, together with a few verses and tales in Persian (written in Gurmukhi script).

The cosmopolitan views of Nanak were acceptable to both Hindus and Muslims; moreover, he did not prescribe any particular forms of worship, hence it is not surprising that he gained converts from both religions. But it was undoubtedly Hinduism—the faith of his own parents—whose social system he wanted to reform, therefore naturally his teachings were addressed to the Hindus rather than the Muslims. The majority of his disciples was derived from the Jat, Arora and Khatri castes; to the last of them belonged all the Gurus, including Nanak himself. To the Brahmins and Rajputs, whose social status was very high, the democratic tenets of Sikhism were less acceptable.

The sects and sub-sects of the Sikhs are numerous, but the main divisions are two: (1) the Khalsa, otherwise called "Singhs", and (2) the Sahajdharis. The former represent the baptised and therefore more orthodox followers of Guru Govind Singh, while the latter were originally those who refused to accept his baptism and join the militant Khalsa. There are several other sects of Sikhism, including the Akalis (worshipers of Akal, the Immortal, Timeless God), a militant organisation founded by Govind Singh, which still retains a characteristic martial ardour. The Sikh shrines are scattered over the greater part of the Punjab, but the better known among them are to be found in the Districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Firozpur, the holiest of them being the Golden Temple of Amritsar and Nankana Sahib (near Lahore) the birthplace of Nanak, where annual fairs, attended by a very large number of Sikhs, are held.

3. History to 1849.

Sikhism was founded, like Buddhism, as a protest against the spiritual despotism of the Brahmins and as a revolt against the restrictions of the caste system and the exaggeration of Hindu ritual. It aimed at teaching social equality and universal brotherhood, abolishing sectarianism and denouncing superstition. Nanak, the founder of the creed, was born of Khatri parentage in 1469 at Talwandi (now called after him Nankana Sahib). Although "God is with man, but can only be seen by reverence for the Guru" (Macauliffe, The Sikh religion, ii, 234), he did not receive much school education, yet he was from his early youth given to meditation and original thinking, and was, like the Arabian prophet, gifted by nature with strong common sense. He showed an aversion from all sorts of worldly pursuits and it was with some difficulty that he was persuaded by his father to go to Sultānpur (at present in the Kapurthala District to the south-east of Amritsar) to enter the private service of Lady Dev Kaur, the lady governor of the province. The Nawāb appointed him storekeeper to his household, and he performed his official duties for several years to the satisfaction of his employer. In his leisure hours he retired to the jungle for meditation, and tradition says that in one of these devotional excursions he was taken in a vision to the Divine Presence and there received his mission to preach to the people of these Islamic countries. The transformation of Sikhism, therefore naturally his teachings were addressed to the Hindus rather than the Muslims. The major-
13 years until his death in 1552. Tradition ascribes to him the invention of the Gurmukhi characters in which the sacred writings of the Sikhs have been preserved, but it has also been pointed out, notably by Grierson and Rose, that the Gurmukhi script is of a different and earlier origin (JRAS [1916], 677; H.A. Rose, A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab, Lahore 1911-19, i, 677). The tradition may have arisen from the fact that Guru Angad adopted the script in recording the life and compositions of Nānāk.

Amar Dās, the third guru of the Sikhs, was nominated by Angad himself. His ministry lasted 22 years (1552-74) and was marked by a change of creed. Amar Dās cultivated friendly relations with the Mughal Emperor Akbar, who visited him at his own residence in Goidwāl (on the Beas) and granted him a large estate. This very much enhanced his prestige and helped to increase the number of fresh converts. He kept up the spirit of Nānāk in his own ethical teachings, denounced the superstitious customs of the Hindus, particularly the practice of widow-burning (saff), and enjoined re-marriage of widows.

Amar Dās was succeeded by his favourite disciple and son-in-law Rām Dās, who propagated the tenets of Sikhism with a still larger measure of success. He had the good fortune to find in Akbar a warm admirer who was ever keen to do him favour. The Emperor granted him (in 1577) a large plot of land in which he began the excavation of the sacred tank (meant for the devotional ablutions of the Sikhs) which was afterwards named amrit sar ("the pool of nectar"). Around the tank the Guru founded a small town, which he called after himself Ramdaspur and which was afterwards named Arjan financially helped Prince Khusraw who had rebelled against his father, the Emperor Djahāṅgir. After the defeat of the Prince, the Guru was imprisoned, by the Emperor's command, at Lahore, where he shortly afterwards died.

During the Gursápah of Arjān's son and successor Hargovind (1606-45), Sikhism made a great advance. The first four Gurus were peaceful teachers of quietism and self-denial, but Arjān initiated the policy of secular aggrandisement, while Hargovind openly adopted active resistance, which marks the beginning of the military career of the Sikhs. He was by nature a soldier, passionately devoted to the chase and many games. Systematic collection of tithes and offerings had made him extremely rich, and he was not slow to assume kingly authority. He cherished a hatred of Djahāṅgir, to whom he ascribed the death of his father; a desire for revenge was certainly one of the causes of his resorting to arms. He enlisted in his service a number of outlaws, malcontents and free-booters, "built the stronghold of Hargovindpur on the Beas and thence harried the plains. He had a stable of 800 horses; three hundred mounted followers were constantly in attendance upon him, and a guard of sixty matchlock-men secured the safety of his person" (J.D. Cunningham, A history of the Sikhs, ed. H.L.O. Garrett, Oxford 1918, 56). The alarming reports of the Guru's military organisation reached the Emperor, who summoned him to his court and ordered his internment in the fort of Gwaliyar. He was released after some time, but the imprisonment gave him a further cause of resentment. Soon after the death of Djahāṅgir and the accession to the throne of the Emperor Shāhjahān, Hargovind assumed a defiant attitude and took up arms against the government. In the course of six years, he thrice defeated the troops sent against him by the governor of Lahore. But he feared vengeance on the part of Shāhjahān and retired to the hills, where he lived unmolested until his death in 1645.

Under Hargovind, the Sikh faith was greatly transformed. They ceased to be mere recluses, and their Guru was no longer a mere spiritual guide, but a military leader as well. They felt their strength and saw the possibility of future political power. Hargovind was succeeded by his grandson Har Ray, who was, unlike his grandfather, of a retiring nature. He had intimate friendly relations with Dāṛa Shīkhō [q.v.], the eldest son of Shāhjahān, and in 1658, when Dāṛa wandered in exile pursued by the hostile troops of his younger brother Awrangzib, Har Ray assisted him in crossing the Beas and reaching a comparatively safe locality. Of course, he incurred the displeasure of Awrangzib, who summoned him to Delhi to answer for this affront. He sent on his own behalf his son thus compiled by Guru Arjān (completed in 1604 after some years of labour) is called the Adī Granth as distinguished from the Dasam Granth or the Granth of the tenth Guru in Sikhism. It is also to be noted that the composition was marked by a spirit of quietism and self-denial, but Arjān initiated the
Rām Ray who was detained at the imperial court as a hostage to insure the peaceful conduct of his father. Har Ray died in 1661 and his younger son Har Khījan (a child of six) succeeded him. His right to the Guruship was disputed by Rām Ray, who laid his case before Arāngzīb. The infant apostle was invited to Dīhlī to settle the dispute with his brother. There he was attacked by smallpox and died (1664).

There followed a struggle for succession after the death of Har Khījan, and it was after much opposition that Tegh Bhāhādur, son of Hargovīnd, was acknowledged as Guru from among a score of candidates for the pontifical throne. His opponents continued to assert their claims, and some of them were even set up as rival Gurus. Tegh Bhāhādur retired, in some bitterness, to the Siwalīk Hills and there founded Anandpur, a town which played a part of some importance in the subsequent annals of the Sikhs. Further, he set out on an extensive tour in India, visiting the Deccan and the Eastern Bengal, where Sikh centres already existed. In the course of his travels, he resided for some time at Patna, the seat of one of the main centres (ādīgī) while his son in Sūrīn̄kāl, the future Guru Aṯīndrā, was the real founder of the political power of the Sikhs, was born (1666). Tegh Bhāhādur’s influence as Guru extended as far as Ceylon in the south and Assam in the east. After a time, he returned to the Pandjāb, where he maintained himself and his disciples by plunder. He “gave a ready asylum to all fugitives and his power interfered with the prosperity of the country” (Cunningham, op. cit., 64). The imperial troops marched against him, and he was made prisoner and brought to Dīhlī, where he was put to death by the order of Arāngzīb (1675). The popular story is related in the Gurmukhī chronicles that, while in the presence of the Emperor, the Guru prophesied the coming of the English and destruction of Mughal power at their hands. The words uttered by him on this occasion “became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Dīhlī in 1857 under General John Nicholson and thus the prophecy of the ninth Guru was gloriously fulfilled” (Maccalliffe, iv, 381).

The figure of Tegh Bhāhādur’s son Govīnd Ray, who was saluted as Guru after the execution of his father in 1675, is perhaps the most prominent in the history of the Sikhs. He succeeded to the apostleship as a mere boy, but ended his career by completely transforming a community of mere devotees into a nation of warriors who were destined to rule the Pandjāb for nearly a century. The violent death of his father seems to have left a lasting impression on his young mind, and he cherished a bitter hatred towards Arāngzīb. But the power of the latter was too great to allow the possibility of revenge. He was therefore compelled to retire to the hills in order to be left in peace and receive the training necessary to befit him for the task of leadership. For twenty years he lived there, occupying himself in hunting and acquiring a knowledge of the sacred languages of the Muslims and Hindus and their religions. He nurtured his feeling of vengeance and formed his plans for the future with a view to destroying the power of the Mughals. He set about the task of uniting the Sikhs into a nation by promoting amongst them feelings of democratic equality. He admitted both high and low into his fold and conducted a vigorous war against the caste system. In order to create uniformity in spirit as well as in form, he instituted the ceremony of initiation or baptism called pahul. The suffix “Singh” was to be added to the name of every baptised Sikh, the Guru himself to be called in future Govind Singh. He denounced his initiated disciples the Khālī (the pure, elect, liberated) or Khālīkha (in the past, considered to stem directly from Arabic Khālidu “to be pure”, but now thought to come from Khandu “land belonging directly to the Khand”).

By his prolonged residence in the hills, Govind Singh wanted, besides carrying on his proselytising activities uninterrupted, to secure the assistance of the numerous hill chiefs against what he called the tyranny of Muslim rule. But in these objects he entirely failed, for the hill Rādžās whose dynasties had ruled independently since time immemorial generally resented democratising principles being taught to their subjects and they unanimously visited the religious propaganda of Govind. Failing to secure their alliance by friendly means, he tried the experiment of force. From his retreat at Anandpur he led marauding expeditions into their territories carrying away all that he could lay his hands on. The Rādžātul chiefs of Bilāspur, Katōc, Handīr, Djasrota and Nālagarh united to attack the Guru with an army of 10,000. He opposed them at the head of 2,000 of his followers, including 500 Pathāns whom he had enlisted. In the battle that ensued, he won his victory at Bhangāni chiefly through the help of Sayyid Budhī Shāh, chief of Sādhora. Govind’s power now increased; he had a number of retreats in the hills and his depredations in the adjoining territories grew more frequent and violent. The Rādžās jointly appealed for help to Arāngzīb, who despatched orders to the governor of Sirhind to effect an alliance with them and attack the Guru. In the battle that ensued, he was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Anandpur (1701). Here he was beseged by the imperial forces and the siege was prolonged. Provisions ran short and his followers deserted him. His family, including his mother, wives and young boys, effected their escape to Sirhind, where they were betrayed and the two children were put to death. Govind himself escaped in disguise, and with a few faithful followers fled to the fortress of Curnkaw (in the present district of Ambala) hotly pursued by the enemy. He was forced to leave Curnkaw and again fly for his life. He wandered in disguise from place to place until he reached the wastes of Bhatinda, halfway between Frāzpūr and Dīhlī. “His disciples again rallied round him and he succeeded in repulsing his pursuers at a place since called ‘Muktsar’ or the Pool of Salvation”, constructed in commemoration of the Sikhs who fell in the action. For some time he settled at a place called Damdama halfway between Hānsī and Frāzpūr, where he occupied himself in preaching and composing the Dasam Granth (see below), which is regarded by the Sikhs as supplement to the Adi Granth compiled by Guru Arjīn. Meanwhile, Arāngzīb died and was succeeded by his son Bhādhrā Shāh I [p.r.], who, contrary to the policy of his father, sought to conciliate the Guru. He conferred upon him the military command of the Deccan whither he proceeded to assume his charge. But shortly after his arrival there, he was stabbed by one of his Afghan servants for some private grievance, and he died at Nānder on the banks of the Godāwāri (October 1708). On his deathbed, he refused to nominate anyone to succeed him, but enjoined upon his disciples to look upon the Granth as their future Guru, and upon God as their sole protector, thus putting an end to the apostolic succession. Govind’s end came before his object had been achieved, “but his spirit survived to animate the Sikhs with courage”.

Govind Singh was succeeded, not as a Guru but as a military leader of the Sikhs, by Banda, a Rādžātul...
of Kašmīr belonging to the Bayragi order. Meeting Govind in the Deccan, he was converted to Sikhism and styled himself Banda or "slave" (of the Guru). Banda was charged by Govind to return to the Panjāb and urge the Sikhs to avenge the murder of his children and unite to destroy Muslim despotism. The Sikhs "flocked to him, ready to fight and die under his banner". At heart, Banda was ambitious, and under the pretext of carrying out the orders of the Guru he sought to attain to political power. He began his operations in the Panjāb by committing highway robberies, freely distributing the spoils among his adherents, andtracting them by the promise of breaking the Muslim money-changers and such like persons who were very numerous among the Sikhs"—to his person. The Mughal power, after the death of Awrangžīb, was fast declining; constant struggle among his sons and grandsons for the throne left the Sikhs free to increase their power, and the criminal activities of Banda went unchecked. He proceeded, with an army of lawless freebooters, from town to town in the very neighbourhood of Dihlū, plundering and mercilessly slaughtering the Muslims in thousands. Prospects of plunder and the sacred duty of avenging the death of the Guru's children swelled the number of Banda's followers. The accursed town of Sirhind, where the children were done to death, was stormed by them in May 1710 and freely given to plunder. The Sikhs perpetrated horrible atrocities on the Muslim inhabitants of the town, whom they butchered without distinction of age or sex. They extended their destructive activities to the very walls of Dihlū. The Emperor Bahādur Shāh, who was away in the Deccan, was alarmed on hearing the reports of these outrages and forthwith hastened to the Panjāb to make redress. The imperial troops defeated Banda, but he escaped to the adjoining hills. The death of Bahādur Shāh in 1712 was followed by a war of succession between his sons, from which Djiāhāndār Shāh came out successful. He was, however, murdered, after a short reign of eleven months, by his nephew Farrukhśīyar [q.v.], who now ascended the degraded throne of Dihlū. These commotions were favourable to the Sikhs, who, once more began to ravage the country under the notorious Banda. Farrukhśīyar charged 'Abd al-Šamād Khān, governor of the Panjāb, to put a stop to the atrocities of the Sikhs. With a large army he pursued Banda, who was at last besieged in the fortress of Gurdāspur on the Rāwī. Finally, he was seized, made prisoner and brought to Dihlū where he was tortured to death (1716).

The defeat and death of Banda was followed by a period of reaction and a severe persecution of the Sikhs in the reign of Farrukhśīyar. They were declared outlaws; many of them abandoned their faith, but the more loyal among them were forced to take shelter in the hills and forests. Successive governors of the Panjāb, notably Mu'in al-Mulk, better known as Mir Mānnī, carried out the repressive policy of Farrukhśīyar, and for a time it seemed that the Sikh community would become extinct. But the Mughal power was rapidly decaying, and in the Panjāb it was more notably weakened by the frequent invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī and Durrāntī [q.v.]. The distracted state of the province was favourable to the Sikhs, who began gradually to reappear and reorganise themselves. They built several fortresses and acquired wealth by freely plundering the defenceless towns. The centre of their national activities was Amritsar, which they greatly enlarged and fortified. Prince Tīmūr, who governed the Panjāb in the name of his father Ahmad Shāh Durrāntī, was hostile to the Sikhs. In 1756 he attacked Amritsar, demolished the Har Mandar and filled the sacred tank with the debris. The Sikhs mobilised in large numbers to avenge this outrage, and succeeded in driving the Prince out of Lahore, which they temporarily occupied. Their military leader Djasās Singh Kalāl ("the brewer") struck coins in his own name with a Persian inscription. But the advent of the Marāthās under Rāghobā (in 1758) made them retire from Lahore, and brought the ferocious Ahmad Shāh for the fifth time to the Panjāb. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marāthās in the memorable battle of Panipāt (1761). The Sikhs became active as soon as he left the Panjāb and regained their lost power. He therefore came back with the definite object of breaking their power and recover his territories. In a desperate battle fought near Ludhāna (1762), he totally defeated them with heavy carnage, but he had soon to leave the Panjāb in order to suppress a rebellion at Kandahār. The Sikhs recovered soon, and in 1763 they defeated Zayn Khān, the Afghan governor of Sirhind, and continued to extend their possessions until 1780. Abd al-Samād Durrāntī, who now ascended the degraded throne of Dihlū, was a vigorous sovereign. He organised a powerful military force
trained by some of the European generals, notably French ones, who had previously served under Napoleon, and who after Waterloo came to the Pandjâb to train the Mughal army. With this force, he was able to reduce the whole of the Pandjâb, annex Kashmir (in 1819) and Pejâwar (in 1834). He died in 1839, leaving behind him a consolidated kingdom extending from the Sutlej to the Hindu Kush, but no one among his heirs was capable enough to manage it. Three of his sons ascended the throne in rapid succession; conspiracies were rife and led to assassinations, civil war and enormous bloodshed. The army had become uncontrollable and spread terror throughout the country. The court at last found an outlet for its activities by inciting the army leaders to cross the Sutlej and invade the British territory. This led to the first Sikh War (December 1845), in the course of which the Sikhs were defeated by the British general Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough in four successive battles fought at Firozâshâh and Mudingâ (in the present district of Firozpur) and Atâulâil and Sobraon near Ludhiana (January–February 1846). "The victory opened the way to Lahore, which was promptly occupied by the Governor-General" (sc. Sir Henry Hardinge). The Sikh Durbâr accepted the British resident (Sir Henry Lawrence) to act as President of the Council of Regency to the minor Maharadja Dallp Singh, son of Randjit Singh. The revolt of Divân Mûbrâjî, governor of Multân, against the government at Lahore (in 1846) tempted the Sikhs again to take up arms against the British. War was consequently declared, and Lord Gough inflicted two heavy defeats on the Sikh army, first at Cîîîânâwala and then at Gijârât (early 1849). The Pandjâb was declared annexed to the British dominions and Sikh rule came to an end.

The dethroned Dallp (Duleep) Singh was given a Government of India pension, and later retired to England and the life of a country gentleman, becoming a Christian and dying in 1893. (MUHAMMAD IQBAL*)

4. History after 1849.

Having experienced the fighting qualities of the Sikhs, the Chief Commissioner of the Pandjâb after 1852, Sir John Lawrence, recruited Sikhs in considerable numbers into the British Indian Army. These Sikh troops, as also the Sikh dîgûhârîs or landowners who had retained part at least of their holdings or had received compensatory pensions, remained firmly loyal to the crown during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, with the Khâlîs forming nearly one-third of the 60,000 troops raised by the British at that time. After this, the proportion of Sikhs in the Army increased. New regulations requiring Sikh soldiers to observe the external symbols of the Khâlî order, such as letting beards and hair grow long, played a notable role in the Sikhs' retention of their separate identity at a time when some European observers thought Sikhism likely to decline and disappear.

In the second half of the 19th century, there was a perceptible ferment among the Sikhs, with various movements aiming at religious, social and political revival. Thus the Namdâhârës or Kukas, followers of Baba Ram Singh, formed a millenarian and iconoclastic movement in the central Pandjâb, objecting inter alia to Muslim butchers killing cattle for beef, and their activities culminated in British military action in the Ludhiana District against the Kukas in 1872 and the exiling of Baba Ram Singh to Burma. The Singh Sabha movement which began towards the end of the century was largely concerned with religious and educational reform. It reflected a certain feeling of threat from conversions to Christianity and, to a lesser extent, to Islam, but much more from the Muslim government. The Singh Sabha reformers welcomed English education, and the Indian government founded several Sikh schools and colleges in different parts of the Pandjâb. A reflection of a new interest by European scholars in Sikhism as a religious phenomenon was M.A. Macauliffe's 6-volume study, The Sikh religion, its Gurus, sacred writings and authors (Oxford 1909, repr. Delhi 1963, 1986). The reformers also advocated the use of Pandjâbi script rather than of Urdu or of Hindi in Devanagri script.

During the First World War, recruitment for military service was higher amongst the Sikhs than amongst any other group in India, and Sikhs fought courageously in France, East Africa and the Middle East. There was, however, unrest among some sections of the Sikh community back in the Pandjâb, initially fanned by a new organisation, which had originated within the Sikhs diaspora on the west coast of North America, the so-called Ghadari ("Mutiny") movement; acts of terrorism led to police and military repression in 1915. Between 1918 and 1947 the Sikhs were involved in intense political activity. Initially, there were clashes with the Government of India over control of the gurdawaras or Sikh temples, and there ensued from 1921 onwards the so-called "Third Sikh War", a mainly, but not wholly, non-violent struggle, led by the radical Akâls ("immortals"), basically a movement of the masses rather than of the professional and landed classes. Their demands were not assuaged by the 1925 Sikh Gurdawaras Act which handed over the historic shrines to a 160-man elected body. Politically articulate Sikhs now became concerned with the question of adequate representation of the community within the Pandjâb membership of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

During the Second World War, Sikhs again cooperated with the Indian government, but with less enthusiasm than previously. The Akâls in general favoured the unity and integrity of the subcontinent, as did the Indian National Congress, but if there was to be a separate Pákistán, they wanted a separate Sikh "Khâlîstân" also. A substantial number of Sikh prisoners-of-war joined the Japanese puppet organisation, the Indian National Army.

The Partition of August 1947 divided the Sikhs geographically, but with the greater part of them in India. Most of the Sikhs now within Pákistán, some 2½ millions, emigrated to India, displacing Muslims fleeing from East Pandjâb. In 1951 Sikhs formed about 35% of the Indian Pandjâb State, with Hindus over 62%. The scale of Indian government compensation for refuges was low and created much hardship. The central government refused to give any statutory weighting for a religious minority like the Sikhs, and also refused to extend to the Sikh scheduled (i.e. lowest) castes the concessions and reservations given to the Hindu scheduled castes (subsequently granted in 1956). A general sense of grievance increased Sikh demands for an autonomous Sikh state. In 1966 it was agreed to make a separate Sikh majority state in the Indian Union, Pandjâb-speaking and some 56% Sikh. But this proved inadequate to still discontent, and in 1975 the Akâl Dal party passed the so-called Anandpur Resolution demanding greater autonomy. Relations with New Delhi continued to deteriorate, and in June 1984 the Indian Army assaulted a group of radical Sikhs entrenched within
the Golden Temple complex of Amritsar, with estimated total casualties of 5-6,000. It was a Sikh who, in retaliation, murdered the Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi in October 1984. The movement for an autonomous Khalistan continues.

Bibliography: For older sources in Persian and studies in English, see the Bibl. to the El 1 art. s.v.

Of more recent literature, see:


(C.E. Bosworth)

SIKILLIYA or SIKILLIYA, Arabic adaptation of the Greek Ἡπείρος (with the variants noted by Yākūṭ, iii, 406), as a name of the island of Sicily (but sometimes used to indicate the city of Palermo alone). Al-Bakrī (482, § 812), following the classical sources, gives the mythic etymology evoking the eponymous Sīkillōs, brother of Ῥίθης, while also supplying, in what is actually a considerably distorted form, the ancient Greek name 

Εὐπείρα. Al-Himyarī, who follows him in these data, retains for his part, implicit in a verse of Ibn Raṣḥīk (d. 463/1071 [g.e.]), the false etymology, owed to the philologist Ibn al-Birr [q.v.], which explains the name as derived from σκύλιος and ήμιό, respectively "fig-tree" and "olive-tree".

1. History and culture.

(a) The image of Sicily among the Arabs

Geographical information concerning Muslim Sicily, as supplied by the sources (about a score of them), varies perceptibly, from a formal point of view, according to the character of the sources themselves: works of cosmography or of descriptive geography, toponomastic catalogues or accounts of journeys. In dimension it varies from a few lines giving information in an almost casual manner, to the "medium" account, typical of the general treatises but also sometimes specialized glossaries, and finally to the wide pictures which we owe to Ibn Ḥawqal and Ibn Ḥdūbār [q.v.]. A special place should be reserved for the work of al-Iṛrsī [q.e.], who excels over all the other writers in the systematic nature of his survey, the only example of a genuine description, accompanied by all the available detail, of Sicily in the mid-6th/12th century. Furthermore, the case of al-Iṛrsī, the accredited geographer at the Norman court of Roger II, as well as those of Ibn Ḥawqal and Ibn Ḥdūbār, who visited the island in 1062/972-3 and 578/1184-5 respectively, serve to underline the fact that the greater, and often the best part of the available information concerning the Sicilian environment of the time, derives principally from writers who had the opportunity of experiencing it personally (it is for this reason that the journey through Sicily of Abū Ḥamdī al-Qarnāfī in 511/1117, and al-Harawi’s visit to Etna after 568-9/1173, have left no trace other than the disappointment, expressed by the latter, of not having seen a single samandal dive into the crater, a spectacle which had been described to him). For the rest, from al-Muqaddasī to the authors of the 8th/14th century, it should be stressed that their testimony, essentially indirect, is of interest only in its capacity to surprise us with unexpected notions (such as the recollection of the Cyclops in the work of al-Bakrī, already mentioned for his familiarity with classical culture), or in that it conveys, according to the convention of word-for-word transmission, texts that have disappeared, as is done by Yākūṭ who often draws upon sources as specific as the Ta’rīkh Šīkiliya by Ibn al-Kaṣṭākī [q.e.], or Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Yāluṭī (6th/11th century), while al-Himyarī, for example, is largely dependent either on al-Iṛrsī or on Ibn Ḥdūbār.

Of more geographical observations concerning Sicily, the essential points are to be found among almost all the writers, who are aware of its triangular shape as well as its location, in relation either to Africa or to the Italian peninsula and to the smaller islands, which indicate, each in his own fashion, its dimensions and sometimes even the astronomical co-ordinates, who finally give details, and this is especially true of al-Iṛrsī, of the distances from one locality to another. But the theme which takes precedence over all others, in the same context of physical geography, is without doubt that of Etna, the “mountain of fire” as the Arab authors call it, which with its imposing height, its perpetual snows, the chasm at its summit, the winds which reverberated there, the smoke and lava which it spewed out, could not but excite their curiosity and their imagination. It is for this reason that they stress the marvellous and mysterious aspects of these phenomena, which both astonish and enchant them, although they are concerned less with explaining them than with describing them, in varying degrees of detail.

Moreover the description of the landscape, brief though it is, clearly reveals admiration for everything which this island seems to possess in exceptional measure; it tends to evoke the notion of a land distinguished by pleasant localities and fertile soil, an unbelievable abundance of water and richness of crops, in a word the prosperity of its numerous inhabitants, grouped according to al-Iṛrsī in 130 major urban centres, without counting the villages and fortresses, of which al-‘Umārī has meticulously compiled a list of 34 sites. As if in a refrain, the authors incessantly repeat their praise of a vegetation which spreads its richness in urban gardens as well as in mountain forests, reserves of wood for boat-building, or in the innumerable kitchen-gardens and orchards, supplying all kinds of vegetables and fruits. In this picture, supplemented by the mention of flourishing crops, wheat in particular, as well as pastures sufficient for the raising of substantial herds of cattle, the most striking feature is the presence, almost everywhere at this time, of hydraulic resources such that Sicily was never to enjoy in later times. This was rightly considered by the Arab authors themselves a considerable boon, and it is this which stands out in particular, to mention only two illuminating examples, from the scrupulous care which Ibn Ḥawqal devotes to information concerning the water-supply of Palermo, and in parallel from the concern for meticulous precision with which al-Iṛrsī, alone, sets out to describe the course of the rivers: Nahr al-Sulla, al-Karḅ ( Belice), al-Wādī al-Malāfī ( Salso), Wādī Mūṣa ( Simeto), etc. With the single exception of Yākūṭ, however, the same authors seemed to be unaware of the fact that the origin of the prosperity owed to the development of agriculture, besides the favourable natural conditions, had
been the division into small plots of landed property which had been set in motion by the Muslim conquest, and finally, the work of the conquerors themselves, especially those of Berber origin, who were known for their agricultural skills. It is they who were responsible, among other things, for the introduction into this environment, where the crocus and the violet, according to al-Idrīsī, grew spontaneously, of "exotic" plants such as citrus fruits, cotton and dates, sugar-cane and the mulberry. This enrichment of the already varied vegetal repertoire of a land blessed by extraordinary fertility seemed to be symbolically illustrated by the appearance of windmills standing out against the sky, alternating with the battlements of numerous impressive castles.

If to this is added information regarding mineral products—the jasper and the sal ammoniac of Etna, the sulphur and the pumice-stone and, it is said, the gold of the same mountain, the iron in the neighbourhood of Messina and the oilwells near Syracuse—and finally regarding the fruits of the sea, the tunny and the coral in the Sea of Trapani for example, a glimpse of the economy of Arabo-Norman Sicily is genuinely seductive. It is a picture which is both established and brought to life wherever the authors uncover the traces of prolific activity on the part of craftsmen, and of an almost feverish circulation of merchandise, to the interior and with the exterior; where they indicate the existence of markets, work-shops and emporia, of warehouses and shops; where they evoke the coming and going of ships, Sicilian and foreign, in the ports, favoured sites of commerce. And while on this subject, too, it is al-Idrīsī who, in his methodical fashion, provides the most exhaustive information, mention should also be made in this context of the two texts, as brief as they are eloquent, in which Ibn Hawkāl, on the one hand, shows his concern for precision as he lists all the small businesses of the ṣīb of Palermo, and Ibn Djūbayr, on the other hand, having just escaped from a terrifying shipwreck, turns to contemplate the spectacle of the port of Messina with "boats aligned along the quay, like a row of horses tethered in the stables".

Furthermore, these two travellers deserve credit for having left unique testimony regarding the social, and to an extent political reality of the island, without which the human geography of Sicily at that time would be almost unknown, and its image in the minds of the Arabs deprived of some essential traits. It is known that they visited the place in totally different circumstances, Ibn Hawkāl at the finest hour of Kalīf domination, Ibn Djūbayr at the zenith of the prosperity of Arabo-Norman civilisation. But it is also known that what gives their accounts a decided originality and partially conflicting tone is the role played by personal temperament: rather cold and detached in the case of Ibn Hawkāl, endowed with an acute spirit of observation, but also sceptical and prejudiced, always ready to offer criticism, if not mockery and denunciation; enthusiastic and dreamy in the case of Ibn Djūbayr, a man who believed absolutely in God and also in men, with an essentially optimistic and sociable disposition, with eyes always open to all things which could elicit either amazement or sympathy. This well explains, in the work of Ibn Hawkāl, the attention directed towards the urban reality of Palermo, the description of which is not only the most ancient but also the most detailed, such that nothing other than the actual name of the sovereigns, with the exception of the names of the gates of the Kašīla [g.v.], by al-Muḥammadī. But this also accounts for a series of remarks which he made regarding the people, which were so harsh that they gave rise to the suspicion that this traveller in the domain of the Kalīfs was nothing other than a spy, acting on behalf of the Fatimids. It is, however, as a result of these passages that the document, which is both historical and literary, attains the highest quality: through mockery, applied to the incredible number of mosques (500), and to the frivolous pride allied with hypocritical pietism of the Muslims of the city, through the disgust aroused in him by the military convents [see Rūḥ on the scaffold, which had become places of perversion and depravity, the haunts of ruffians and scoundrels; through denunciation of the ignorance and stupidity of school teachers; through the depiction, finally, of the absurdity of everyone, owed—he says—to the abuse of the onion, responsible for boundless material decadence, which had led to destitution, as well as to a return to barbaric customs.

Such an attitude, essentially hostile, is paralleled, although with naïve traits of admiration, by that of the pious Ibn Djūbayr, capable of perceiving anywhere the signs of the providence and the greatness of God, spontaneously disposed to appreciate the good deeds of men, to treat them with indulgence and even benevolence. The inevitable aversion to "worshippers of the cross", which is expressed from time to time in incantations, which are in fact rather lukewarm, does not prevent him from painting without prejudice a memorable picture of the Sicilian scene in the golden age that was the period of the Norman sovereigns. His experience in the island begins with his enchantment by the beauty of the surroundings of Messina, almost a terrestrial paradise with fruit-trees covering the slopes of the hills, but also with the surprise caused him by the liberality of King William II, paying on his behalf the tax demanded from shipwrecked Muslims. But it is in Palermo that Ibn Djūbayr is impressed most of all, when he discovers the paradox of an Islamo-Christian community, living in harmony under the auspices of a régime of quite extraordinary tolerance. This spirit, which seems to permeate the relationships of social life, to such an extent that the foreign traveller perceives it in the amicable attitude of those who greet him, emanates from the court, or rather from King William himself. The portrait of this enlightened and refined monarch, a connoisseur of the pleasures of life, but also an Arab scholar, a cultivated patron of philosophy and literature, simultaneously wordly and pious, guaranteeing freedom of religious observance to all, this portrait by the pen of Ibn Djūbayr is surely the most striking eulogy ever made by a Muslim of a Christian historical individual. Nothing could better supplement it than the dazzling fresco which he paints of the monuments of the town, which he compares to Cordova, with noble buildings and the sumptuous royal palace, the elegance of gardens and stairways, the breadth of squares and streets, in short an architectural décor in the middle of which, on the night of Christmas 1184, he was able to see shining, like a jewel, with its flashing mosaics and stained glass windows of iridescent colours, the Antiocohe Church (known as the Martorana). This vision came at an opportune time, to seal the representation, both charmed and charming, which Ibn Djūbayr was to provide, towards the end of the 6th/12th century, of this "daughter of Andalusia", the affectionate epithet which he applied to it, with the exception of the names of the gates of the Kašīla [g.v.], by al-Muḥammadī. But this also accounts for a

(b) The Arab conquest and domination

The landing at Mazara, on 19 Rabīʿ I 1219/18
June 827, of an army from Ifrīkīya, did not only mark the beginning of the struggle which, over the course of the next seventy years, was to secure possession of Sicily by the Arabs, but also the culmination of a historical process which, since the middle of the first Islamic century, had affected the island to an ever increasing extent, in the context of the expansion of Islam throughout the Mediterranean region. The interest of the Arabs in Sicily may be traced back as far as their very first maritime experiments, when Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, at that time governor of Syria, conceived the idea of constructing a fleet. The first Arab incursion on the Sicilian coast dates in fact from the year 31-32/652. Others followed over the course of a century, under the Umayyads, especially after the building of the naval dockyard of Tunis (79/698), but always with the sole objective of carrying off prisoners and booty, with the exception perhaps of the expedition planned by the governor of Ifrīkīya 'Abbad Allah b. Ḥababh, and put into effect in 122/739-40 by Ḥādhīb b. Abī 'Ubaydā, who succeeded in laying siege to Syracuse but was obliged to abandon any notion of invasion. On the other hand, no raids are recorded during the second half of the 2nd/8th century, and this is to be explained, among other factors, by the defensive dispositions adopted in Sicily at this time by Byzantium. Furthermore, the same policy was implemented in Ifrīkīya by its new masters, the Aghlabids [q.v.], who, following their accession to power in 184/800, took all appropriate measures to establish, in their turn, a fortified coastal defensive system and, simultaneously, at the initiative of the second amīr, Abu ʿl-ʿAbbas ʿAbd Allāh, to equip a fleet. Reciprocal concern for safeguarding respective commercial interests, which favoured this attitude of restraint and caution, ultimately had the effect of establishing cordial relations between Byzantines and Arabs, which persisted into the first quarter of the 3rd/9th century and were given formal expression in the treaty signed, apparently, by the founder of the dynasty, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, and renewed by his son.

The fatal rupture of this equilibrium took place in 212/827, following the outbreak of disturbances in Syracuse and their repercussions at Kayrawān. In fact, paradoxically it was the Byzantines who supplied the Aghlabids with the pretext for engaging in hostilities, and, as is not unusual in history, it was a somewhat banal incident which provoked them. The spark which ignited the gun-powder was the revolt, in Syracuse, of the Byzantine tarmarchos or army commander Euphemius, who approached Ziyādat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm, the third Aghlabid amīr (201-23/817-38) to appeal for his intervention in Sicily. The decision in his favour was not unopposed, but the authority of Asad b. al-Furāt [q.v.] overrode all judicial scruples. The die was cast for an enterprise, the advance against Sicily, which was to be the last example of the futūh of Islam, where the spirit of conquest and the zeal of qāhid played the same role. The achievement of Asad, appointed to lead an army of 10,000 men, transported by a fleet of some hundred vessels, was as brief as it was extraordinary. A respected jurist, without any military experience whatsoever, he succeeded brilliantly in his task, in spite of his advanced age. One month after the landing at Mazara, he scored a decisive victory over the Byzantine Balāṭa near Corleone, after which he traversed the island to unleash an attack on the capital, Syracuse; the siege had been in process for more than a year when Asad died in an epidemic. The Muslims disengaged from the project and withdrew towards the interior, where they took possession of Mineo and of Agrigento [see Agrigento], then, after an unsuccessful attempt at besieging Kaşrîyânîn [q.v.] (the modern Enna), they fell back as far as Mazara. Exposed to the attacks of the enemy, they were extricated from their predicament by reinforcements sent from Ifrīkīya in 215/830, who were joined by a Berber adventurer, ʿAbdagh b. Wakīl, known as Farghalās, leading a band of Spanish mercenaries. It was as a result of these events that the Muslims were in a position to lay siege to Palermo, which surrendered on 30 Radjab 216/12 September 831.

In operations pursued with the object of conquering territory, which continued until the opening of the 4th/10th century, the Muslims had many difficulties to contend with, owing to the uneven physical terrain and to the strong defensive dispositions of the enemy, but most of all to the disturbances which broke out from time to time between Arabs and Berbers or between the different social classes. On the other hand, they often benefited from the initiative of able chieftains, such as the two Aghlabid princes Abū Fīhr Muhammad (217-20/832-5) and Abu ʿl-Aghlab Ibrāhīm (220-37/835-51), of whom the latter in particular achieved some remarkable successes. It was he who, ca. 227/842, secured possession of the valley of Mazara, and thus of the western sector of the island, and immediately undertook the occupation of the eastern sector of Sicily, which culminated in the taking of Messina (228-9/843) and soon afterwards, between 231/845 and 234/848, in the surrender of Modica, Lentini and Ragusa. An experienced politician, who had succeeded in the meantime in concluding an alliance with Naples and had taken the precaution of equipping a fleet, he had the good sense to entrust the conduct of the campaigns to professional soldiers, such as al-Fāḍil b. Dja'far, the conqueror of Messina, and Abu ʿl-Aghlab al-ʿAbbas, who at the same time, at Butera, on the southern coast of the island, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Byzantines. It is to this last-named, who replaced him, on his death in 237/851, as third wāli, that credit belongs for the capture, on 26 Shawwāl 244/26 January 859, of Kaşrîyânîn, for thirty years the pivot of the Byzantine defensive system. With his successors, Khaṣṣādīja b. Suyfān (247-55/862-9) and his son Muḥammad (killed in 257/871), the advance of the Muslims towards eastern Sicily, in spite of mutinies on the part of the troops, which cost the lives of both generals, became increasingly menacing, and led to the surrender of Noto (250/864) and of Troina (251/865), in addition to a number of incursions against Taormina, Catania and Syracuse. The privilege of capturing the capital itself was to fall much later to Dja'far b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, who on 15 Ramadan 264/21 May 878, after a siege of nine months, succeeded in taking Syracuse, the objective of Muslim attacks for the past fifty years. During the last quarter of the century the situation became somewhat chaotic, as a result of mutinies and civil wars, most of them centred on Agrigento and Palermo, but this did not prevent the Muslim forces from pursuing the occupation of the Demona Valley (at the north-eastern corner of the island), as well as launching raids against Catania and Taormina. It was the fall of this city, on 22 Shawwāl 269/1 August 992, which finally crowned the Muslim conquest. The protagonist of this last act was the ninth Aghlabid prince himself, Ibrāhīm II (in power since 261/875), who decided to abdicate in favour of his son 'Abd Allāh, in order to take charge, in his place, of military operations in Sicily.
Reduced henceforward to the status of a province of Ifrikiya, Sicily followed the same historical path as the colonial power, even when, in 296/909, the Fatimid movement dealt a death-blow to the Aghlabid dynasty. However, the reception accorded to the Shiites, that of the urban classes, who enjoyed equal, or almost equal, treatment to that of the other subjects. In addition, in the support offered to the Berber element (concentrated in Agrigento) at the expense of the Arab element (localised in Palermo), was anything but favourable, with the result that the first lieutenant of the Mahdi 'Ubayd Allah, Ibn Abi 'l-Khdin, zirr, soon had to be recalled. The refusal to compromise with heterodoxy led to the formation of an overt opposition. Amongst this opposition, a certain Ahmad b. Kurhub, who, between 300/913 and 304/916, was the spokesman of the Sunni restoration and of loyalty to the caliphate of Bagdad. The repression which ensued was soon succeeded by a period of stability, owed to the discretion of the governor Sālim b. Rāshid (304-25/917-37) and to an improved administration, until a fresh outbreak of disorder required his replacement by the energetic soldier Khallī b. Ishak (325-30/937-41). The latter took the decision to build within Palermo the citadel of al-Khālīša, which did not suffice, apparently, to discourage all aspirations towards revolt, in view of the fact that the Fatimid caliph found it necessary, in 337/948, to transfer the administration of Sicily to al-Hasan b. 'Ali al-Kalbī.

Thus began the amirate of the Kalbīds, which was to become hereditary, in response to the actions of the Fatimid who, after their transfer to Egypt (362/973), turned their attention away from Sicily. In the first half of the century, during which power was in the hands of the new masters, Sicily experienced the golden age of the Arab domination, both on the level of political prestige and military success, and of cultural prosperity (despite certain negative traits in the account, mentioned above, by Ibn Hawkal, present on the scene in 362/972-3). It is to the two sons of the founder of the dynasty, Ahmad b. Hasan (342-58/953-69) and 'Ali b. Hasan (359-72/970-82), that the régime owes its attainment of the high point of its power: the former, who finally put an end to the disorder of eastern Sicily, where he suppressed, in 351/962, the revolt of Taormina, renamed al-Mu'izzīyya in honour of the caliph of Cairo, regained control of Rametta and ravaged Messina, after the memorable naval engagement known as "the battle of the Strait"; the latter, who was responsible for the last great victory of the Muslims of Sicily over the Christians, near Rossano in Calabria, where he could boast of having been invited by the Byzantines themselves to join an alliance against Otto II, before dying in battle. Although peace and prosperity, subsequently assured and almost personified by Abu 1-Furtūth Yūsuf (379-88/989-98), continued even after the forced retirement of the amīr, who was paralysed by a stroke, the seduction of worldly pleasures proved fatal to his son and successor Djalār (in power until 410/1019), to the extent that it even provoked a fratricidal war. With him and after him, nothing could halt the decline of the Kalbid dynasty, reduced under Ahmad al-Ākhāl (410-29/1019-38), to begging for the aid of the old Byzantine enemy, and to submitting, on the other hand, to the depredations of the Zirids, lieutenants of the Fatimids in Ifrikiya since 362/973. With the last scion of the line of Abu 1-Furtūth Yūsuf, al-Hasan, known as al-Ṣāmām (431-45/1040-53), Sicily underwent a period of anarchy in which political unity disintegrated and the amirate collapsed, to the benefit of lesser principalities, by a process similar to that which affected the mulūk al-tawdīf (q.v.) in Spain at the same time. Individuals bearing the title of ka'd, appearing on the scene during this final act of the drama of the Kalbid dynasty, took control of a situation which was soon to be subject to the arbitration of the Normans.

(c) The Norman and Scotothan period

In the conflict which erupted between these minor warlords, those who gained the upper hand were the ka'd of Syracuse Ibn al-Thumma (q.v.), and his adversary Ibn al-Hawwās (q.v.), based at Kasrāīn, from where he controlled the centre of the island. It was the intervention of the count Roger d'Hauteville, who in February 1061 landed near Messina, coming to the aid of Ibn al-Thumma. Taking advantage of battles in which the Muslims expended their last remaining resources, and of which even the two rivals were soon to be the victims, Roger and his brother Robert le Guiscard, returning to the island in force in 1071, set about occupying the territory, starting with Palermo, which capitulated in January 1072. They were confronted however by stubborn resistance on the part of Benavert (q.v.), the last champion of Islam in Sicily, who succeeded in holding them in check for a quarter of a century, and fell in the naval battle of Syracuse in 1086. The conquest was completed in 1091, with the surrender of Noto, which marked the end of the period of Arab domination.

Having first encamped in the south of the peninsula, and now also established in Sicily, the Normans pursued the struggle against the Muslims at sea, with the imperialist aim of controlling the central Mediterranean. Especially under the long reign of Roger II (1111-54), who became in 1130 king of Sicily, of Calabria and of Apulia, with the aid of powerful fleets, led by such prestigious admirals as George of Antioch and Christodoulou, they succeeded in occupying, between 1135 and 1135, the entire coast of Ifrikiya, from Trapani to Bone. And even after the advance of the Almohads had put an end to this adventure in North Africa, they renewed their attacks, under the last sovereign William II, this time against the Egypt of Ṣālīḥ al-Dīn (1169 and 1174).

As for the Arabs who became their subjects in Sicily, now that their effort as warriors for the djihād, after more than two-and-a-half centuries, was finally exhausted, their lot was to serve in the ranks of the conquerors, who furthermore appreciated their valour, to the extent of discouraging their conversion to Christianity. This integration of Muslims into the army was nothing other than an aspect of the singular symbiosis which the Norman sovereigns, engaged as they were as knights of Christianity, sought to establish among the various cultures present in their state, in a spirit of tolerance based on both enlightened and pragmatic considerations. It is certain that the Arabs who, instead of emigrating, chose to live under the conquest, were guaranteed rights of citizenship in the framework of a feudal system established by the new régime, with a status which varied according to the different conditions imposed at the time of the conquest. It is this which emerges from the information supplied by the documents known as djārād (sing. djārād), also called plataea, which set out the different legal and social levels, defining the status, on the one hand, of the people of the countryside, having limited rights, if not reduced to outright slavery, and on the other that of the urban classes, who enjoyed equal, or almost equal treatment to that of the other subjects. In addition,
there was an elite of senior officials, in the entourage of the prince himself, where their presence bestowed a living and distinctive stamp of Arabism upon numerous persistent aspects of Arab civilization, such as the ceremonial of the court, the chancellery, the system of land taxation, and currency, with the technical language applied to them. The favour accorded to Arabism and to Islam by the sovereign, already made explicit in the writings of al-Idrīsī with regard to Roger II, is also a theme, this time in reference to William II, in the text, mentioned above, of Ibn Ḍhūbāyra, the richest Arabic literary source available, with its somewhat contradictory testimony, for the Arab-Norman century, a period in which the Arabo-Muslim community of Sicily, neutralised from a political point of view, succeeded against all expectation, and albeit precariously, in maintaining its religious, economic and cultural vitality.

The bloody riots of which the Muslims were victims in 1161 under William I, and especially in 1189-90, with the severing of the lineage of Hauteville, were only the prelude to the end. Embroiled in the struggles between Tancred of Lecce and Henry VI of Hohenstaufen, respectively bastard son and son-in-law of Roger II, who were rivals in the succession to William II, the Muslims, persecuted by the princes and harassed by the Christian feudal system, took to the countryside and formed a resistance movement, or even courted to brigandage. Anarchy persisted even after the accession of Frederick II, who as late as 1219-22 was obliged to crush a revolt of Muslims occupying the citadels of Jato and Entella. The heroes of this episode were the character whom western sources call Mirabetto, and his daughter whose proud spirit lives on in a text recently discovered, with the account, both tragic and romantic, of her death. Since even after this the resistance of the Muslims persisted, being all the more dangerous in that its points of resistance were hidden in the mountains, Frederick II, determined to assert his authority over all opposition, did not hesitate to resort to the extreme measure of mass deportation. In stages and over a period of several decades, tens of thousands of Muslims were uprooted, to be resettled in Apulia. Detached from any kind of political or cultural life, Sicilian Arabism which had enjoyed such prosperity in the 11th and 12th centuries, lived out its final phase confined within the colony of Lucera, until its annihilation, in 1300, by the Angevins. In this regard, history can only draw attention to the sad paradox according to which the political and human presence of Arab Islam in Sicily was sacrificed in the interests of the state by a sovereign, none other shall Frederick II who, nourished by Arabic culture since his youth, never ceased throughout his life to express his sympathy for it and his interest in it.

(d) Cultural life

While it is quite natural to compare, from a cultural point of view, in the context of western Islam, Sicily with Spain, it should not be too surprising to find that the literary and scientific output of the Sicilian Muslims is not comparable in its entirety to that of the scholars and erudite writers of al-Andalus. It is not unreasonable to add that, while the loss of many of its products is certainly regrettable, the cultural gulf between Sicily and Spain is an established fact, which no new discovery, an improbable event in any case, is likely to modify significantly. In terms of an objective judgment of what has survived, it is impossible to avoid gaining the impression that this Sicilian Arabism, in the literary sphere, with a few exceptions, was as modest as it was rather impersonal. In other words, there is no likelihood of finding productions exceeding the limits of a literature which is quite traditional, in both Arabic and Islamic terms: technical works of fiqh, such as the treatises of grammar and of philology, and finally a poetry fixed in conventional moulds. This observation serves moreover to stress the absence, from the works of the Arabic authors of Sicily, of specific traits, to the intense regret of those who would like to find here references to the society and environment of the time, considerably more concrete than the nostalgic echoes, as sentimental as they are vague, preserved in the verses of Ibn Hamdīs [q.v.] and of other exiled poets.

All this said, it is probably fair to acknowledge that, if Arab culture in Sicily did not have the same opportunity to develop as elsewhere, the blame for this belongs to a considerable extent to the eventful history of the Arabs in the island. It must therefore be admitted that the vicissitudes and instabilities of the Arab domination, in addition to its brevity (two-and-a-half centuries, compared with seven centuries of Andalusian Arabism), strongly affected any cultural prowess. So matters stood during the Aghlabid and Fatimid periods, until the turn of the 4th/10th century when, for the first time, the Kalbid amirate succeeded in creating conditions favourable to the arts and the sciences, a state of affairs also achieved by the Rogers and Williams in the 12th century and, after them, in the first half of the following century, by Frederick II. This fact requires that, if the precariousness of the political situation, as exemplified by the Christian reconquest on the part of the Normans, which was responsible for the singular phenomenon of a mass emigration of scholars to the Maghrib, al-Andalus and Egypt, in a process contrary to that which formerly had often seen the arrival on the Sicilian scene of some itinerant scholar or another.

The devastating effect which this diaspora of the Arab intelligentsia of Sicily was to have on its cultural patrimony was hardly to be compensated for by the attribute of al-Sikillī which these people continued to attach to their names. But if in fact it only survives as an exterior brand, making no contribution to the intellectual life of Sicily, it has proved sufficient, in modern times, to arouse the patriotic ardour of M. Amari, restoring the memory of these individuals, effaced as it had been, to the annals of the cultural exploits of Sicilian Arabism.

A survey of the latter, which would seek to do more than amass purely onomastic information, must, however, be confined to generalities, otherwise preserving only the memory of persons and of works which have left an appreciable trace. Given the cultural conformism of Sicilian society in relation to the international Islamic community, it is important to stress specifically the primacy of fiqh and the total ascendancy of Mālikism, emanating from Kayrawān, over the Sicilian centres of judicial training. This fact seems almost personified by the figure of Asād b. al-Furāt', the pioneer of the conquest and, at the same time, the first promulgator of the Mālikī system, in alternation with the more authentic version of Saḥīnūn [q.v.], imported by his disciples with their commentaries on his celebrated Madaʾawa: Yānāh b. ʿUmar (d. 291/903), Maymūn b.ʿAmr (d. 316/928) and Lūk-mān b. Yūsuf (d. 318/930). With the latter, also worthy of mention is the eminent jurist ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus (d. 451/1059), but it was in the following century that judicial theory attained its high-
SIKILLIYA
est point with the imam al-Mazan (d. 595/1141 [q.v.]),
the author among other works of a commentary on
the Muwatta3, and also renowned as a traditionist on
account of his al-Muclim bi-fawd^id Kitdb Muslim. The
fact that this last-named work has been preserved,
fortunately, in a number of manuscripts, does justice
to some extent to the genre of traditionist studies,
represented by a host of specialists, whose writings
have, however, not survived. A somewhat better fate
seems to have been reserved for the other canonical
branch of religious studies, that concentrating on
the text of the Kur'an, judging by the contributions
of Isma'Il b. Khalaf (d. 455/1063), with his 'Unwan
fi 'l-kird3 at, and especially of Ibn al-Fahham (d. 516/
1122 [<?•#•]), with an analogous treatise, the Tadjnd Ji
bughyat al-mund. The interest also taken in grammar
by this scholar, as a disciple in Egypt of Babashadh
[q.v.], whose glosses to his famous Mukaddima he transmitted, serves as a reminder of the favour constantly
enjoyed in Sicily by philology, in the broadest sense
of the term: from the pure grammatical science, inaugurated by Ibn al-Birr (see above) and cultivated subsequently by, among others, al-Kattanf (d. 512/1118),
to lexicography, represented especially by the Tathklf
al-lisdn of the purist Ibn Makkl [q.v.], a precious document for the study of the dialect of Sicily in relation to Maghrib! Arabic; and in addition, the art of
poetry, imported from Ifrfkiya, with its masterpiece
al-cUmda by Ibn Rashlk (d. 462/1070 [q.v.]), and finally
literary history, dominated by the figure of Ibn alKatta' (d. 515/1121 [q.v.]), probably the most erudite
of Sicilian critics. Although like many others, he left
Sicily when it fell under Christian domination, he
remained loyal to the values of his own culture, seeking out its language and its texts, and following the
particular objective of collecting its poetic remnants
in the anthology al-Durra al-khatira, which comprised
accounts of 170 authors with 20,000 verses (!). It is,
however, most regrettable that of such a rich repertoire all that is known is the minimal portion preserved by two abridgments and by al-clmad al-Isfahani
[q.v.] in a special section of his Kharida; the loss is
made worse by the fact that the gap is not filled at
all by other sources, such as the Mukhtdr, composed
a little later by Ibn Bashrun (d. 561/1166).
Partial and fragmentary though it is, the available
documentation leads to the conclusion that Sicily, in
terms of the production of verse, which first became
known in the period of the Kalbids, generally remained
within the parameters of the Arab tradition, whether
through the number and the fecundity of poets, or
rather of rhymers, or through the predilection, shared
with the poetic language of other countries, for the
themes of courtly panegyric or of affected description.
Paradoxically, if any new upsurge in poetic activity
took place, however limited, it was as a result of the
upheaval caused by the Norman invasion, and this
last rekindling of djihad followed by the epilogue,
painful for many, of exile. Memory of and nostalgia
for the homeland are consequently the inspiration for
the most personal verses of certain poets, primarily
Ibn Hamdfs (see above), the only one whose Dtwdn,
of 6,000 verses in total, has survived in its entirety,
along with the other, considerably more modest, of
C
A1I b. cAbd al-Rahman al-Billanubf (5th/llth century). But this was not an absolute rule, since there
were writers who gladly adjusted to the new situation, not hesitating to exploit their talent to describe,
in verses as precious as they are sincerely emotional,
the favoured haunts of the princes: these include £Abd
al-Rahman b. Muhammad al-Butm (= of Butera), writ-

587

ing a poem devoted to the royal palace of Palermo,
and 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-cAbbas al-Itrabanishf (= of
Trapani), celebrating the former charm of al-Fawwara,
the splendid villa of Roger II. A little later, under
William II, is located the somewhat enigmatic figure
of Ibn Kalakis (d. 567/1172 [q.v.]), a native of Egypt,
whose verses, especially those contained in al-^ahr
al-bdsim, dealing with his visit to the island in
564/1168-9, should be considered the last poetic echo
in the Arabic language produced by Sicily.
Bearing in mind this quite considerable corpus of
poetry, it is all the more surprising to note the almost
total absence of prose, whether in the context of historiography or of parenesis or, more especially, of adab.
Setting aside the anonymous Chronicle, known as the
Cambridge chronicle, composed also in Greek, the only
two attempts at a history of Arab Sicily, as already
mentioned at the outset, have disappeared; all that
remains is to mention the remarkable polygraph Ibn
Zafar (d. 565/1170 [q.v.]), associated particularly with
the pleasing treatise on good government, the Sulwdn
al-mutdc, made famous by the translation of Amari
under the title of Conforti politici. But it was outside
the sphere of literary prose that Sicilian Arabism,
enjoying the patronage of the Normans, achieved the
exceptional, even unique success, represented by the
often-mentioned work of al-ldnsl, Nuzhat al-mushtdk fi
ikhtirdk al-dfdk, otherwise known as Kitdb Rud^dr, from
the name of the sovereign who inspired it, Roger II,
whose deeply-felt admiration of the civilisation and,
in particular, the science of the Arabs is well reflected
in this compendium of geographical information. The
extent to which Arab science, as well as the Arabic
language, was a welcome guest in his court, is illustrated among other things by the (partial) translation
into Latin, from an Arabic version, of Ptolemy's Optics,
made by the amir Eugenius, as well as the singular
novelty of the installation at the royal palace of a
hydraulic clock by the Andalusian sage Abu '1-Salt
Umayya [q.v.].
This privileged situation did not remain isolated,
but was fortunately revived under Frederick II who,
with his spirit of universal tolerance, made of Palermo
an incomparable crucible of civilisations, and of his
court a cosmopolitan meeting-place of scholars, Latins
and Greeks, Jews and Arabs. Among these at least
two should be mentioned: Michel Scotus, already renowned as a translator at Toledo, who spent his last
years, between 1227 and 1235, in the service of Frederick II, translating the zoological section of Avicenna's
Shifd3 (Abbreviatio Avicennae de animalibus), and composing two books on astrology and one on physiognomy;
then Theodore of Antioch, who in 1236 replaced
Michel Scotus in the office of royal astrologer, was
entrusted with the composition of official letters in
Arabic, and translated, under the title De scientia venandi
per aves, an Arabic treatise by a certain Moamin on
hunting with falcons, which Frederick II used for his
own De arte venandi cum avibus.
The sympathy for Arabo-Islamic civilisation felt by
Frederick II was not at all an episodic attitude nor
was it circumscribed, as might be suggested by this
somewhat eccentric treatise on falconry, but arose
from his intellectual moulding and was nourished by
his versatile scientific curiosity. The latter was applied
equally to mathematics and astrology, optics and
alchemy, physics and medicine, branches of knowledge all dating back, as is well known, to a Greek
origin, but conveyed to the West through the intermediacy of the Arabs and of their language, blessed
as it was with remarkable flexibility. Also striking is


the singular role which this sympathy played at the
level of personal relations maintained, on the one
hand, with the Muslim princes, starting with al-Malik
al-Kamil [see Al-Kamil], the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt,
and on the other, with the scholars, whom he habitu-
ally consulted with lists of questions. Thus, just as
he had previously inquired of Michel Scotus regard-
ing many cosmological subjects, he did not hesitate
to seek the advice of Muslim scholars everywhere con-
cerning a series of metaphysical questions, the Masd'il
Agrigento, according to the title of the Oxford unicum,
which conveys the responses of Ibn Sab'Iin [q.v.]; this
evocation of the philosopher of Murcia puts the fin-
ishing touches to the eclecticism of a proto-Renaissance,
personified by Frederick II. After him, his son Manfred
remained loyal, although on a considerably reduced scale, to this
tradition of respect for Arab culture, evi-
denced by the reception accorded in 1261 to the
ambassador of the Mamluk sultan Baybars [q.v.], the
famous historian Ibn W asil [q.v.], by the foundation at
Lucera, according to the latter, of a "House of
Science"; and finally by the patronage extended to
Hermann the German (Hermanus Teutonicus), in his
capacity as translator of the Middle Commentary of
Ibn Rushd [q.v.] on Aristotle's Ethics. A little later,
when Charles of Anjou had eliminated the line of
the Hohenstaufens in 1268, it was in the realm of
medical science that Sicilian Arabism spoke its last
word, even though in the voice of two Jewish schol-
ars: Moses of Palermo, who in 1277 translated into
Latin, under the title De curationibus infirmitatum equo-
ram, the Arabic version (no longer in existence) of a
text of Pseudo-Hippocrates; and Faradj b. Salim of
De curationibus infirmitatum equo-
ram, the most striking feature is the Islamic influ-
ence retained in the structure of habitat, urban and
rural, best preserved in the minor centres, where later
arrangements have amounted to a lesser extent the
original urban plan. If it is not always easy to recog-
nise in Sicilian towns the structure of a Muslim urban
ambience, where a fortified space was separated from
the residential quarters, and the latter in turn divided
between the madina and the suburbs (in Sicilian rabait),
what is perceptible everywhere, whether in the case
of towns or villages, is the typically Arab road net-
work, with its hierarchy of principal and secondary
deloads, the customary technical terms (sahn, dan, zukk),
sometimes bizarrely altered.

But nowhere are the traces of Muslim civilisation in
Sicily as visible as in the edifices of that architec-
ture which is correctly described as Arabo-Norman,
represented mostly in the West and concentrated espe-
cially at Palermo. And while it seems appropriate, in
regard to this cultural regime, to repeat the ancient
dictum, that Arabia, defeated by arms, subjugated its
conquerors with its genius, the Norman princes also
deserve credit for not having imposed Gothic traits
on the face of their capital, in place of the Oriental
caracter given it by the Muslims. At the most, they
were content to add to the Oriental stylistic elements,
including those introduced by the Byzantines, such
European features as could reasonably co-exist with
them. The result of this eclecticism, the artistic equiv-
alent of their tolerance in politics and religion, was
the realisation of an original scheme without parallel
in Europe and also distinct from anything to be found
in the Orient.

Examples of this combination, where arabesques
are mingled with mosaics and where the geometric
marquetries of Muslim art alternate with the curvi-
linear poly-chromes of the Byzantine tradition, are
evidently to be found principally in religious monuments,
even if churches such as St. Jean of the Eremites
(1132), St. Mary of the Amiril (1143), alias Martorana,
and St. Cataldo (ca. 1160) and the Dome of Monreale
(1174), display architectural and decorative forms which
are clearly of Arab inspiration. These features include
the compact frame of the building and the arrange-
ment of spaces, the decoration of the exterior by
means of blind interlaced arches, use of the so-called
Moorish arch in all its varied forms, hemispherical
cupolas covered in red plaster and crenellations of
Arab type, friezes with engraved inscriptions, systems
of niches (mukarnas [q.v.]), culminating in the unique
 phenomenon, in the pavilion of the cloister of Mon-
reale, of a jet of water gushing from a marble foun-
tain modelled in the form of the trunk of a stylised
palm-tree. These are the elements which are to be
found in their purest state in secular buildings, freed
from all religious constraints, such as those which the
Norman princes built in the western and southern
outskirts of Palermo, conceived as magical residences,
surrounded by gardens and ornamental lakes, places
of ease and recreation, “disposed around the town”—
according to the image coined by Ibn Djuaby—“like a
necklace on the bosom of a girl”. Of these pearls,
which survive in a state which permits apprecia-
tion of the structure at least, are the Zisa (= al-
‘Aziga “the glorious” or “the precious”), begun by
William I and completed by his son, the Cuba (= al-
Kubba, the cupola”), a pavilion of festivities, built in
1180 by William II, and near it the little Cuba, finally
the castle of Maddalce or Favara (= al-Fawsatir “the
bubbling”, a term applied to a spring), which Roger
II built on the foundations of the Kays Qqarfan, named
after this Kalbid amir (998-1019), but which is now
no more than a ruin. The splendour, which one would have to seek in
vain among these remains, is to be found elsewhere,
in the Palatine Chapel, constructed in the interior of
the royal palace by Roger II, between 1112 and 1143.

Here, the sumptuous ceiling in carved wood of the
central nave, jointed to the supporting walls by an
ornate structure of corbels with mukarnas, unfolds within
twenty caissons a cycle of paintings which constitutes
one of the most remarkable productions of Islamic
art in this domain. They develop the theme of the
apotheosis of the sovereign, represented in the con-
text of his recreations: at the hunt, surrounded by
knights and falconers, or seated at a banquet, amid
a throng of cup-bearers and revellers, dancers and
bmarkers, chess-players and musicians. Around him it
is the entire universe which seems to turn. Such is
the meaning of this gorgeous fresco, animated with
living scenes, populated by animals, real or mythical,
realistic in the details of an evolved material culture
and enigmatic in the evocation of symbols and of
myths. It is the homage paid to the magnificent
king by the imagination of art, matched by the tribute which scientific rationalism, through the talent of its author, would not be concluded without mention of the superb cloak (now in Vienna), which was woven for the coronation of Roger II, an incomparable masterpiece of the royal workshop known as the tiraz [q.v.

But the survival of Arab culture in Sicily has an aspect which is, if possible, even more durable: it is the extent to which, grafted onto the language of its people, it remains an inherent part of its life, in spite of the ravages of time. It is obvious that the provision of isolated examples would not be adequate to reproduce the real dimensions of a global process, which has penetrated the lexicon with words of general usage, such as verbs, adjectives or even phrases, but especially with a number of technical terms concerning either the natural environment, or the human universe, its activities and institutions. Leaving this task to the specialised works mentioned below, it will suffice to recall many Sicilian family names of Arab origin, and how many toponyms have left, in geography and in history, in short, in the culture of Sicily, an ineradicable Arab stamp (see 2. below).


**2. The Arabic toponomy.*** Scientifically-based research on the toponomy of Sicily in the period of the Arab conquest begins with Michele Amari. In his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, with its two Appendices of 1875 and 1887, he endeavoured to collect together, in effect, all the Arabic texts relating to the history, geography and literature of the island. In the final Index in Arabic characters and including all types of names, he gave an outline list of the Arabic and Arabised place names of Sicily. Then, in 1901, on the occasion of the centenary of Amari's birthday, two other volumes of texts appeared (Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari. Scrivì di filologia e storia araba, Palermo 1910, 2 vols.). Finally, a century after the publication of the *Biblioteca*, Umberto Rizzitano published a final collection of texts (*Nuove fonti per la storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, in RSO, xxxiii [1957], 531-55). Yet curious though it may seem, no one has as yet compiled a complete list of the Arabic place names of Sicily.

According to historical information, these names should date from the period between 256/870 and 462/1070, that of the Arab occupation of the island. One should nevertheless note that the Arabic toponomy did not change immediately on the Norman invasion, well illustrated by the description of Sicily (occupying forty large-format pages: *Opus geographicum*, fasc. 5, Naples-Rome 1975, sectio secunda, 583-626, It. tr. in Rizzitano, *Il libro di Ruggero*, Palermo n.d. [1966], 153) of the complete edition of the K. Râdîr or K. Nâžîr al-mašīţāk of al-Idrîsî written towards the middle of the 6th/12th century, hence almost a century after the end of Arab domination.

From a linguistic point of view, the Sicilian place names of this period can be divided into two groups: a first one made up of names in origin Greek, Latin or otherwise but then Arabised, and a second one of Arabic names. With the end of Arab domination, part of these place names disappeared, whilst others underwent phonetic adaptations before assuming their recent form. In the first group, one may cite: *Kurtinî* (Ital. Carini), *al-Kârinîyya* (Ital. Caronia), *Kâtînîya* (Ital. Catania), *Quîdibî* (Ital. Cefalù), *Qofala* (Ital. Cefalà [Diana]), *Kurtîyan* (Ital. Corleone), *Bâlarm* (Ital. Palermo), *Pičâda* (Ital. Ficiludi), *Lambadîya* (Ital. Lampedusa) and *Ibâr* (Ital. Lipari).

The second group contains two types. (1) Where Arabic terms have had their Italian equivalents, with no connection in sense, substituted e.g. *al-Âpânum*...
Selinunte, al-Kanb > the river Bilici, Namusa > the island of Linosa, and Kusira [see KAWSARA] > Pantelleria. (2) Where Arabic terms have been Italianised, e.g. *Wd 'l-Tin* > Dittano, *Mara 'Ati* > Marsala, *al Khãªsãs* > Kalsa and *Shãkha* > Sciacca.

Even so, there remain some names difficult to classify, because they are made up of two elements, one of which is translated whilst the other is Italian. This is the case with 'Uyûn 'Abbãs “the Fountains of 'Abbãs”, which has become Tre Fontane, or Tisrât Abî Tjawr, the modern Porto Palo. 


3. Numismatics.

It should be emphasised that the minting of Arab coins of Sicily is here considered only in regard to the actual period of Arab occupation, in its Aglabid, Fatimid, Kalbîd and Zirid phases, up to 462/1070. The Norman coins with Arabic inscriptions are not considered here at all.

Arab mining in Sicily seems to have begun with the military conquest of the island. The first known money is a silver dirham, diameter 24 mm and weight 2.90 gr and bearing the date 214/829-30. On it can be read the name of Muhammad al-Dhjawhari, on the order of the *ami* Ziyâdat Allah, son of Ibrãhîm Ziyâdat Allah, the Khurâsânînian commander to whom Harûn al-Rašîd had offered the province of Irîkîa. The actual mint involved is uncertain, since the term Sîkîlîyâ, which can be read on the coin and which was later attributed to Palermo, cannot thus be considered in any way, since the town in question had not yet been captured. One must also take into account the fact that the Arab conquest spread over almost a century; Palermo was conquered in 216/831, Messina in 228/849, Noto in 257/865, Syracuse in 266/878 and finally, Taormina in 289/902. In the areas conquered by the Arabs, the monetary system changed, whilst the Byzantine authorities kept in circulation the totally different Byzantine system based on the gold *solidus*, with its fraction of one-third (*trimerissis*) and the copper *follis* and its multiples.

The Arab system, on the contrary, was always based on bimetallism but seems to have been characterised by the issue of gold coins in a small format, in practice reduced to one-quarter in comparison with the coins issued in the Islamic East. As for silver, after the minting of a sole dirham and half-dirham, one reached the quarter-dirham in 250/864. Later, between 273/886 and 277/890, there comes into being a new silver coinage with the appearance of a miniature dirham with a weight varying between 0.17 and 0.55 gr and with a diameter of 9-11 mm, bearing the date but no indication of the place of minting.

One type particularly introduced by the Fatimids was the stellate *kharruba*, whose weight was, theoretically, according to P. Balog, 0.193 gr but which in practice varied between 0.65 and 1.25 gr. This small-sized type of coin naturally raises numerous problems regarding its daily use. The term stellate or *etoile* used by the numismatists who have described it, probably stems from the division of the obverse and reverse into diametric segments which divide the surface up into a series of little spaces vaguely reminiscent of the appearance of a star.

One can only conjecture at the reasons why the Arab governors in Sicily adopted this bimetallic system, but one in miniature.

The historical sources show that, in Fatimid Egypt and in its Sicilian dependency, there was no copper coinage. Nevertheless, there existed at that time a certain number of glass monetary weights, on the Byzantine model, used in daily life to control the correct weight of the coins. Given that there was a total absence of copper in Fatimid Egypt, to the extent that it had to be imported, these weights, issued in large quantities could very likely be used as pieces of subsidiary coinage instead of a copper coinage.

Numismatists are not agreed on this interpretation, in favour of which one might add that these tokens have been largely found in hoards, where one would certainly not put glass weights which had no monetary value, and that at least 20% of these tokens are contemporary imitations.


4. Epigraphy.

At present in Sicily there are 82 Arabic inscriptions found either on buildings or on tombs, to which another 18 texts can be added, according to literary sources. They are scattered throughout Agrigento, Cefalà Diana, Cefalù, Messina, Palermo, Syracuse, Termini Imerese and Trapani.

According to the historical events that attest the Arab presence on the island, these inscriptions can be divided into the following groups: 1. inscriptions belonging to the period of Arab occupation of Sicily (827-1061); 2. inscriptions belonging to the Norman period (1061-1194); 3. inscriptions with dates corresponding to the Swabian period onwards; 4. inscriptions imported from Egypt and Tunisia.

Only three inscriptions belong to the period of the Arab occupation. The oldest is a graffito on a baked brick found in a cave of Monte Bandiera on the island of Linosa. The text, dated 364/974, commemorates the landing of Hasan b. ‘Ali b. Yuhannis (Yuhannas, according to Lagumina’s transcription) al-Sikîlî. The second was inscribed on one of the gates of Palermo, known as Porta dei Pantelieri and called *Bdb al-bahr* (Gate of the Sea), which was built in 942 and destroyed in the 16th century. The third inscription, attributed to 343/9/1954, was
once in the castle of Termini Imerese. It is a text that commemorates the erection of a building, probably the castle itself. The sandstone blocks containing the inscription are at present broken down into fifteen fragments.

To these inscriptions perhaps could be added a burial text, dated x7x or x9x A.H., that M. Amari found on the tomb of the church of the castle, now in the Galleria Regionale di Palazzo Bellomo in Syracuse. We may presume that the Arabic inscriptions belonging to the Norman period, like those belonging to the period of the Arab occupation, are of local origin even if Islamic burial grounds have not yet been discovered on the island. We know that during the Norman period, permanent Muslim colonies existed in Sicily, and Arabic was one of the languages spoken in the Court or used for official texts. Therefore Muslims must have enjoyed tolerance and welfare to enable them to afford paying such craftsmen as the lapicides, who besides the skill of cutting stone, must also have possessed a good knowledge of Islamic texts.

A similar presumption cannot, however, be made regarding Arabic inscriptions found in sites where the Arabic presence was neither stable nor lasting or for those dated from the Swabian period onwards, since those Muslims who were still on the island enjoyed no longer social and economic privileges.

As to the inscriptions bearing dates belonging to the Norman period, it is possible to distinguish some inscriptions mainly on buildings, that could be called Norman inscriptions in Arabic characters because they were made in the Court workshop according to the taste of the Norman dynasty. The texts consist of single words that are expressions of good wishes, with frequent repetition (first half of the twelfth century). They seem to have a unique model, as they use the same phrases or words derived from the identical Arabic root, and most of them can be found woven into the inscriptions of the coronation mantle of Roger II, now preserved in Vienna.

There are four groups of metrical inscriptions, in praise of the rulers, placed on the palaces of Roger II (1105-54), William I (1154-66) and William II (1166-89). The white marble slabs that decorate the Royal Palaces of Roger II in Palermo and Messina are really unique, as the inscriptions have been made with the technique of inlaid marble, with writing in serpentine and background fillers in porphyry, unknown to the Arabic epigraphy.

The use of the languages of the four different ethnic and religious groups living in Sicily, i.e. Latin, Greek and Arabic, which was in one of the texts also written in Hebrew characters, is attested on two tombstones belonging to the parents of King Roger's chaplain, dated respectively 1141-2 and 1153, and on a marble slab which commemorates the installation of a waterclock in 1142.

These “Norman inscriptions in Arabic characters” often contain terms belonging to the Oriental Christian vocabulary, as well as Christian symbols and a unique chronology which refers to the months of the Latin calendar and to the year of the Muslim era. The Arabic words also assumed new meanings related to the social customs and religious habits of the European courts.


(VINCENZA GRASSI)
(see Lane, Lexicon, 1937). From the latter meaning, it came to denote the result of the stamping, i.e. the legends on the coins, and then, the whole operation of minting coins.

1. Legal and constitutional aspects.

As in the Byzantine and Sasanid empires to which the Arab caliphate was heir, the right of issuing gold and silver coinage was a royal prerogative. Hence in the caliphate, the operation of sikka, the right of the ruler to place his name on the coinage, eventually became one of the insignia of royal power, linked with that of the khutba (q.v.), the placing of the ruler's name in the bidding prayer during the Friday congregational worship.

This right of placing the ruler's name on the coinage did not appear immediately in the Islamic state. As is well known, up to the caliphate of the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik (q.v.) at least, the former Byzantine and Sasanid money continued to circulate; and when the new holders of power within the conquered lands finally placed their own names on newly-minted coins or counterstamped them on older coins, this was not a sign of a prerogative reserved to the caliphs. Provincial governors like Ziyad b. Abhi, al-Hajjāj b. Yazid, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (q.v.), etc., minted coins bearing their own names only. Even when the use of the caliphs' names on coins spread, certain provincial governors continued to follow their own local minting practices; thus at the end of the 1st century A.H., the governor of North Africa Munā b. Nusayr (q.v.) still minted coins of his own, with legends in Latin. Also notable, during the period from Mu'āwiya to 'Abd al-Malik, was the appearance of effigies of the caliph on coins, and when the rulers' names appeared, these were often followed by the titles of khalīfa or amīr al-mu'mīnīn. Some 'Abbāsid coins did not always have the caliph's name on them, but might be minted by the designated heir to the throne or wali 'l-ahd or by a caliphal minister. But it became more and more general for the caliph's name to take precedence, usually with their honorifics or ishāb (q.v.) also.

With the break-up of caliphal unity, provincial governors issued their own coins, placing their own names on them but usually continuing to place first the name of the reigning caliph as a witness to their theoretical subordination to the universal caliphate. Of course, when dynasties arose in deliberate defiance of or enmity to the 'Abbāsids, as was the case with the Spanish Umayyads and the Fāṭimids of North Africa and Egypt, their coinage was a completely independent one, with their own names only inscribed on the coins.


2. Coinage practice.

In Lane's Arabic-English lexicon, the origin of the word sikka is given as sīka, originally a ploughshare, or a nail, pin or piece of iron, thus sīka, an engraved piece of iron, a die for striking coins, hence maskāk, plural maskukāt, coined money. In its literal meaning, sīka refers to coinage dies in a mint, in early days made of bronze rather than iron, which tended to shatter under the repeated blows of the hammering process that was used to transfer the inscriptions on the die to the metal blank or planchet. For the purposes of this section of the article, however, sikka is discussed in its figurative sense, the right of a Muslim ruler to have his name inscribed on the coinage (see above, 1).

From its origins in classical antiquity until today, manufacture of money, and the standards controlling it have been under governmental supervision. The manufacture of coin was an important source of revenue for the government which derived from the fees, or seignorage, charged by the mint for converting unrefined metal into coin. The government stamp on the metal served as a guarantee of its purity, and as a permit for it to become legal tender within the area of authority where it was issued. In the city states of antiquity, the coinage was first identified by images of local gods and other symbols, and was often guaranteed by the names of moneyers. Under the Roman and Parthian Empires, and later the Byzantines and Sasanids, local coinages were swept away, and replaced by those whose principal feature was the ruler's bust, often with his name and titles, and thus monarchial coinage became the rule throughout the Mediterranean and Iranian world.

In the time of the Prophet Muhammad the Hijārā had no indigenous coinage of its own and its preparatory stock was composed of whatever coins were earned through trade or pilgrimage receipts. These were Byzantine gold and copper coins, Sasanid silver, and a miscellany of older coins which had remained in circulation long after the states which issued them had passed into history. The rapid spread of Islam, however, resulted in the acquisition of large quantities of Byzantine and Sasanid coins which fuelled the economy of the newly-conquered territories. The Byzantine money came mostly from outside the territories conquered by the Arabs, although there was a long-established Byzantine mint in Alexandria, and another in Jerusalem operational ca. A.D. 609-15. In the Sasanid lands in the east, however, the Arabs acquired control of many local mints. The silver coinage struck in them bore the name and bust of the ruler, the mint mark and the regnal year of striking. Because the Arabs had no coinage of their own, and the populations of the newly-conquered territories belonged to two empires with very different monetary systems, they took the pragmatic step of adopting both systems to avoid disrupting the local economy and antagonising their new subjects. The earliest datable Islamic coins are silver dirhams, or dirhams, bearing the name and bust of the last Sasanid ruler Yazdīgīrd III (11-31/632-51) with the legend bism Allāh in the obverse margin and on the reverse the mintmark and the date 20, his last regnal year, which corresponded to the year 31 A.H. Yazdīgīrd's name and bust were then replaced by those of Kḥusraw II (590-628), which became the model for the remainder of the Arab Sasanid series. It soon became the custom for local Muslim governors to replace the name Kḥusraw with their own names in Pahlāwī script. The dates on these coins, however, are often difficult to elucidate because in many instances it is uncertain whether those above the year 31 were continuations of Yazdīgīrd's regnal years or the actual Hijārī years of striking.

Outside of the former Sasanid territories, the picture is far less clear. It is not known when Islamic coinage began in the former Byzantine lands, because none of the coins in circulation there were dated. Some authorities have argued that it started soon after the Arab conquest, while others have dated its inception to the early years of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/684-705). In either case it is clear...
that the Arabs began to strike copper fulûs in long-dormant Syrian and Palestinian mints, with designs based on Byzantine prototypes, often giving the names of the towns in both Latin and Arabic. Occasionally, they bear the phrase kisr Allâh to give them a specifically Islamic character. Mints did not usually share the designs, which emphasised the local nature of each issue. None bore the name of a caliph or local governor. It can thus be said with some certainty that the idea of sikka as a prerogative of caliphal sovereignty had not yet developed in the early years of the Islamic community.

The revolutionaries in the late Umayyad period made a few alterations to the standard Umayyad dirham, but only as a sign of their prestige for dirhams in the form mim-md amara bi-hi al-Amlr al-Kirmdm b. Hdrun. This was issued. The gold dinars of Egypt carried the name to appear in the legends was that of Muhammad, which implies that, as in the frequently used laudatory phrase of a local governor, al-Hasan b. al-Kahtaba, was also found on a dirham of Armenia dated 154/771.

By 74/694 the 'Abbasids based their claim to the caliphate on their closeness to the Prophet, and they replaced the Sunat al-Hâlîs, which was used by the Umayyads basically as an irritant to the Christians, with Mu'mammad rasûl Allâh. It thus could be argued that the original 'Abbasid sikka was in the name of the Prophet. They did, however, change the way in which the caliph was named. The Umayyad caliphs were known by their proper names and those of their father, e.g. 'Umar (II) б. 'Abd al-'Azîz or Hâshêm b. 'Abd al-Malik. Of the Abbasid caliphs, however, only the name al-Mahdî Muhammad b. Amir al-Mu'minîn. The name of a local governor, al-Hasan b. al-Kahtaba, was also found on a dirham of Armenia dated 154/771.

In the reign of al-Mahdî, 158-69/775-85, the ruler's style regularly appeared on dirhams in the form li 'l-Khalîfâ al-Mahdî and rarely with his name Muhammad. Two of his sons were occasionally granted responsibility for dirhams in the form mim-mâ mumara bi-hi Mish wa'tâd al-Muslimîn for his heir, and mim-mâm amara bi-hi Hâsim b. Amir al-Mu'minîn for the future al-Râshîd. The names of governors also appeared on the dirhams more frequently. During his brief rule (169-70/785-6) al-Hâdid was referred to either as li 'l-Khalîfâ al-Hâdid or li 'l-Khalîfâ Mishâs. Al-Râshîd's earliest dirham coinage from al-Hârûnîyya in 170 and 171 called him by his first throne name, al-Mardî: "The Approved One": li 'l-Khalîfâ al-Mardî mim-mâm amara bi-hi Hârûn Amir al-Mu'minîn. The caliphs' name then made its first brief appearance on a few rare dirhams of 170 and 171 in the form mim-mâm amara bi-hi 'Abd Allâh Hârûn Amir al-Mu'minîn, where 'Abd Allâh was used in its titular form as it had been on the coins of 'Abd al-Malik.

Between 170 and 187/786-803, while al-Râshîd was under the tutelage of Abu 'l-Fadî Djà'afar al-Barmakî [see AL-BARMAKî], an extraordinary variety of coinage was issued. The gold dinârs of Egypt carried the names of its governors 'Alî, Mus'tâfî, 'Umar, Muhammad, Dîwûd and Ibrîhîm, then that of his honorary governor Djà'afar (al-Barmakî) and finally Khâlid. Dinârs issued in 'Irâk between 177 and 187 bore the legend mim-mâm amara bi-hi al-Amin Muhammad b. Amir al-Mu'minîn. The silver coinage was far more complex, sometimes naming the caliph as either Hârûn or al-Râshîd, but often not mentioning him at all. Al-Amin was usually called wa'tâd al-Muslimîn, and his younger brother al-Ma'mûn the second heir, wa'tâd al-Muslimîn. Djà'afar's name appeared either alone after that of the caliph and his heir, or with the names of local governors. This coinage is particularly valuable for historians because the governors' names provide a chronology for the period which would otherwise have escaped posterity. Presumably they were granted the privilege of placing their names on the coins when they received their commissions from the 'Abbasid chancellory headed by Djà'afar al-Barmakî.

After the latter's execution in 187/803, al-Râshîd curbed this practice, and most of the coinage recovered its former anonymity, particularly in minus such as Madînât al-Salâm, al-Râhîga and al-Muhammadîyya.
which were under direct caliphal control. The conflict that erupted between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn after al-Raṣîd's death in 193/809 was reflected in the coins they each struck. No specialised, systematic study has been made of the coinage of these two rulers, which is the most complex in the history of the Islamic world, because by this time responsibility for the sikka had become highly decentralised, and indeed fragmented. For example, after the year 145/762 the Umayyad rulers of Spain were striking conventional, anonymous Umayyad dirhams. In the Ḥishāb, the Idrīsids and other local rulers placed their own names on the coinage without any titles. During al-Raṣîd's rule, the province of Ḥijrīsh had fallen into the hands of the Aghlabids, who became its hereditary governors. They retained the design of the early ʿAbbasīd dinār, but differentiated it by adding the governor's name and the dynastic symbol ʿālīkh to its legends.

The province of Egypt, which al-Ma'mūn acquired in 196/812, now became the western boundary of the ʿAbbasīd caliphate. From then until 215/829 the names of provincial governors appeared on the Egyptian coinage, usually with that of the caliph. Between 198 and 211 Syria was controlled by Muḥāammad b. Bayhās, who placed the caliph's name above his on the dirhams which he struck. Madīnāt al-Salām (Baghdād) was held by al-Amīn until 198/813, when it fell to the forces of al-Fadl b. Sahī Ḫūʾ al-Riṣāsātayn [q.v.]. His conquest marked a turning point for the currency, because in 198 al-Fadl struck the first ʿAbbasīd dinār to bear a mint name, sc. Madīnāt al-Salām. More importantly for the purposes of this article, he added the word wūdūʾīn "For God", abū Muḥāammad rasūl Allāh to the legends found on both dinārs and dirhams. This dedication made it clear that the right of sikka was vested in the hands of God, passing through those of His messenger Muḥāammad to the individual named as the issuing agent. This chain of authority can be seen in its most highly developed form on the dirhams struck by al-Ma'mūn after he chose the eighth Shīʿī chain of imāms as his heir in 201/816. The reverse reads: wūdūʾīn, Muḥāammad rasūl Allāh; al-Ma'mūn isbīnāfī, al-Mu'si'mīna mūnāhām aḥīr bi Allāh; Ḫūʾ al-Riṣāsātayn. (Note: al-Mu'si'mīn意思是 "the Victorious Caliph", al-Mu'si'mīn意思是 "the Orthodox Caliph" or "the Trusted Caliph", but the new sikka read bī'llāh, Muḥāammad rasūl Allāh al-Mu'si'mīn bī'llāh "For God, Muḥāammad is God's Messenger, the One Who Relies on God". This new style was probably chosen because it conformed to the theory that the sikka originated in and descended from God's sovereign power.

This form was used by all but one of al-Mu'tāṣim's successors until the end of the dynasty, and was only modified if political exigency required when the name of the heir was added to the legends. The practice began under al-Muṭawakkil, whose son was first named ʿAbābīd Allāh b. ʿAmīr al-Mu'si'mīn, and then received his later throne name al-Mu'izz bī'llāh b. ʿAmīr al-Mu'si'mīn on his father's dinārs and dirhams. It was taken further when the feeble caliph al-Mu'tāṣim divided jurisdiction between his son and heir Djafar in the West and his powerful brother Abu ʿAbd Allāh in the East. The heir was first named Dja'far on his coinage, and later al-Muṣafuṣṣīn al-ʿālam al-ʿālam, while Talḥa was always known as al-Muwaṣṣaf bī'llāh. After al-Muwaṣṣaf defeated the Zandj rebels he added another title to the coinage struck under his jurisdiction: al-Nāṣir bi-Dīn Allāh, al-Muwaṣṣaf bī'llāh. He subsequently included the name of his heir, ʿAbd al-Muwaṣṣaf bī'llāh, who became known as al-Mu'tāṣim bī'llāh after his father's death, in the year before he succeeded Mu'tāṣim as caliph.

Throughout the latter part of the 3rd/9th-10th century the unity of the ʿAbbasīd state was breaking down because of the rise of powerful, virtually independent local rulers who emphasised their status by adding their names to both the coinage and the ʿālaqā. Even the caliphs had occasionally honoured individual ʿālaqās on their own coinage, but never in their own names. For example, al-Mu'tāṣim included the title Ḫūʾ al-Wāṣṣafayn to honour Sa'id b. Makhdal in 270/883; al-Muṣṭafī Wādī al-Dawla to honour Abu Ḫusayn al-Kāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh in the year of his death, 291/903-4; and al-Muḳṭadīr ʿAmīd al-Dawla to honour al-Ḥusayn b. al-Kāsim, the son of the caliph's ʿālaqā, on some of his coinage dated 320/932. The local rulers, however, used only their own ʿālam without any titles on the coins which, in theory, they struck on behalf of the caliph. This practice started in Egypt and Syria in 265/879 when Ahmad b. Tūlūn placed his name below that of the caliph in the reverse of his coinage. In the East, it began somewhat earlier when the first Saffārid ruler added his own name Ya'qūb to the coinage (ca. 259-65). Before long the practice became universal, and whether by usurpation or grant from the caliph, the presence of names on the coinage was once again issued only in the name of God and His Messenger.

When Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mu'tāṣim succeeded to the caliphate on the death of his brother al-Ma'mūn in 198/813, he continued to strike the same anonymous coinage, but distinguished it slightly by altering the former leftward slant of the word bī'llāh to make it fully vertical. In 219/834, however, he introduced a new style of throne name, a participial phrase describing the caliph by his relationship to God rather than by the manner of his leadership of the Muslim community. From al-Saffār until al-Ma'mūn, the ʾālaqā was understood to have modified the title al-Kulāfī, e.g., "the Victorious Caliph", "the Orthodox Caliph", or "the Trusted Caliph", but the new sikka read bī'llāh, Muḥammad rasūl Allāh al-Mu'tāṣim bī'llāh "For God, Muḥāammad is God's Messenger, the One Who Relies on God". This new style was probably chosen because it conformed to the theory that the sikka originated in and descended from God's sovereign power.

Thus the sikka was once again issued only in the name of God and His Messenger.
coins fill in gaps in our knowledge which existing textual sources may be unable to do. In the words of Stanley Lane-Poole in his Pasti Arabi: "The coins of the Muslim East do not so much recall history as make it..." Abu Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min, in reverse segments, Amir al-Mu'min, Abu Ya'qub Tusuf ibn al-

While in theory the right of sīkka flowed downwards from God, through the Prophet, to his viceroy, the caliph, and from him to his vassals, and ultimately perhaps to the latter's heir or an important governor, in practice it now moved in the opposite direction. The local strong man who controlled the mint defined his political and even religious position by acknowledging only those overlords who were valuable to him, or by choosing Kur'anic and other legends that defined his allegiance in the Sunnī-Shi'i divide. No detailed account of the sīkka in such cases can be given here, but the following remarks about examples are drawn from the principal Islamic dynasties which are not discussed elsewhere in this Encyclopaedia. Until 297/909 there was only one caliphate in the Islamic community, but in that year 'Abd Allâh al-Shâfii proclaimed the Fâtimid claimant 'Abd Allâh al-Mahdi b'ilâlah Amîr al-Mu'minîn at Kayrawân in Tunisia. The statement on his sīkka: al-Imâm al-Mahdî b'ilâlah 'Abd Allâh Amîr al-Mu'minîn prompted the Umayyad of Spain to revive their claim to the Sunnî caliphate. After 316/928, 'Abd al-Rahmân III issued a re-designed coinage placing his name in the reverse field, al-Imâm al-Nâsir li-Dîn Allâh 'Abd al-Rahmân Amîr al-Mu'minîn, which paralleled that of his Fâtimid rival. In later reigns this order was reversed, e.g. al-Imâm Hâdî Amîr al-Mu'minîn al-Mugayyad b'ilâlah. Still later, the Spanish coinage often incorporated the title and name of the chief minister as well as that of the caliph, e.g. al-Hasân 'Abd al-Malîk. Other names also appeared, often those of wazîrs or masters of the mint. In such instances, however, these men should not be considered as the holders of the sīkka, unlike in the East where it was usually the lowest-ranking name who actually controlled the currency.

This is well illustrated by the coinage issued during the crisis in the 'Abbasid caliphate, when its erstwhile vassals brought about its prolonged eclipse. In 330/942 Abu Muhammad al-Hasan, the Hamdânid ruler of Mawsil, was appointed the 'Abbasid governor, in practice it now moved in the opposite direction. From 329/940 the Buwayhid control, which ended both 'Abbasid independence and his life, but not before he had transformed the three-dinar coin of Buwayh from 'Al'âmîd, 'Alî and Husayn into Mu'izz, 'Imâm and Rukn al-Dawla. For a time, this style of lakab was the highest form of title attained by a secular ruler in the East. The Buwayhid sīkka can be difficult to determine, but the general principles to follow are from one side of the coin to the other starting with the name of the caliph, usually found in the reverse field below Muhammad ra'sûl Allâh and then to work downwards from the highest-ranking amîr to the lowest, and thus arrive at the individual who actually exercised the right of sīkka.

The next round of inflation in coinage titleature was set off when the caliph al-Tâ'î b'ilâlah invested 'A'dâm al-Mansûr in the supreme secular ruler in 367/977. He now styled himself al-Malîk al-'Adil 'Adud al-Dawla wa-Tâdîj al-Millâ Abu Shudjâ'. On other coins struck immediately before his coronation he was described as al-Imâm al- 'Adil and al-Malîk al- 'Sayyid. Before long all the ruling Buwayhid amîrs had royal titles and lakabs in both the al-Dawla and al-Millâ forms, and often in an al- 'Ummâ form as well. Baha' al-Dawla then assumed a superior lakab in the al-Din form calling himself 'The Just King of Kings and Shah of Shahs'. He was thus Sâlih, Malik Malîk, Shahângh, Kusân al-Din, Abu 'l-Nâsir, Baha' al-Dawla wa-Dîjâ' al-Millâ al-Ghâvîy al-Ummâ. Titles reached its highest point under the Buwayhid ruler of Fars, Abû Kâltîgâr (415/410-1249), who was one of the greatest coiners in Islamic history. Following his investiture as Amîr al-Ummâr in 435/1044, his sīkka read Shahângh al-Mu'mazzâm, Malîk al-Malîk, Mu'âtî Din Allâh wa-sâlîgh Khitâb Allâh wa-Kusân al-Khâtât Allâh Alâ b'Allâh. After his death, lakabs in the al- 'Ummâ and al-Millâ forms were not in fashion, and those remaining were usually shortened to the al-Dîn. Between 449 and 541/1057-1146 the Almoravids or al-Murâbi'tûn [q.v.] in the Maghrib struck a plentiful gold and silver coinage acknowledging the 'Abbasid caliphate, but never naming the caliph individually. He was referred to as al-Imâm, 'Abd Allâh, Amîr al-Mu'mînîn, and in later years the epithet 'Abâ i'Bâsi was sometimes added. The rulers, who were known simply as al-Imâm Âbu Bîk b. 'Umar, Amîr Yâsîf b. Tâhûufîn, etc., later adopted the sub-caliphal title Amîr al-Mu'mînîn. 'Alî b. Yûúsuf named two successive wâli 'âds, Sîr b. 'Alî between 522 and 533/1128-39 and Tâhûufîn b. 'Alî (533-7/1139-43). The same style of titleature was used by the remaining Almoravid rulers, Tâhûufîn, Ibrâhîm and Išâk. When the Almohads or al-Muwaćhidûn [q.v.] dynasty seized power in Morocco in 540/1146, they altered their sīkka radically. It was based on the belief that the sect's founder, Muhammad b. Tûmârt [q.v.], whose followers called him al-Malîk, could purify Islam of its corruptions. After Ibn Tûmârt's death the sect was led by his most capable disciple 'Abd al-Mu'mîn [q.v.] who, after his defeat of the Almoravids, introduced a new style of coinage unlike any found elsewhere in the Islamic community. Although nominally Sunnî in allegiance, the Almohads made no reference to the 'Abbasîd caliphate, and removed the traditional mint and date formula from the legends, which were inscribed within a new small square in circle design. They did, however, take great delight in titulature and genealogy, which somewhat makes up for the lack of mints and dates. A sample sīkka on a dînâr of Abû Hâfîz 'Umar (646-65/1248-66) illustrates this: in reverse square, al-Malîk Îmâm al- 'Ummâ, al-Kârîm al- Âmm Allâh, al-Kûtûfî al- 'Imâm, Abû Muhammad 'Abd al-Mu'mîn ibn 'Alî Amîr al-Mu'mînîn, in reverse segments, Amîr al-Mu'mînîn, Abû Yâsîf Yâsîf ibn al-
Khalifa, and in obverse segments, Amir al-Mu'min al-Muntada fi Amr, Allah Abi Hafid b. al-Amir, al-Tahir Abi Ishtih, ibn al-Mahdiyyin. The same square in circle design, with similarly convoluted legends, was used by the Hafsid, Marfids and Ziyadids. Before leaving this type, there is the sikka found on a dinar of the last Nasrid ruler in Spain, Muhammad XII, Boabdil, who lost Granada to the Christians in 897/1492. It reads: 'Abd Allah, al-Ghadib bi'llah, Muhammad b. Ali b. Sa'd b. Ali, Tausif b. Muhammad b. Tausif b. Naqr, ayyadu Allah wa-nasarahu with the nasrid motto la-ghadib illa Allah repeated four times in the margin.

Turning to the coinage of the Fatimid caliphs [see Appendix], it should be recalled that the first ruler's coins bore the legends of a first period 'Abbasid dinar, with no more than his name to distinguish them from the previous Aghlabid dinars. His successor, however, changed the design and called the coinage on the coinage and used as his sikka Muhammad Abu 'l-Kasim al-Mahdi bi'llah al-Kirim bi Amr Allah Amir al-Mu'min. The coins of the third caliph still showed no overt signs of the Fatimid leadership of the Isma'ili Shi'i: 'Abd Allah Dinuq al-Mansur, Amir al-Mu'min. Their real religious fervor first found expression with the first coinage of the fourth caliph al-Mu'tazz. On the obverse, the Kalima was augmented by the sentence wa-Allah b. Ali Tashin hasayn riad nabi al-fadl wa-zawaj al-zahid al-mahdi at-Ba'it. "And 'Ali b. Ali Tashin is the Nominee of the Prophet, Most Excellent Representative, and Husband of the Radiant Chaste One". On the reverse the caliph styled himself 'Abd Allah Mu'izz ad-Din Tahir, al-Mansur al-Mu'tazz bi Amr Allah Amir al-Mu'min. Many sultanates, mursid al-mursidin, wa-wa-ras al-ra'isi al-mahdiyyin. "Revivifier of the Sunna of Muhammad, Lord of the Transmitters and Heir to the Rightly-Guided Imams". This coinage is said to have caused serious problems for the government because most of their subjects were Sunni by persuasion, and a less inflammatory legend was quickly deduced from this legend that she was formerly in the harem of the caliph al-Musta'sim, who presented her to al-Salihiyyin, that she became Queen of the Muslims and mothered a prince, the Malik al-Mansur, whom she termed "Friend of the Commander of the Faithful". The second Mamluk ruler, Aybak, concealed himself behind two fictive rulers, first al-Ashraf Musa, al-Malik al-'Adl of Caliphate. The second Mamluk ruler, Aybak, concealed himself behind two fictive rulers, first al-Ashraf Musa, al-Malik al-'Adl, then the last powerful Ayyubid: al-Malik al-Salih Nasir al-Din Ayyub, and then the last powerful Ayyubid: al-Malik al-Salih Nasir ad-Din Ayyub b. al-Malik al-Kamil. The succeeding rulers maintained the Ayyubid style of sikka until Baybars gave refuge to an 'Abbasid prince who fled the Mongol sack of Baghdad. In return for his name on the sikka, al-Mamun al-Mustansir bi'llah Abu al-Aswad al-Abid, the newly-recognised caliph granted Baybars the style al-Sultan al-Malik al-'Adl, al-Kamil. For the remaining Ayyubid rule, the coinage was the same form as that of the Ayyubid sultans. Elsewhere, the founder of the Rasulid dynasty of Yemen, al-Mansur Umar, initially struck coins in the name of his nominal Ayyubid overlords, who had previously ruled the country. In 834/1236-7 he began to coin in his own name: al-Malik al-Mansur al-Adil al-Malik al-Mansur...
Abu ‘l-Fath Umar b. ‘Ali. He followed the Ayyubid convention of acknowledging the spiritual overlordship of the ‘Abbasid caliphate, and further emphasised his Sunni allegiance by being one of the first rulers to inscribe on the reverse of the first four Orthodox Caliphs into the coin legends. This innovation was followed by a second when his son al-Mu’azzaf Yusuf became the first to style himself al-Sultán al-Malik as early as 648/1250, well before Baybars received the coinage of Mahmud Shah (644-64/1246-66): al-Sultán al-A’zam al-Malik al-Rahim Badr al-Din Lu’tu’i. After Lu’tu’i’s death in 657/1258, his son first struck coinage in the name of Mongke Khatun with the titles of his first successor Abu ‘l-Fath and his last son, Nasir al-Din Ayub. Probably this was because a Safavid prince, Sultan Muhammad Mirza, had been proclaimed by him in Tehran in 1200/1786 and was still living, although not in Persia. Fath ‘Ali Shah made an extraordinary innovation. Before his death, he issued royal money under his name Baba Khan with the title of Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi; then Karim Khan Zand, as vakti, struck in the name of Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi, also using the invocation Ya Karim! alluding to his own name. Muhammad Hasan Khan Kadjar similarly coined in the name of Imam ‘Ali al-Rida. Evidently, they had no official ajulus. The latter Zand Khans, at least in some cases, had a qulil. But on their money they assume no regal titles; there was still a Safavid order. The principle of Karim Khan’s is not contradicted from except in the appearance of the names without titles of his first successor Abu ‘l-Fath and his last one Luft ‘Ali; ‘Ali Murad and Dja’far used allusive invocations (Ya ‘Ali! and Ya Imam ‘Ali [q.v.]).

SIKKA

One extraordinary exception to this practice is found on the coinage of Timur Gurbân, or Timur Lang, when he seized control of Transoxiana in 771/1369-70 and he did not posses the Čaghatay Khâns from their position as their nominal rulers. Between 771 and 790/1369-98 the usual style followed the pattern of a coin of Mahmud Shah above that of Timur, and between 790 and 800/1388-98 that of Mahommed. Timur called himself Amir Timur Gurbân, but his successor Shâh Rûkh employed the usual Persian style: al-Sultán al-A’zam Shâh Rûkh Bahadur. Probably this was because a Safavid prince, Sultan Muhammad Mirza, had been proclaimed by him in Tehran in 1200/1786 and was still living, although not in Persia.

For the Ottomans’ and Safawids’ sikka, see ‘otmânci. IX, and safawids. 6. After the fall of the Safawids in the part of Persia which came under the rule of the Hotakí Afghans, the Shi’I Kalimâts placed on their coin legends were used by the last three Kadjar rulers, ‘Ali Shah and ‘Abd al-‘Azîz, in the names of each ruler first struck in the name of Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi, also using the invocation Ya Karim! alluding to his own name. Muhammad Hasan Khan Kadjar similarly coined in the name of Imam ‘Ali al-Rida. Evidently, they had no official ajulus. The later Zand Khans, at least in some cases, had a qulil. But on their money they assume no regal titles; there was still a Safavid order. The principle of Karim Khan’s is not contradicted from except in the appearance of the names without titles of his first successor Abu ‘l-Fath and his last one Luft ‘Ali; ‘Ali Murad and Dja’far used allusive invocations (Ya ‘Ali! and Ya Imam ‘Ali [q.v.]).

One extraordinary exception to this practice is found on the coinage of Timur Gurbân, or Timur Lang, when he seized control of Transoxiana in 771/1369-70 and he did not posses the Čaghatay Khâns from their position as their nominal rulers. Between 771 and 790/1369-98 the usual style followed the pattern of a coin of Mahmud Shah above that of Timur, and between 790 and 800/1388-98 that of Mahommed. Timur called himself Amir Timur Gurbân, but his successor Shâh Rûkh employed the usual Persian style: al-Sultán al-A’zam Shâh Rûkh Bahadur. Probably this was because a Safavid prince, Sultan Muhammad Mirza, had been proclaimed by him in Tehran in 1200/1786 and was still living, although not in Persia.

For the Ottomans’ and Safawids’ sikka, see ‘otmânci. IX, and safawids. 6. After the fall of the Safawids in the part of Persia which came under the rule of the Hotakí Afghans, the Shi’I Kalimâts placed on their coin legends were used by the last three Kadjar rulers, ‘Ali Shah and ‘Abd al-‘Azîz, in the names of each ruler first struck in the name of Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi, also using the invocation Ya Karim! alluding to his own name. Muhammad Hasan Khan Kadjar similarly coined in the name of Imam ‘Ali al-Rida. Evidently, they had no official ajulus. The later Zand Khans, at least in some cases, had a qulil. But on their money they assume no regal titles; there was still a Safavid order. The principle of Karim Khan’s is not contradicted from except in the appearance of the names without titles of his first successor Abu ‘l-Fath and his last one Luft ‘Ali; ‘Ali Murad and Dja’far used allusive invocations (Ya ‘Ali! and Ya Imam ‘Ali [q.v.]).

His successor, the Imam Bádr struck a token coinage in exile which did not circulate in the Yaman. Now the only countries which use a royal style on their coins are: Morocco—al-Hasán al-Thámit al-Malik al-Maghríbí; Su‘údí Arabia—al-Malik Fáhid b. ‘Abd al-A‘zíz al-Sulúr al-Hamán y al-Súfíyám; ‘Umán—Abd al-Sáhir b. Sa‘úd ‘Umán b. Ibrahim al-Mudjdhid al-Sibíl; Pakistan—Sháh ‘Abd al-Qádir al-Mujarram. Elsewhere in the Muslim world, the coinage is issued in the name of the state or central bank. It has been entirely secularised and shorn of all its past associations, and is no more than a bland reflection of today’s political realities.

Bibliography: There is no work per se that deals with the Islamic sika, but in every catalogue where a coin is described the names and titles of the ruler are recorded. The material for further study is contained in the great museum catalogues, and in more specialised works which deal with a particular dynasty. There are also hundreds of articles on individual subjects.


(R.E. DARLEY-DORAN)

3. The Maria Theresa thaler.

From the mid-18th century and even amongst Bedouin and in remote parts of Ethiopia at the present time, these thalers have been used as a conventional, albeit unofficial, means of exchange, throughout the Arabian peninsula and in the Sudanic belt, and as far eastwards as the Maldives and Indonesia. Since the Empress Maria Theresa's death in 1780 restrikes bearing that date have been issued at different times from official mints because of continued demand for one reason or another: Rome (1935-7), London (1936-61), Bombay (1941-2), Birmingham (1949-55), Brussels (1935-7), and Paris (1937-59), and still continuously from Vienna since 1961. In addition, counter-marked official and unofficial issues have been made in the Azores, Portuguese Marques, Pembas, Djibuti, Bab al Mandab, the Ku'ayti State of Shihr and Mukalla, Nadjd (Ibn Su'd, ante 1916 until 1923), Hedjaz (under Husayn, Sharif and then King of Mecca, 1916-20), the Maldives and Madura in Indonesia. In Western Africa, issues have crossed the Sahara from the Sudanic belt as far as Timbuktu, Nigeria and Dahomey. In these regions both the British and French authorities demonetised them in 1930. They have been used not only as a means of exchange but also for feminine decoration, and especially for bridal costumes; they have also served as a convenient source of bullion for manufacturing silver jewellery. Dubious restrikes have also been attributed to Florence, Leningrad, Marseilles, Utrecht and Venice.

The first German crowns were the silver guldners issued by Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol in 1486, whose coinage was imitated by a number of German princes. The first thalers properly so-called originate from the discovery in 1518 of a silver mine by a Count von Schlick at Joachimsthal, on the border of Bohemia and Upper Austria. He obtained a licence to coin in silver, and made his first issues in 1525, denominating them thalers, an abbreviation of the toponym of origin. Variant spellings of this term occur consistently of 833.3 millesimal fineness, 1.553 ins in diameter, and weighing 433.14 gr. The legend is abbreviated, shown here by capital letters: obverse: Maria THERESIA Dei Gratia Romanorum IMPeratrix HUNgariae et BOhemiae REGina; and, reverse: her coat-of-arms borne by a double-headed eagle, a decoration that could have appealed since it first occurs in Islamic numismatics in Artukid coinage, from an emblem depicted on a Byzantine tower restored by the Artukids at Âmid, Turkey, with their inscription dated 605/1208-9. The quarters display the arms of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia; and, after 1751 Duke of Lorraine, and after 1751 Duke of Milan and Holy Roman Emperor. On the edge of the flan is the inscription: JUSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA, with various decorative symbols, being the motto of her reign, making clipping impossible.

In 1764 the Giinzburg mint was opened specifically to mint thalers for the use of bankers from Augsburg engaged in the Ottoman trade. Already in 1750, those destined for Turkey were controlled by a monopoly. The 583,250 pieces coined in 1751 had increased to 1,300,597 by 1757, and to more than 2 million by 1764. Such was the demand that issues were also authorised from Kremsitz and Karlsburg, and, later, Milan, Venice and Prague. By 1767 the traveller Carsten Niebuhr found them in Yemen. By the time that Maria Theresa died in 1780 it had become plain that coins bearing her bust were valued above all others in Arabia and Yemen. Thus in 1781 a bank-
ing firm sent a consignment of bullion to the Ginzburg mint requesting thalers with the date 1780. Permission was given, but after 1866 Vienna held a monopoly. In the first years of the present century some 46 million pieces were minted.

It was the loss of her Italian territories in 1866 that caused Austria to reserve to herself the sole right to mint thalers. It was at this moment that Sir Robert Napier (later Lord Napier of Magdala) was preparing an expedition to Ethiopia to rescue beleaguered British diplomats and missionaries held by the Negus. The Vienna mint provided five million thalers; the British were well aware that no other currency could be acceptable in Ethiopia. It was a presage, but not foreseeable.

In 1935 Mussolini determined to conquer Ethiopia, and, on 9 July 1935 succeeded in wrenching the right to mint thalers from Vienna. It was an intolerable position for Britain. Not only was Britain pledged to Ethiopian independence; she also had commitments to Aden and the Arabian peninsula, as well as the Persian Gulf. The matter was resolved by an international conference in Tunis involving jurists, who ruled that the effigy on the thaler was of a person already dead for 150 years, who had been sovereign of a state that had disappeared in 1918. The successor state had twice introduced new currencies, finally the schilling, in 1924.

It was in this way that the Tower Mint, in London, was enabled to mint more than 16 million pieces in 1941 when Britain invaded Ethiopia in order to restore the Emperor to his throne. Dies were also sent to Bombay, 8 million pieces being minted in 1941, and 10 million in the following year. Supplies were also needed for the Arab lands, and Birmingham also minted further supplies, some of which inexplicably reached Hong Kong. Small numbers were also manufactured in Brussels and Paris.

There were also unofficial mints. In the Hadramawt the present writer was able to pick up some fractions of thalers which had been manufactured locally as small change, and which were known as al-Kaf coins from a well-known family of Sayids. This accords with a remark made by Sir Richard Burton in 1872, of the situation at Zanzibar in 1857, that there "are no mints, of which some sixteen exist at Maskat—private shops to which any man may carry his silver, see it broken up, and pay for the coining whatever the workmen may charge". He says that a clutch of currencies was to be found there: "German crowns or Maria Theresa—coined in Milan, known as Birsh Abyaz—as opposed to the Spanish or Pillar dollar Birsh Madfà—Father of Cannon from the columns, and Birsh Madqabri. Also Mexican dollars..." In 1811 Captain Smeek R.N. had reported that Spanish dollars were commonly current. So far no work has been done to identify the purely local manufactures.

Regoudy is able to report a veritable curiosity, of a trouvaille of 672 Maria Theresa thalers confiscated by the French authorities from smugglers who were operating for the Front de Libération Nationale in Tunisia on 30 May 1959. They were chiefly restrikes from Rome, London, Bombay, Paris, Brussels, Vienna, Prague and Venice. Some 60% came from Rome and Bombay, suggesting that the trouvaille may have been formed in the 1940s in the Horn of Africa, only eventually to find its way into the hands of FLN arms dealers.

The late Francesco Carbone, when he served in the Italian legation in Yemen from 1931 until 1961, first in Şan'a', then in Ta'izz, assembled a remarkable collection of thalers. Apart from 1780 restrikes, eight pieces of Maria Theresa antedated 1780, and two of her husband, Francis III Stephen; there were a further forty-eight pieces in the name of Francis I, dating between 1810 and 1830, together with one only of Francis Joseph I, of 1853. The collection was wholly random. During the whole period of Carbone’s residence, the 1780 Maria Theresa thaler was in normal circulation, brought up from Aden in conveniently packed boxes. The kurîh minted in the name of the Imam Yahyâ b. Muhammad never sufficed for local needs. Carbone thus abstracted the pieces not bearing the date 1780, replacing them in the Legation account with conventionally-accepted restrikes. The earlier group helps to illustrate the early popularity of the thaler and to show that pieces minted after 1780 not bearing Maria Theresa’s name were none the less acceptable. H.G. Stride’s statement that “Maria Theresa died in 1780 and that all thalers issued subsequently bore this date” would appear to be incorrect. In 1961 the Yemeni Government enquired of the British Legation in Ta’izz what the cost of purchasing one million Maria Theresa thalers would be. A quotation was passed to them: the cost of the silver was about five shillings, and the charge of the Royal Mint for manufacture at £16 per thousand pieces, the insurance and freight to be borne by the purchasers. The Yemeni Government did not proceed with the purchase. Ordinarily supplies of fresh thalers were introduced into circulation by Aden banks and merchants, whenever the cost of the silver, the minting charge, and insurance and freight were sufficiently below the exchange rate of the thaler to allow the bank a profit on the transaction.

It remains to mention what best may be described as a medal in the Carbone collection. It is a copy in gold about 1 m thick of a thaler issued by Francis Joseph I from the Vienna mint in 1898. It was specially minted in Şan’a’ at the mint there [see K.YAL] by command of the Imam Yahyâ on the occasion of his visit to King ‘Abd al-‘Azîz Ibn Su’ûd and his pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few were minted, for the Imam to give as presents to his friends, of whom Signor Carbone was one.


SIKKA — SIKKAT AL-ḤADĪD

1. Railway policy in Egypt and India.
The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830 marked the start of the railway era. Shortly after, plans were being laid for building railways in Egypt and India. The first Egyptian railway, between Alexandria and Giza, was opened in 1835. George Stephenson had originally proposed it in conjunction with the direct line between Cairo and Suez, now disused, as an alternative to the Maritime Canal across the Isthmus of Suez. The main Egyptian line up the Nile from Cairo to Luxor and Aswan was added later.

In India, the first railways were evidently built for purposes other than the purely commercial. In 1846 Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, remarked of the proposed railways that "the facility of rapid concentration of infantry, artillery and stores may be the chief prevention of an insurrection". Sadly, his advice was not heeded in time to forestall the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8. Three short lines, from Bombay to Kalyan (30 miles), from Calcutta to the coalfield at Ranegunge (120 miles), and from Madras to Arcot (63 miles) were opened between 1854 and 1856, but, when trouble broke out at Meerut in the next year, the extension of the Calcutta line to Delhi was only under construction, and its engineers suffered in the unrest. Not surprisingly, in subsequent years railway stations in North India were often constructed with an eye to defence: the station at Lahore, in particular, resembled a large frontier fort.

The line from Calcutta to Delhi was completed in 1854, and extended to Multan the following year. By 1869 the engineers had surmounted the obstacles of the Western Ghats behind Bombay (by taking gradients steeper than the maximum considered safe in Britain), and the main sections of the lines connecting the great ports were in place. Until then, Lord Dalhousie’s policy of using a uniform broad gauge of 5 ft. 6 ins. had been strictly enforced; but under Lord Mayo’s vicereignty (1869-72) other gauges were permitted, to the regret of later operators.

These early Indian railways were essentially intended to open up the interior to international trade, especially in cotton and jute, and in this they succeeded. However, it stands to the credit of the enlightened policy of Lord Ripon that, after a sequence of disastrous famines in the late 1870s, he followed the recommendations of the Famine Commissioners that railways be constructed with an eye to the rapid movement of surplus food to regions liable to suffer shortage. A further, and perhaps unforeseen, general effect of the railways was to facilitate pilgrimage among both the Hindu and Muslim communities.

The last of the great ports of the sub-continent to be connected was Karachi. The railway from Lahore, completed to Karachi in 1872, was built primarily to serve the newly irrigated canal colonies. In addition, however, it operated as a base-line for the narrow-gauge mountain railways which led westwards to the advance frontier posts near the border with Afghanistan—Landi Kotal, Thal, Bannu, Tank, Fort Sandeman and Chaman.

At that time, India’s frontier defences were mainly in the North-West; the North-Eastern frontier with Burma was of much less concern. During the Second World War, however, the reverse was the case. During the re-conquest of Burma from the Japanese in 1943-5, the lines of communication by rail through the predominantly Muslim territory of East Bengal (later Bangladesh) were few and difficult. The line to Chittagong, which served the Arakan Front, involved a long ferry crossing of the Ganges from Goalundo Ghat to Chandpur; and the track, managed by the American Army, to Manipur Road, the railhead for the Chindwin Front, could only be reached by the rail-ferry over the Brahmaputra at Armington.

In retrospect, the sub-continent has been well served by its railways, which aided commerce and helped to banish famine; China, by contrast, languished economically through lack of a wide network of railways.

2. The strategic lines.

In 1880 the Russian General Annenkov began the conquest of the Turkman steppes to the east of the Caspian Sea. A new railway was built from the harbour of Krasnovodsk to keep pace with the advance and to bring forward supplies and reinforcements. When the “Turkish” railway, coming from the north, was linked with the Trans-Caspian line in 1905 near Tashkent, the encirclement of the Muslim emirates of Central Asia [see BUKHARA, KHIVA, KHOKAND] was complete.

From the Trans-Caspian railway, a branch line was built in 1898 southwards from Merv to Kushka on the Afghan frontier, as a manifest threat to Herat; just as, on the opposite side of Afghanistan, the Indian line from Sukkur to Quetta and Chaman would be construed as a menace to Kandahar. In the event, neither Russia on the one side nor India (and later Pakistan) on the other had the temerity to advance a railway over the Afghan border, and, when the U.S.S.R. did eventually invade Afghanistan in 1979, the days of the strategic railway were over, and it was much easier and more efficient to use the road through the Salang Tunnel under the Hindu Kush.

In 1898 Kitchener launched his campaign of reconquest of the Sudan [see AL-MAHDIYYA] by building a supply line southwards from Wadi Halfa. Atbara was reached in July 1898 and Halfaya (Khartoum North) by the end of 1899. Atbara was linked by rail to Port Sudan on the Red Sea by 1906, and Khartoum to El Obeid by way of Sennar by 1912. In the 1920s, the cotton-growing districts by the Blue Nile were served by a new loop through Kassala and Gedaref to Sennar, and in 1930 branch lines were extended into the Western Sudan as far as Darfur and El Roseires.

More ambitious than either the Russian or the Sudanese military lines was the “Berlin-Baghdad” Railway, planned by the German Empire from about 1880, to gain access to the commerce of the Black Sea, the minerals of the Middle East, and even the shipping of the Indian Ocean. The Turkish railway from Istanbul to Eskihir, begun in 1871, fell in 1899 into German financial control as the “Ottoman Railway”. It was extended to Konya, where ambitious irrigation works were also established, and a branch line across the north of the plateau reached Ankara in 1892. Concessions were also obtained for the port of Alexandretta, and for a rail link from Baghdad to Basra. However, at the outbreak of the First World War, there were still uncompleted sections of the Berlin-Baghdad project in Northern Trak and in the Taurus Mountains.

At the turn of the century, Lord Curzon in India was also planning an overland rail link from Karachi to the Mediterranean, through Baluchistan and across Central Persia by way of Kirmān to Baghādā, and thence over Syria. Only the section through Baluchistan to Duzdap (Ẓāhidān) on the Persian frontier was ever laid, in 1917, to supply the Expeditionary Force to Persia.

Another railway line designed as an arm of empire
was that from Aleppo to Medina, completed in 1906 to the orders of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II [g.v.] to stimulate pilgrimage traffic and to keep his Arab garrisons reinforced. The northern section, as far as Rayak, was laid on standard gauge, the southern (the Hijaz Railway) on a gauge of 1.05 metres. The controlled interruption of this line during the First World War by T.E. Lawrence and his Arab irregulars made it more a burden than a facility for the Turks.

The last of the "strategic" railways were laid during the First World War to support particular campaigns of the Allies, sc. the Quetta-Duzdap line just mentioned; Allenby's line from Egypt along the Palestine coast to Haifa (extended to Tripoli in the Second World War, but now abandoned to the west of El Arish near the Egyptian frontier); and the line in Mesopotamia ("Irāk") from Baṣra through Baghdād to Bağji and Table Mountain.

3. The national networks.

After the First World War, no more strategic railways seem to have been built, doubtless partly because they had been shown in the War to be vulnerable to sabotage and air-attack, but mainly because the old empires were disintegrating into smaller national states.

The "Berlin-Baghdād" line was completed, and carried the Orient Express, but its main value was as a component part of the rail networks of the several countries through which it passed. One of its sections formed part of the frontier between Turkey and Syria. Each of the new states of the Middle East regarded the fragments of line which it inherited as part of a national network of railways centring on the capital city. The modest coastal lines built in the late 19th century by French and British companies by the shores of the Levant, in Western Asia Minor, Lebanon and Palestine, were incorporated in the new plans. Turkey added major lines to link the new capital at Ankara to the Black Sea (at Samsun, and at Ereğli by the "Coal Line"), to the southern plateau, and to the eastern Frontier (by the "Copper Line" through Diyarbekir, and along the Upper Euphrates).

Afghanistan has remained free of railways, but Iran, with the aid of oil royalties, constructed a bold framework of lines, beginning with the technically superb "Trans-Iranian" Railway of 1936, linking the Gulf with the Caspian. Eastern and Western arms join Mashhad to Tabriz through the capital, and there is also a central branch to Yazd.

In Saudi Arabia, Ibn Su‘ūd in 1947-51 had a new line laid to link Riyadh with Damman on the Gulf coast. Although Saudi Arabia has surveyed the Hijaz Railway, abandoned since the end of the First World War, with an eye to reconstruction, it has so far only been re-laid within Jordan, over some 60 miles to the south of Ma‘ān as far as Mudawwara. Early in the Second World War a short extension of the Hijaz Line towards Aqaba was laid from Ma‘ān as far as Naqţ Ishtar, with rails salvaged from the abandoned section. Subsequently, Aqaba has been connected by
a more southerly route with the rebuilt section of the Hijaz Railway (see further, Hijaz Railway).

Syria, too, has constructed a new railway to link the oilfields near its eastern frontier with the coast at Latakia. However, in the Middle East generally, as in Europe, railways have, since the Second World War, superseded railways as the principal means of communication.

In North Africa, the French, in the late 19th century, constructed a main rail line through Algeria from Morocco to Tunis, with branches over the Atlas Mountains to Bechar, Djelfa and Touggourt. Morocco, from Samarang on the north coast to Jogjakarta on the south. This was supplemented in 1906 by a long east-west line from Batavia to Surabaya.


(W.C. BRICK)

SİLA (a.), lit. "connection," "what is connected".

1. In grammar.

Here the meaning is lit. "adjunct." It is a syntactical term which denotes in the grammatical literature following Sibawayhi the clause which complements such word classes termed mawsil as the relative pronouns allahdt, man, m6i, ay- and the subordinate an, anna. Its early development may be reconstructed as follows. Elements of two different Greek systems of parts of speech were imported synchronically into Arabic by the earliest Arab grammarians: an Aristotelian tripartite division of noun and verb as meaningful elements and another "meaningless" (dhawq) part whose function is "conjunction" (Gr. σύνθεσις, Syr. sirad; and Dionysius Thrax's eight-part division, which is also dichotomised into the two major parts and the other "adjunct" parts (Syr. naks, documented in Elias of Tiran). A significant Syriac modification of this division concerns the status of the article (4th part, 6dpov), whose absence in this language forced the native grammarians to either ignore it or annex it to the class of prepositions. In this class, 6 is the closest relative to the relative function of the article. In the Syriac language, 6dpov represents the "oblique" accusative, genitive and dative cases respectively. In the early Arabic grammatical treatises 6ila and its synonyms hasd, za'id, fadl and laghwa reflect earlier formulations of the categories borrowed from the two systems of their Greek and Syriac predecessors. On the one hand, 6ila is a "meaningless" unit which functions as a conjunction and fills up gaps, just like σύνθασις in the Dionysian system or even as its sub-group, termed nasdariyya (Syr. nemaldayn = hasd), exemplified by a stock of redundant words. On the other, this category known mainly as za'id denotes the class of prepositions. It reflects the above-mentioned Syriac conception of noun cases. Sibawayhi's employment of 6ila as relative clause seems to have originated from identification of alladld with the relative sense of 6dpov or its rendition in Syriac as gharad/tashrin. Al-Farrab'ı still preserved such a broader application of the term 6ila for relative clauses.

On the morpho-phonetic plane, 6ila was offered by Guidi. Its relation to סַעְפָא (Syr. n בסעי) is not clear.

In non-grammatical literature, 6ila appears in its various denotations mentioned above. In two early exegetical works of the 2nd century A.H. it takes the sense and function of "redundant" words and word segments. In the Djabirian corpus sila and huruf al-sila are both the prepositions and the prothetic alif. Al-Farrab'ı's account of classes of particles includes wa/istâl which reflects Dionysius's 6dpov class with the article, alladld, the vocative particle and a few additions. The metrical term 6ila is closely related to the redundant, "gap filling" function. It appears in Kitab al-'Ayn as 6ila (iv, 158) and in al-Ahkaf's al-Kauwafi as wa/st (10, 32, 81).


(R. TALMON)

2. In literature.

Here, it denotes the complement, the completion of a work (Doji, Suppl., vi, 913). Thus it is said of the Sila of al-Fargānhī (see below): "it is a book which is a continuation of the Annales of Ibn Dājrī" (twoala bihi ta'irık Ibn Dājrī) (Yakūt, Udbah, vi, 426/xviii, 44).

I. The genre of complements in Arabic

The generic term which denotes them is mutamimma (pl. mutamimmāt), "supplement/complement": not only 6ila but also ḍhaj (pl. ḍhayāl, less frequently ḍhaj-ya'll), ḍi'ū/fi'āšt, 7māl, māsad, rāšīdtāk, tašthi, tašmilā, šāli, 7anām, tašmīna, 7awād, 7u'd, 7zādāt, etc. The semantic
field may be arranged in terms of the relative continuity (root w-s-l) or discontinuity (root f-w-t "pass by, escape") which the work denoted by either of these titles manifests in relation to the work which it is reckoned to "complete."

Sila is located, in principle, in the quasi-absolute continuity of the work which it supplements. On the other hand, fi't or fazqāt connotes discontinuity in relation to the original work; furthermore, numerous books of this type are relatively ancient, dating from a period when it was still possible to produce something "new". They belong to the genre of "complement" or of addendum to a work, which is supposed to repair its "omissions" or errors, especially in philology.

Dhayl, like "tail", is simultaneously attached to the work of which it is the "appendix" and detached from it ("at the bottom of the work" denoted, Dozy, Suppl., i, 493). Thus "Ibn al-Zubayr wrote an appendix to (dhayyala 'alā) the Sila of Ibn Badhūwāl" (al-Kattānī, Fābras al-fahdrīs, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1982, i, 454). The work in question being called Silat al-Sila, it may be concluded from this that there is no essential difference between sila and dhayl, although it seems that, in certain cases, at least in historiography, a sila can be both a kind of summary or partial rewriting, with reference between them, at least in historiography, all that can be added here are cases; otherwise, the rules are being broken. It seems that with several "continuations" (dhayyālīn: Ḥadīṭī nāma, i, 664-7; see below, III. But it seems that in philology the date can be pushed back in time considerably as regards the other titles (ji'āt, istadhārah, ziyādāt); see below, III. Historiography, bio-bibliography and onomastics.

It is in this literature that the genre of "continuations"/"complements" (sila, dhayl, takmilāt) is the most abundant.

(a) "Universal" or dynastic chronicles. Al-Farghānī (Abū Muhammad) continued the Annals of al-Ṭabarī: Ṣezgin, i, 357 (two fragments surviving). Abū Mašūr al-Farghānī (d. 998/1007) continued his father's Sila (Yākūt, Ūdād, ed. Rīfā', iii, 106; Ḥadīṯ al-makānīn, i, 70; "The Continuation of the Appendix to the Annals of al-Ṭabarī"). Other complements to the Annals have come to light, such as that of Arīf al-Kurtubī [q.v.], ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1897/ Silaṭ Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī, in Dhayl al-Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī, 10-184, years 291-320/903-32, which combines a partial re-working for the years 291 to 302 with the continuation proper for the remaining years to 320. The same was done, in an identical way, by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ḥamadhānī (d. 521/1127) in his Ṣawdī Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī (years 479-367/977-1077) which he wrote on the instructions of Ibn al-Dubaythī (d. 637/1239; Brockelmann and Ḥadjījī, ii, 25-6). The work in question being called Silat al-Sila, it ("at the bottom of the work" denoted, Dozy, Suppl., i, 454) is reckoned to "complete". But it seems that in philology the date can be pushed back in time considerably as regards the other titles (ji'āt, istadhārah, ziyādāt); see below, III. Historiography, bio-bibliography and onomastics. See below, III. Historiography, bio-bibliography and onomastics.

It is in this literature that the genre of "continuations"/"complements" (sila, dhayl, takmilāt) is the most abundant.

(b) Local chronicles. The Ta'rīkh Baghdaḍ of Abū Ǧa’far al-Baghdaḍī was continued by al-Samʿārī (d. 562/1167) in Dhayl Ta'rīkh Baghdaḍ, which comprised fifteen volumes (surviving extracts, Brockelmann, i, 330, ii, 565; Ḥadīṭī al-makānīn, i, 70). In historiography, it is probable that silas first appeared in the earlier half of the 4th/10th century; see below, II. But it seems that in philology the date can be pushed back in time considerably as regards the other titles (ji'āt, istadhārah, ziyādāt); see below, III. Historiography, bio-bibliography and onomastics.
SILA 605
Khalifa, ibid.), in Dhayl Madinat al-salam, ed. B. 'Awwad Ma'ruf, Baghdad 1974. The Dhayl Ta'rikh Baghdad (ed. B. 'Awwad Ma'ruf, Baghdad 1974. The Dhayl Ta'rikh Baghdad
composed a sequel to the Takmila which he intitled Silat al-Sila. Ibn cAbd al-Malik al-
Bibl.)

by Ibn al-Dimyatl

Dhayl Ta'rikh Baghdad

by

Ma'ruf, Baghdad 1974. The

Dhayl Ta'rikh Baghdad

by

605

several appendixes to it...or "sequel" to the Dhayl al-Takmilat, a supplement to the

Dhayl al-Takmilat

by

605

A. Darwlsh, ed.

al-Durar al-kdmina

al-Durar al-kdmina

[alphabetical order, see Brockelmann, II, 47, S II, 46; HadjdjI Khalifa, ii, 1123-4; Introd. by S.M. Khalaf, 31-46. As for Ibn al-Kadl

Fawdt al-Wafaydt [wa 'l-dhayl

al-Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,

al-Durar al-kdmina

Tali K. Wafaydt al-a'ydn,
ed. and tr. J. Sublet,
Marrakushi [q.v.] wrote a complement/supplement to the works of Ibn al-Farafid and of Ibn Bashkuwal: see Sahl; M. Meouak, Cahiers d'onomastique arabe (1985-7) [1989], 606.

The onomastical literature which specializes in the identification and correct writing of the proper names of traditionists and scholars likewise shows no lack of supplements. Thus the Tâdîl-î-Tâdîl, sometimes called Bâdi' al-Tâdîl (2 ms.; al-Shâhâbî, 42) of al-Khâtib al-Baghdâdî, is an appendix to his Talkhîs al-Mustadhâb, 2 vols. ed. S. al-Shâhâbî, Damascus 1985, on the correct orthography of the names of traditionists. The same author had written a complement to al-Mustahrîf wa l-mukhtalîf of al-Daraguwal which he intituled al-Mustadrak cald 'l-Mustadrak. Sezgin, i, 221. Abu Dharr al-Harawi (Ibn al-Sammak, d. 435/1042) is also the author of Talkhîs al-Mustadrak win al-zayyada fi K. al-firl (d. 432/1040); Sezgin, i, 353; Muwaffak b. C. Ak., 73-8). Also worth mentioning is the work of al-Kâllî, which, according to him, conform to the conditions of acceptance (shurût) determined by them; al-Dhahâbl al-Harawi [q.v.] wrote a book concerning incorrect locutions called al-Darât al-gawwâds, The book of soles (Brokclmell, I, 280, for the Derenburg and Tamkhî editions). It is often presented as an appendix to Darât al-gawwâds by al-Harîrî [q.v.] but is in fact a complement to works of the genre. He is also the author of Talkhîs al-Islâm al-manîkî (Sezgin, vii, 132) which is lost. Al-Zâjdjâdî (d. 337/949) had composed a commentary on Ibn âl-Tawitrî (d. 680/1281) completed this last work in al-Kura Univ. (date?). Ibn al-Sabûnî (Djamal al-Dîn, d. 528/1134) composèd a commentary on the same author wrote a complement to al-Mustadrak wa l-shuruh al-âbîdt al-mushkila min Dinwân Abî 'l-Tâyîb al-âibî (d. 528/1134) composed a commentary on Tha'labâbî, for his part, is the author of Talkhîs al-Islâm al-almârî (Sezgin, vii, 132), which included many additions not found in the Tâdîl-î-tâbîs, especially regarding proper names, names of tribes and of places, and, remarkably, Egyptian forms indicated as such: Gilliot, in MIDEO, xx (1991), no. 2; for an overall assessment, in lexicography, see J. Kraemer, Studien zur altarabischen Lexicographie, in Orient, vi (1953), 201-38.

In grammar, the K. al-Mu'ajjâlah on the forms fi', fi' and fi'el by Kutrub (d. 206/821) was completed by Abu 'Abd Allâm Mâmmûn b. 'Abd Allâm Allâh al-Lâmî (2) in his Tabâtûna (ed. H. Sh. Shfarûd, Cairo 1969; Ryûdî, 1981; Kazim Bayern al-Muninî, Cairo, Faculty of Letters, 1972); Sezgin, viii, 65a. Abu 'Ali al-Fârisî (377/987) wrote a complement to his own K. al-Idâh called al-Tâbûna. While the first of these deals with syntax, the subject of the second is morphology (safîr/safîrî): P. Larcher, in Arabic, x (1993), 245.

'Abd al-Fâwrî [q.v.] composed a book concerning incorrect orthographies called al-Darât al-gawwâds, The book of soles (Brokclmell, I, 280, for the Derenburg and Tamkhî editions). It is often presented as an appendix to Darât al-gawwâds by al-Harîrî [q.v.] but is in fact a complement to works of the genre. He is also the author of Talkhîs al-Islâm al-manîkî (Sezgin, vii, 132) which is lost. Al-Zâjdjâdî (d. 337/949) had already written al-Islâm al-manîkî: Sezgin, vii, 105.

In adab, Abu 'Ali al-Kâlî (d. 365/976) wrote an appendix to his Âmaîl, the Dhâhil al-Âmaîl, Cairo 1344/1926. To Abu Masûrî al-Tâbûna (d. 429/1038 [q.v.]) is owed a complement to his own Tutâmîn al-Yutâmîn (or al-Yutâmîn al-ghaznîyâ: Brokclmell, I, 499), ed. 'Abd Ihsân, Tehran 1535/1934; ed. Mufîd M. Kumayyâ, Beirut 1983.

The author declares (p. 8) that he composed it and gave it this title because many things had escaped him in the two versions of the Tutâmîn [al-dahr]. Al-Bâghârî (d. 467/1075 [q.v.]) in his turn continued the Tutâmîn for the poets of the 5th/11th century, until 450/1058, in Dunwîn al-çar [wa-esârat ahl 'asîr]: Al-Akhkhatî (d. 528/1134) composed a commentary on the Sûq al-zând of al-Mâ'ârî: Zaydîd 'ît ghârî Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.

In this domain, there are no sûras as such, but there are complements and corrections (mustadrak), and addenda (zaydât, zaydîd 'ît). Thus the Hâkîm al-Naysâbûrî wrote al-Mustadrak [al-d]: 'ît Sahîh Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.}

(Hadîth, viii, 7b. In this domain, there are no sûras as such, but there are complements and corrections (mustadrak), and addenda (zaydât, zaydîd 'ît). Thus the Hâkîm al-Naysâbûrî wrote al-Mustadrak [al-d] `ît Sahîh Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.

In Hadîth, viii, 7b. In this domain, there are no sûras as such, but there are complements and corrections (mustadrak), and addenda (zaydât, zaydîd 'ît). Thus the Hâkîm al-Naysâbûrî wrote al-Mustadrak [al-d]: `ît Sahîh Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.

In Hadîth, viii, 7b. In this domain, there are no sûras as such, but there are complements and corrections (mustadrak), and addenda (zaydât, zaydîd 'ît). Thus the Hâkîm al-Naysâbûrî wrote al-Mustadrak [al-d]: `ît Sahîh Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.

In Hadîth, viii, 7b. In this domain, there are no sûras as such, but there are complements and corrections (mustadrak), and addenda (zaydât, zaydîd 'ît). Thus the Hâkîm al-Naysâbûrî wrote al-Mustadrak [al-d]: `ît Sahîh Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.

In Hadîth, viii, 7b. In this domain, there are no sûras as such, but there are complements and corrections (mustadrak), and addenda (zaydât, zaydîd 'ît). Thus the Hâkîm al-Naysâbûrî wrote al-Mustadrak [al-d]: `ît Sahîh Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.

In Hadîth, viii, 7b. In this domain, there are no sûras as such, but there are complements and corrections (mustadrak), and addenda (zaydât, zaydîd 'ît). Thus the Hâkîm al-Naysâbûrî wrote al-Mustadrak [al-d]: `ît Sahîh Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.

In Hadîth, viii, 7b. In this domain, there are no sûras as such, but there are complements and corrections (mustadrak), and addenda (zaydât, zaydîd 'ît). Thus the Hâkîm al-Naysâbûrî wrote al-Mustadrak [al-d]: `ît Sahîh Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.

In Hadîth, viii, 7b. In this domain, there are no sûras as such, but there are complements and corrections (mustadrak), and addenda (zaydât, zaydîd 'ît). Thus the Hâkîm al-Naysâbûrî wrote al-Mustadrak [al-d]: `ît Sahîh Sûq al-zând; Hâdîjjî Khâlîfî, ii, 906, 993, ii, 1-3.
In the sense of a gift.

Here it is often found in the more restricted sense of reward and remuneration; it is thus ubiquitous in stories in which payment of a panegyrist for his poem is mentioned. For the contexts of gift-giving generally, see the various sections of HIBA. The word silā is the modifier of the doubly transitive verb wasa'lahu silāt
"he gave him a present/reward." The underlying notion of using the root w-j-l to "connect" to express the idea of "gift" is said to be either "that by which the giver establishes a connection with the recipient" or "that by which the recipient's livelihood is continued" (E.A. xi, 726a-b). A synonym of silā is qidā, with the present participle qidāzā. For an annal story about the origin of the term qidā, see al-Baladūri, Fushī, 392.

AL-SILAFI, AL-HAFIZ ABU TAHIR, 

Silā is the author of a Mustadrak 'alā l-Sahihayn: al-Dhahabi, Siyar, xvii, 559. Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahānī (d. 430/1038) also mentioned Muslim’s Sahih in al-Mustadrak ‘alā l-Sahih Muslim, op. cit., xxvi, 462.

Still in the context of al-Dhahabi, Nūr al-Dīn al-Haytamī (d. 807/1405; Brockelman, II, 76; not to be confused with Şīhāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Hāḍjar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567) who wrote his Zawā'id Ibn Mūṣā ‘alā l-kitāb al-ğamsa: Brockelman, S II, 82; Sezgin, i, 148: Zawā'id ‘alā l-kitāb al-ğamsa. But he also wrote Zawā'id on the Musnads of Ibn Hanbal, of Abū Bakr al-Bazzār (d. 292/905; Sezgin, i, 162), of Abū Ya’ ḥyad, K. al-Musnad; and of traditions (the three Musnads; Sezgin, i, 196: Zawā'id Muṣāqam al-Ṭabarānī, i.e. al-Zawāid wa-al-Ṣaghīr together, according to the author in his introd., ch. 11) of al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971). He combines them and makes them into a single work, Muṣāqam ‘alā l-zawā'id wa-manba’a l-zawā'id, numerous eds. or reprs., including 9 vols. Beirut 1986; Gilliot, in MIDEO, xxiii (1996), no. 71.

Still in the context of al-Dhahabi, Nūr al-Dīn al-Haytamī (d. 807/1405; Brockelman, II, 76; not to be confused with Şīhāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Hāḍjar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567) who wrote his Zawā'id Ibn Mūṣā ‘alā l-kitāb al-ğamsa: Brockelman, S II, 82; Sezgin, i, 148: Zawā'id ‘alā l-kitāb al-ğamsa. But he also wrote Zawā'id on the Musnads of Ibn Hanbal, of Abū Bakr al-Bazzār (d. 292/905; Sezgin, i, 162), of Abū Ya’ ḥyad, K. al-Musnad; and of traditions (the three Musnads; Sezgin, i, 196: Zawā'id Muṣāqam al-Ṭabarānī, i.e. al-Zawāid wa-al-Ṣaghīr together, according to the author in his introd., ch. 11) of al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971). He combines them and makes them into a single work, Muṣāqam ‘alā l-zawā'id wa-manba’a l-zawā'id, numerous eds. or reprs., including 9 vols. Beirut 1986; Gilliot, in MIDEO, xxiii (1996), no. 71.

The son of Ibn Hanbal, ‘Abd Allāh, made additions to his father’s Musnad, known as Zawāid (Zawā’id) al-Musnad. Abū Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabīb al-Qiyādah, K. al-Ǧiyād, d. 1020; Sezgin, i, 563. Abū Dja‘far al-Murādī (d. 290/903) transmitted and completed the al-Ǧiyadd of traditions (al-Ǧiyadd; and of al-Musnad; and of traditions according to the author in his introd., ch. 11) of al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971). He combines them and makes them into a single work, Muṣāqam ‘alā l-zawā'id wa-manba’a l-zawā'id, numerous eds. or reprs., including 9 vols. Beirut 1986; Gilliot, in MIDEO, xxiii (1996), no. 71.

In the context of the author in his introd., ch. 11) of al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971). He combines them and makes them into a single work, Muṣāqam ‘alā l-zawā'id wa-manba’a l-zawā'id, numerous eds. or reprs., including 9 vols. Beirut 1986; Gilliot, in MIDEO, xxiii (1996), no. 71.

The son of Ibn Hanbal, ‘Abd Allāh, made additions to his father’s Musnad, known as Zawāid (Zawā’id) al-Musnad. Abū Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabīb al-Qiyādah, K. al-Ǧiyād, d. 1020; Sezgin, i, 563. Abū Dja‘far al-Murādī (d. 290/903) transmitted and completed the al-Ǧiyadd of traditions (al-Ǧiyadd; and of al-Musnad; and of traditions according to the author in his introd., ch. 11) of al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971). He combines them and makes them into a single work, Muṣāqam ‘alā l-zawā'id wa-manba’a l-zawā'id, numerous eds. or reprs., including 9 vols. Beirut 1986; Gilliot, in MIDEO, xxiii (1996), no. 71.

The son of Ibn Hanbal, ‘Abd Allāh, made additions to his father’s Musnad, known as Zawāid (Zawā’id) al-Musnad. Abū Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabīb al-Qiyādah, K. al-Ǧiyād, d. 1020; Sezgin, i, 563. Abū Dja‘far al-Murādī (d. 290/903) transmitted and completed the al-Ǧiyadd of traditions (al-Ǧiyadd; and of al-Musnad; and of traditions according to the author in his introd., ch. 11) of al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971). He combines them and makes them into a single work, Muṣāqam ‘alā l-zawā'id wa-manba’a l-zawā'id, numerous eds. or reprs., including 9 vols. Beirut 1986; Gilliot, in MIDEO, xxiii (1996), no. 71.
AL-SILAFI

interest in the audition (sama'i) of hadith, and the great masters of hadith (huffag) are innumerable there" (Yakuti, Budan, Beirut 1955, i, 209a). It was the favored residence of the great Sultani sultan Malik Shah [p.e.] during the infancy of the subject of this article; the ruler even endowed a madrasa there and was buried in its precincts.

His first experience of audition of hadith in the city of his birth was owed to Rizk Allah al-Tamimi al-Baghdafi al-Hanafi (d. 488/1095). He also attended the classes of other scholars of Isfahan, including al-Kasim b. al-Fadl al-Thaqafi (al-re'is, al-musnuf, d. 489/1096). It was also there that he received instruction in reading the Kur'an. He was indebted for his education to his father (d. 498/1104-5) with whom he performed the Pilgrimage in 497. The number of teachers whose courses he attended in Isfahan is said to have exceeded six hundred. He also composed a dictionary of his authorities in this city entitled Mu'jam Isfahani al-Sultani al-isfahaniyya (al-Bikaiti, no. 1); al-Dhahabi quotes this (lost) work on numerous occasions, as well as borrowing from it without acknowledgement.

The Pilgrimage was an opportunity for him to profit by acquaintance with the masters of Mecca and Medina; he pursued the same objective in Kufa and in Baghdad, where he stayed until 500/1106-7. It was there that he attended courses in fiqh given by the leading Shafi'is of the Nizamiyya; Ilkiya al-Taban (corr. al-Bikaiti, no. 5) testifies to the production of "high quality" chains of authority.

The same year (511/1117-18), he embarked at Tyre for Alexandria, where he settled and remained until his death, a period of sixty-five years, and this not only at the solicitation of the scholars of this town but also because he married a wealthy local lady who placed her fortune at his disposal (Ibn 'Asakir, ibid.; Siyar, xxi, 25). Furthermore, Ibn Sallar al-Adili had a school and a religious institution constructed on his behalf. The choice of Alexandria was quasi-strategic, since there he could meet Muslim intellectuals of East and West (for example, al-Tudibi of Tlemcen (d. 610/1212-13), who, according to his prediction, was to be the principal traditionist of the Maghrib; al-Kattani, 254) without leaving his domicile, and this purely even if only achieved (I. 'Asakir, 6; al-Bikaiti, 10). He left Alexandria only once, for a journey to Cairo in 517/1123-4 (although according to one source he was in residence there from 515 to 517: Tarabshih, 13 no. 1). His library was impressive, since he invested all his property in the acquisition of literature, but it was discovered after his death that these volumes had been seriously damaged by the humidity of Alexandria.

His eminence as a great traditionist (hafiz) is demonstrated, in particular, by the countless fascicles (dijz), collections of traditions, which he left behind in the form of audition, reading or of dictation (below, no. 15); they are sometimes called al-Ashraf al-Silafiyd or al-Silafiyyud which exceeded, according to Hadjdi Khatifa, nos. 5097, 7216/ed. Yalstakya, i, 587, it. 996) by a hundred. They were established on the basis of source-texts (tawil) of Baghdadis such as al-Anamiti (d. 538/1143) or al-Tuyuri (above, below no. 13) and others. In common with numerous other scholars, he devoted a collection to the "Tradition of Mercy" (hadin al-ras'a), "Those who are merciful, the Merciful One shows them mercy; show mercy to those who are on the earth, and those who are in the Heavens will show you mercy" (al-Kattani, 94).

His renown extended far beyond that of a traditionalist and a writer, since it is impossible to count the number of times that he appears in certificates of audition (sama'i) or of reading, or in licences of transmission (i'jazud) (see G. Vajda, Les certificats de lecture ..., Paris 1957, 70, index; al-Rudan, Silat al-khalaf bi-manwil al-safar, ed. M. Hadjdi, Beirut 1988, 516, index). This is particularly evident in his Wadidz (below, no. 14). "For the account of the master who delivers the certificate of transmission and the one who receives it", in which he sets himself the objective of presenting a list of scholars with whom he has been in correspondence, in most cases without having met them. He awarded to many of them a "general licence" (i'jazud 'amama), i.e. the right to transmit all his works, among others to al-Hatimi (d. 638/1239-40; al-Kattani, 317-18), al-Rand (d. 616/1219; al-Kattani, 340, dating from 500/1165), al-Dhahabi (d. 619/1121-2); al-Kattani, 341). For others (see above), death in 551 (corr. Tadrhib, which gives the date 605), and the last western one in 662, while the first to die, Abu 'Ali al-Bardani (Siyar, xix, 219-22), was deceased in 498/1105, thus an interval of more than one hundred and fifty years! In the science of hadith, this is considered a unique case in terms of anteriority and posternity in relation to the demise of a master (al-sahib wa 'l-dhik) (al-Kattani, 995; al-Ta'aliw, 677; al-Suyuti, Tadrhib al-radid, ch. 46; W. Marcais, in Jul-August 1901), 131-2). The advantage in this is the production of "high quality" chains of authority.

His Mu'jam al-safar (below, no. 5) testifies to the same interest. Here he assembled articles regarding scholars whom he had met "in other places" (i.e. outside Isfahan and Baghdad) and more specifically those with whom he was acquainted in Alexandria (Egyptians, Maghribis, etc.). He wrote a lengthy biography of one of his masters, Abu 'I-Mu'ayyaf al-Abdwardi (d. 507/1113 [gu.]) (Siyar, xix, 289). I. 5; Hadjdi Khatifa, no. 2911/1, 398: Tarajmat al-Siya'; Zaman, Sources of Silafis biography, 493-5).

Among hundreds of other examples of works for which he features in certificates of authenticity is al-Djazodjani (d. 259), Ahtu al-nigd, ed. S. al-Samara'i, Beirut 1983, 20, no. 6 (corr. al-Bikaiti, no. 37, who attributes al-Mu'ayyaf al-Adil min K. al-Qadara fi ahdad ... to al-Silafii; see Samara'i, 17-8). Similarly, he is in the list of authorities of certain ms. of the
K. Gharib al-Kur3dn attributed to Ibn 'Abbas (Gilliot, in MIDEO, xxii [1995], no. 47, 37, 1. 2 of the edited work), to the point where the elucidation of certain Kur'ānic expressions is probably erroneously, attributed to him (in the case of Brockelmann, I, 450 no. 4, B. 427, most developed and critically evaluated in al-Bikāṭ, no. 6). Such details apart, he played a fundamental role in the transmission of knowledge in Islam, and represents one type of the great traditionists of the madrassa era.


AL-SILĀFT — SILĀHDĀR

AL-SILĀFT — SILĀHDĀR

SAFNA (app. vi) ("arms-bearers"). This military-administrative title and function have a long history in the Islamic world, going back to the days of the Great Sāliḥūd sultans, whose state organisation followed early Persian and 'Abbāsīd models. Niẓām al-Mulk's Sīyāsāt-nāma, describing the organisation of the Sāliḥūdu state, lists the silāhdār as one of the most trusted personnel in the sultan's palace, who was directly responsible to the person of the sultan. As chief of the army's arsenals (ṣarādq ed-dārun), where the armour and weapons were stored, the silāhdār had a military unit under his command and the responsibility of carrying the sultan's weapon (Niẓām al-Mulk, Sīyāsāt-nāma, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1891, 94-95, 109; Ibn al-Bībī, El-Elmāmīurrayl-ʻa[dīyye tīr al-tamūri l-ʻa[dīyye, ed. Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1956, 216). The Mamluks retained the same title in its Arabic form amīr silāf, who was one of the nine most important office holders in the Mamluk state and ranked among the Amirs of a Thousand (amīr asf), the highest
rank in the military echelon. In this capacity, he was in command of a Royal Mamluks' unit (tubah), called sildhddr agha, with a number of horsemen ranging from 110 to 120. He was also in charge of the arsenal (sildhddr-khane) and one of the amirs of the arsenal, who were called zaradddk-khane and whose duty was to guard the arsenal. He was therefore sometimes called al-zaradddk al-khah. During public appearances, the amir sildhddr's duty was to bear the sultan's arms. The role of amir sildhddr reached its highest importance in the 9th/15th century and involved the participation in military campaigns (Ibn Taghrbirdi, vi, 386-7; al-Kaifagiandhi, Tabakdt-i Ndsiri, iv, 14 ff.; Khaliil b. Shahtin al-Zahir, K. 'azdat kha& al-mamluk, ed. P. Ravasse, Paris 1894, 111-16).

The Ottomans, who used the title in its Persian form sildhddr, continued Sildjuk and Mamluk traditions and even elevated its role to a higher level in the Imperial Palace (sarni). During Mehemmed II's reign (1451-81), the Inside Service (enderun) in the palace, under the direction of the kapl aghasi, was made up of four Chambers, of which the Privy Chamber (khdd s od) was the highest-ranking. Immediately beneath the chief of the Privy Chamber, the khdd s oda b&ti, was the sildhddr agha, along with other principal officials who performed the general service of the sultans and therefore were the nearest to him. Being the second-in-command in the Privy Chamber, the sildhddr agha handled all communications to and from the sultan and accompanied him with his sword in public ceremonies, travels and campaigns. He also commanded his own unit, the sildhddr b&lflgj (sometimes called sar& bapak b&lflgj because of its yellow flag). During public ceremonies, such as the Friday procession (yemldti), the sildhddr b&lflk took position on the left side of the sultan. In the battlefield, as part of the kapl kulu cavalry, they served as the sultan's personal guards protecting his flanks. Over the years, as the sildhddr aghas gained greater power and expanded their functions, the number of their b&lflks increased, comprising 2,000 sildhddr b&lflks during Mehemmed II's time, 2,780 in 1568, 2,930 in 1388, 5,000 in 1597, 6,244 in 1660, 7,683 in 1699, 10,821 in 1713, reaching the staggering number of 12,000 during the reign of Mahmud II (1808-39). Since the sultans appointed their favourite men to high offices in the administration, the ranks of the sildhddr aghas provided countless viziers and dignitaries. Two such sildhddr aghas were Silahdar Yusuf Pa&ha who, during Sultan Ibrahim's reign, conspired successfully to bring about the fall and execution in 1644 of the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pa&ha [q.v.], and Silahdar 'Ali Pa&ha, Ahmed III's son-in-law, who engineered the overthrow of Corulu 'Ali Pa&ha [q.v.] and in 1713 became Grand Vizier himself. With the death of Silahdar Giritli 'Ali Pa&ha in 1831, Mahmud II eliminated the office of the sildhddr a&lflk, and incorporated it into the office of the Treasury under the control of the kh&ne ket-kh&b&lfll (K&n&n-n&me-i A&i-i Og&m, M. 'Arif, in TOEM, supplement, 23-4; Lufti Pa&ha, Asli&n&me deset adamlarina a&flmen, Ankara 1957; Ottaviano Bon-[Robert Withers], A description of the Grand Signour's Seraglio, ed. John Greaves, London 1653, 78-9).


SILAHDAR, FINDIKLI MEHMED AGHA, (1668-1139/1658-1726), Ottoman historian.

The palace official Silahdar Mehemmed Agha was born on 12 Rab& I 1606/8 December 1658 in the Findikli district of Istanbul. A prot&g& of the bang mustuh Sh&h A&h A&h, he was educated in the s&de and entered the palace bast&n& (q.v.) corps in 1084/ 1674. In 1089/1678 he became a s&ffl b&lflgj (q.v.) and in 1990/1697, was promoted to the suflfl odali. In this capacity he took part in the 1683 Vienna campaign led by Kara Mustafa Pa&ha [q.v.]. In 1099/ 1688 he entered the k&s ad (q.v.) and was promoted subsequently to dalb&nd g&hl&ml, dag&ndar (in the reign of Mustafa II), and, finally, sildhddr (q.v.), in Rab& II 1115/August 1703 immediately upon the accession of Ahmed III (1703-30), this despite his close- ness to the deposed Mustafa II. He subsequently played a major role in quelling bast&n& unrest and in overseeing arrangements for the funeral of Mustafa II in Sh&h A&h A&h II 1115/December 1703. However, in Sh&w&v&m 1115/February 1704, when a prot&g& of one of Ahmed III's favourites was appointed sildhddr in his place, Mehemmed Agha chose to retire from palace service, refusing the offer of a provincial governorship with the rank of vizier and accepting instead a daily pension of 300 ak&es. He settled in the Demirkap& district of Istanbul and on his death in 1139/1726-7 was buried at Ayazpa&sha.

He compiled a detailed chronicle of Ottoman history during the years 1065-1133/1655-1721, written in a matter-of-fact prose style. This is generally considered as two separate works: (i) D&hyet-i Fed&kleke ("Supplement to the Fed&kleke") (sc. of K&t& Celebi [q.v.]), detailing events of the years 1065-1106/1655- 95 (published as Sildhddr te&rk&i, 2 vols., Istanbul 1928, introd. by Ahmed Refik [Alt&nar]); (ii) Nusret-name, comprising initially a day-to-day account of the reign of Mustafa II (1106-15/1695-1703), then continuing with a less detailed account for 1115-33/1703-21 (N&sr&m&n, modern Turkish tr. I. Parmaksiz&olu, 2 vols., Istanbul 1962-9). Mehemmed Agha's history is a particularly valuable first-hand account for the period ca. 1683-1703, when he was in close attendance upon the sultans. The Nusret-name was probably a major source for the aska-n&me Rashq (q.v.). (O. Koprulus, R&aj&in kaynaklar&ndan biri Silahddr'in Nusr&m&n&sin, in Belleten, vi [1947], 473-87).


SILHET, conventional form Sylhet, a famous city, a district and a division at the easternmost part of Bangladesh. The present Division of Sylhet (a District prior to 1 August 1995) covers approximately 4,783 square miles (lat 23° 38'-25° 12' N., long. 91° 92'-38° E.) and comprises the districts of Sylhet, Sunamganj, Maulvi Bazar and Habiganj. Before the advent of Islam, Sylhet formed part of Samatata region (Djizddjani mentions it as Sukn&at; see Tabakat-i N&sr&i, ed. Hab&bi, i, 426, tr. Raverty, i, 557-8) and was divided into small kingdoms (i.e. Laor, Jayantia, Gauda) ruled by Hindu dynasties. Some parts of Sylhet were also ruled by
the neighbouring kingdom of Kamrup. An economically prosperous land where cowrie-shells were used for currency, Arab traders sometimes visited Sylhet on their overland route to China. Muslim conquest of the area began in early 14th century during the reign of Sultan Firūz Shāh (d. 1322) of Lakhnavati. The celebrated Suhrawardī šaykh Shāh Djalāl Muhjarrad Kāmilī (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiqi, Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 158), and their disciples played an important role in consolidation of Islam in this region. Mughal rule was extended up to Sylhet in the early 17th century. In 1874, during British colonial rule, the area of Sylhet was made part of the newly-formed Assam State. In 1947, the Muslim majority of this area opted for Pakistan, and Sylhet became a District of East Bengal Province (now Bangladesh).

Sylhet is quite rich in its natural resources such as natural gas and limestone. Huge cement, fertiliser and tea factories have provided it with an industrial base. The tea plantations of Sylhet are famous. A sizeable number of people from Sylhet have emigrated to the U.K., and their remittances enrich the country with much-needed foreign exchange.


**SILIFKE** (Greek Seleucia; Armenian Seleckis, Selewka; Frankish Le Seleif, Salef, Saleph; Arabic Salīk) is an important rural centre in the (present-day) Turkish province of Adana, 87 km/48 miles east of the port of Mersin [q.v.], on the river Göksu (ancient Calycadnus), about 14 km/9 miles from the Mediterranean Sea. In a strategic position where the coastal road and the route inland over the Taurus Mountains meet, it was founded before 1400 B.C. by Seleucus I Nicator. Extant monuments in Silifke include a 2nd century A.D. temple to Zeus, a large Byzantine rock-hewn cistern and, most importantly, a mediæval castle. In spite of being exposed to Arab incursions, the castle remained in Byzantine hands until the end of the 6th/12th century. Thereafter it was, at different times, under Armenian, Hospitaller and seignorial Frankish control, until at least the second half of the 7th/13th century, when the record is lost. The castle occupies the long, narrow platform of an outcrop overlooking the town. While little remains of the structures within the castle save at the western end, the outer gateway and some of the outer wall are still in place, as well as most of the inner wall and salients. Although the Byzantine Emperor Alexis I ordered his secretary Eustathius to rebuild the castle at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the work visible today is probably largely Frankish, with perhaps some Armenian contribution, reflecting the occupations of the 7th/13th century.

**Bibliography:** Yakūt, iii, 296-7; R.W. Edwards, The fortifications of Armenian Cilicia, Dumbarton Oaks 1987, 219-29 (description and plan); H. Hellenkemper and F. Häld, Tabula imperii Byzantini, v1/1 (Kilikien und Isaurien), Vienna 1990, 402-6 (extensive bibl., including Islamic source references).

(D.W. Morray)

**SILSILA** (A.), literally "chain", a term used in the terminology of Ṣūfīsm and the Šūfī orders (ṭurk) for a continuous chain of spiritual descent, a kind of mystical ṣīlah [q.v.]. This connected the head of an order, the ṣāḥib or šīr, with a person regarded as the order's founder and back to the Prophet. These persons might stem from early Islam, such as the Yemeni contemporary of the Prophet, Uways al-Kurānī (actually, not initiated directly but after the Prophet's death, in a dream), and the Patriarchal Caliphs, especially ‘Abd Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Ali. That such claims to descent were fictitious, given the obviously intensely practical and unmystical bent of the first caliphs, was early recognised by some authorities, such as Ibn Khaldūn [q.v.] (who suspected here Shīʿī influence; see his Mukaddima, iii, 73-4, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 93-4).

Somewhat more plausible were silsilas traced back to early undoubted Sīlhīs like Abū Yazīd al-Bīṣāmī (ed. 181/897-901, see the preface, and Abu-l-Kāsîm al-Din ‘Ayyūb d. 928/1034 [q.v.]).

**Bibliography:** J.S. Trimingham, The Sufis orders in Islam, Oxford 1971, refs. in the Glossary, at 311; and see TARIQA.

(Ed.)

**SILYOS** [see ŠILAYOS].

**AL-SIM, LUQIRT, a secret vocabulary or argot employed by criminals, beggars, gypsies, and other groups for communication among themselves without the risk of being understood by outsiders. The word sim (variations of which are well attested in Arabic from the 19th century to the present, but its earlier history and etymology are obscure; M.J. de Geeoe's proposal of a Gypsy and ultimately Indian origin for the term, and his citation of an isolated 7th/13th century instance of its use by an Arabic author (Mémorie sur les migrations des Tiganes à travers l'Asie, Leiden, 1903, 71), require further investigation. For the mediæval Islamic world, our sources mainly associate such an argot with the Banu Sasan [see SASAN, BANU] a loose group of contemporary argot in Persian and Turkish, particularly in the vocabulary of the Halab, a pseudo-Gypsy group in Egypt, which is shared well as large groups of contemporary Arabic, of which the most elaborate appears to be the sim al-qāsha, or argot of gold- and silversmiths, based largely on Hebrew, distinctive forms of which have thus far been recorded in Cairo and Damascus. Some forms of contemporary argot in Persian and Turkish are also known. In addition to argot in the strict sense of secret vocabularies, the phenomenon of encrypting one's language by means of phonetic and morphological distortion, as in English "pig Latin," is known in all three languages, and in Arabic is also sometimes called sim.

SIMANCAS — Simiya

SIMIYA', in form like simiyd (Kur'dn, XLVIII, 29 etc.; al-Bayd'awi, ed. Fleischer, i, 326, 14, 15), in the sense "mark, sign, badge" (Lane 1478a; Sab'dh, s.v., ed. Bdil't, 1282, ii, 206; Hamdsa, ed. Freytag, 598; IA, xvi, 205). But the word, as a name for certain genres of magic, had a quite different derivation; in that sense it is from šurqa, through the Syriac simiya (pl.), and means "signs, letters of the alphabet" (Dozy, Suppl., i, 708b, and references there; Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, ii, col. 2614). In Bochor, Dictionnaire français-arabe, i, 154b, under Chiroonance, simiyd is given as one of three Arabic renderings. By Barthélemy (d. 685/1286) the Syriac and Arabic forms are used together (Chiron. Syr., ed. Paris, 14, 7; Madkharis, ed. Pococke, 35); according to these passages the science (šurqa) was "invented" in the time of Moses by a certain Abu 'l-Muht, which Bruns and Kirsch rendered "Eunumius", but he seems to be quite unknown. The Muht al-muht, i, 1032b, suggests a derivation from mu 'aš "name of Allah", and the Names of Allah certainly play a large part in simiyd (Doutté, Magie et religion, 344), who also suggests, 102, that the form of the word has been affected by ỉyi, but see also below.

The term, apart from this dubious sense of "chiroonancy", has been and is applied to two quite different branches of magic. (1) It is very widely applied at the present day to what is often called "natural magic", and is evidently hypnotism. Ibn Khaldun (Mukaddima, ed. Quatremère, iii, 126, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 158) gives this as the third division of magic (šurqa) in his arrangement and says that the philosophers (al-falāsīfi) call it šurqadā and shurqadā (q.v.). Ibn Khaldun expresses it very clearly as a working of the nafs, the esotericist, on the imagination of his subject, conveying certain ideas and forms which are then transferred to the senses of the subject and objectify themselves externally in appearances which have no external reality. Well-described cases of this will be found in Lane's Arabian nights, ch. i, n. 15, ii, Modern Egyptians, ch. xii; Ibn Bațituşa, iii, 452, iv, 277; Noldeke, Doctor und Gorklok, 5 and passim. Cfr. also Doutté, Magie et religion, 102, 345, who calls it also nafsā, Muhti, ii, 1032b; Chauvin, Bibl. ar., part vii, 102, and references there.

(2) The second is dealt with at length by Ibn Khaldun in a special section (ed. Quatremère, iii, 137 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 170 ff.). In Ibn Khaldun's time (d. 808/1405) it was called distinctly simiyd. Ibn Khaldun prefers to call it the science of the secret powers of letters (harafj [q.v.]) because simiyd was originally a broader term applied to the whole science of talismans and this limited use only originated in the extremist school of Sūfis, who professed to be able to control (tasarrafa) the material world by means of these letters and the names and figures compounded from them. It was thus considered a possible study and practice for pious Muslims. But the Sūfis who took it up were of the speculative and pantheistic school and claimed control of the elemental world and power to invade its order (ṣubūn al-ṭāba) and asserted that all existence descended in a certain sequence from a Unity (the Neoplatonic Chain). In their system the entelechy (iamāl) of the Divine Names proceeds from the help of the spirits of the spheres and of the stars, and the natures and secret powers of the letters circulate in the Names built out of them. Then they circulate similarly in the changes of transient becoming (al-akhrāz) in this world and these akhrāz pass from the first initial creation (al-bidā) into the different phases of that creation and express clearly its secrets. This seems to mean that letters contain the primal secrets of creation and the secret powers...
which still circulate in the akwan and that the Divine Names and Allocutions (kalimát [q.v.]) are produced from letters; therefore the elemental world and the akwan in it can be controlled by these names and allocutions when used by spiritual souls (mizddj.) and when those who lack that divine grace — which for Ibn Khaldun is the himma (see C.D. Ginsburg, The Kabbalah, 127; art. KABBALA, ed. Quatremere, iii, 137-61, tr. idem, Mss. 2357, fols. 143-56). This term has thus no connection with simiyá, a transliteration of simyá or phantasmagoric”, firdsa [q.v.] as "magic, white magic". It is evident that this is a sister phase of thought to the Jewish Kabbála of the alphabetic and thaumaturgic type connected with the divine names, teaching that the science of letters is the science of the essences of things and that by letters God created and controls the world and that men by suitable knowledge of these can control material things (see C.D. Ginsburg, The Kabbalah, 127; art. KABBALA, by H. Loewe, in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Rel. and Ethics, vii, 622-9).

Finally, one should note that the term simá, mentioned in the Kur'an (II, 273, VII, 46, 48, XLVIII, 29, LV, 41), denotes a mark of recognition of the believer, either physical (mark on the forehead from practising the Muslim worship) or moral (the result of his good or bad behaviour). Likewise in Hadith, simá, simá', denotes the distinctive mark of Muslims in relation to other peoples (umum) (Muslim, Tahára, 36-7) and the mark resulting from the effects of the worship on their foreheads, allowing one to distinguish them from other peoples on the Day of Resurrection (al-Tirmidhí, Dórn, 74). This term has thus no connection with simiyá, a transliteration of simiyá, a derivative of simiyá, with the same sense as simá. But just as simiyá evokes sbh "magic, white or phantasmagoric"; simá evokes firdsa [q.v.] "phlysoagmony". In Persian, simá "natural magic" is distinguished from simáyá "mark, sign", according to Stengass, Dictionary, 718.

Bibliography: On simiyá, see Ibn Khaldún, Mukaddima, ed. Quatremère, iii, 137-61, tr. idem, iii, 188-200 (pp. 147-91 of text not tr. by him), Eng. tr. Rosenthal, iii, 182-227; Hâdídji Khalifa, Kadjí, iii, 646-7. There are several works on simiyá, from which one may cite Abu 'l-Kásim Ahmad al-'Iráqí, known as al-Simáwí (7th/13th century), 'Uyán al-kaddýk wa-l-táádá a-l-tárík (Cairo 1321/1366); Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Májdi, d. ca. 1321/1321, 'Uyán al-kaddýk fi 'l-im al-simiyá, B.N. of Tunis, ms. 431, fols. 131-54; Ibn al-Hâdídji al-Maghríbí al-Tilmání (d. 736/1336), R. fi 'l-simiyá (Cairo, Fuhrí, vi, 418, Díff (d. 831/1428), ’Uyán al-kaddýk fi kál had yubáln men ma l-kaddýk, al-tárík b. al-Májdi, B.N. Paris, ms. 2395.

There are three anonymity in the B.N., Paris: Al-Sháridjí al-hindiyá fi ’lim al-simiyá, ms. 2634-5; Al-Shádáddá wa ’l-imáma, ms. 2595, fols. 136-48; and Simimá', ms. 2357, fols. 143-56.


D.B. MacDonald-[T. Fáir] SIMNÁN, a town of northern Persia (long. 53º 24' E., lat. 35º 33' N., alt. 1,138 m/3,734 ft), in mediaeval Islamic times coming within the province of Kúms [q.v.], lying on the great highway connecting Râyi with the administrative centre of Kúms, sc. Dâmghân [q.v.], and Khurássân. To its north is situated the Elburz Mountain chain and to its south, the Great Desert.

1. History.

Simnán comes within what was the heartland of the Parthians (whose capital almost certainly was at Shahr-i Kúms, southeast of Dâmghân on the Simnán road), but is known of any pre-Islamic history for the town, even though legend later attributed its foundation to Tahmírâth (Mustawfi, Nasha, 161, tr. 157). At the time of the ’Abbasíd Revolution (131/748-9) it was described as a mere village, occupied by the forces of the dâbí Káljâba's son al-Hassán in the course of the march westwards in pursuit of the Umayyad governor Navr b. Sayyár [q.v.] (al-Tabárí, ii, 2-3). In 267/880-1 the soldier of fortune Ahmad al-Khûjístâní, who had seized Khurássân from the Sâffârîd Anb b. al-Layth, reached as far as Simnán in an abortive attack on Râyi (ibid., iii, 2008).

By the time of the 4th/10th century geographers, however, Simnán had become a flourishing town, with fertile gardens and agricultural lands watered by the stream which came down from the Elburz and ran through it. The waters were canalised and allotted to the users in rotation, and also stored in cisterns.

Simnán is mentioned in the accounts of the fighting between various Caspian princes and the generals of the Sâmâníd in the early 4th/10th century (see Ibn al-Athír, ed. Beirut, viii, 191, 390). In Ghaznawíd times, the local governor Abu Harb Bakhtíyâr carried out building works in the town (see 2. below), and although in 427/1036 it was plundered by the so-called “Irâkí” Turkmens en route for Râyi and Ádhabáhdján (Ibn al-Athír, ix, 379), by 437/1046 it must have been rebuilt enough for Nâsírí Khurâsân to have halted there on his Pilgrimage westwards and to have had learned discussions with local scholars (Sâfâr-nâma, ed. M. Dabir-Siyáki, Tehran 1395/1956, 3, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 2-5). When Yâkût described Simnán (probably utilising earlier information of al-Sâmâ’în), there were signs of ruin and decline (Ma’dám al-buldan, ed. Beirut, iii, 251-2), which must have been intensified by the devastation in 618/1221 of the Mongol commander Sûbetey (Djiwanyt-Boyle, i, 146-7).

Simnán has nevertheless survived as a town of moderate importance, largely because of its position on the Khurássân highway. It was the home town of the famous Sunní mystic 'Alí al-Dawla Simmân (659-736/1261-1336 [q.v.]). At the end of the 19th century, Curzon found it prosperous enough, with tobacco
grown in its environs as a cash crop and with a small colony of Hindu traders living off trade coming from Yazd and the Persian Gulf coastlands (Perisa and the Persian Gulf question, 259-1). The modern town is the chef-lieu of a qaharastan or county in the province (farmāndārd-yi kull) of Simnan. It is on the Tehran-Mashhad railway and is a lively market centre for local agricultural produce and for textiles and carpets. In 1991 the town had a population of 93,715 (Preliminary results of the census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). The name can be derived from Akkadian shamashshammu, which became on the


Abū Muḥammad's son, Abu 'l-Hasan Ahmad (384-466/994-1074) had a "profile" quite similar to that of his father: he was also both Ḥanafi and Ash'arī, and also a kāfī (but in Baghdad).


SIMSAR [see DALLĀT].

SIMSIM, sesame, a family of plants with some 16 classes, of which sesamum indicum or sesamum orientale, Pedaliaceae, primarily qualifies for consideration. Sesame is an ancient cultivated plant, whose habitat is probably in Central Asia and which spread in the tropics and sub-tropics. The name can be derived from Akkadian šIMSIM, which became on the
one hand Greek σμίσσαν, on the other Arabic sum-
sum and the more usual simsim via Hebrew shumšūn
and Aramaic qwsml (and variants). An often-used
synonym is q°lq°ilain, wrongly interpreted by some
authors (like Ibo Balalir, Oscar, Mosel, Naples fol.
71b) as coriander (kussbura). The greasy oil of sesame
is indicated as dthm al-hal (st, ak-hall is wrong), as
dilq°ilain or dhr°g (Persian 6h°r). The small, angular,
white-to-yellow black seeds are kept in elongated
capsules which develop from the blossoms of the plant.
In many countries, sesame is an important foodstuff.
In India sesame flour is boiled into pulp, in Asia
Minor and in Egypt bread and pastry are flavoured
with sesame. If pressed when cold, sesame oil is liq-
uid, odourless and of a pleasant taste. Like olive oil,
it has served at all times as a valuable salad oil, and
also as a substitute for butter fat (samo).

In medicine, sesame belongs to the softening and
resolving remedies. When grilled and eaten with lin-
seed (badhtr al-kattian), it increases virility. It is quite
efficient against breathing difficulties and asthma, as
well as against coughing and hoarseness. Sesame may
have been[harmful to the health of the Sachsian Porzana or al-
iliated if it is taken together with honey. Sesame herb
boiled in wine is efficient against inflammation of
the eye. Its oil is a remedy against raw and chapped
skin and brings ulcers to ripening. Mixed with attar,
it soothes headaches originating from sunburn (6hr°k
al-gams). It is also used in cosmetics. In the bazaars
of Cairo, sesame is sold in great quantities, but, in
pursuit of profit, lotus seeds (nu totalitariana) are often de-
veloped if passed as q°lq°ilain or mirj, and the seeds of
the black poppy (k°sl°k°ttsh asx°d) as q°lq°ilain
al-habat°. Finally, there were also “sesame-like” plants
(sis°pm°x°dd°, 6m°x°cv°d°, one large and a small one,
which were considered as classes of a wild sesame
(simsim barri) (A. Dietrich, Dioscurides triumphans,
Göt-

As a means to neutralise magic, sesame is already
mentioned in Babylonian-Assyrian incantations. Until
today, the Arabs consider sesame presses as dwelling-
places of spirits. The formula “Sesame, open your
doors” (not “Sesame, open up”) became popular
through the well-known story of Ali Baba and the
forty thieves from Alf layla ua-layla (270th night).

Bibliography: Abi Hanifa, K. al-Nabat, no. 528;
Rafiz, Hzai, xxi, 36-9 (no. 442); Maimonides, Sim-
rah al-ukbd, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo, 1940, no. 268;
 Ibn al-Bayytr, 6d®ml, iii, 30-1 (Leclerc no. 1218);
 Siwaiydt, K. al-Sinat, ed. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 200b;
Tudfat al-ab®h®d, ed. Renaud and Colin, no. 367;
An°k, T©dk°dtd, i, 198; M.A. Dtcurs, Le dropp-
er populaire arabe... du Caire, Cairo 1930, no. 129;
A. Dietrich, Dioscurides triumphans, ii, 83; idem, Die
Dioscuriden-Erklrung des Ibn al-Bayytr, Göttingen
1991, ii, 64. (A. Dietrich)

SIMURGH [p], the name of a mythical bird.
There are two passages in the Avesta referring to the
“bird Saena,” (m°y°l°y° saena, Yaft 14: 41) or the “tree
of Saena,” (zanum yam 6a°na°, Yaft 12: 17); the lat-
er specifies that this tree stands in the middle of
Lake Vouruoka, that its name is “all-remedies” and
that it bears the seeds of all plants. The word saena-
is etymologically identical with Sanskrit 6m°na, “eagle,
falcon”, but it is not clear from the two Avesta pas-
cages whether it designates a species of bird (though
the fact that Saena- is brought up by Simurgh must be a later
abandonment by his parents, and of his son Rustam
whom it helps in his battle against Isfandiyar. Rem-
nants of ancient Avestan conceptions can be seen in
the fact that Simurgh’s feathers have magical heal-
ing powers. On the other hand, the original function
of the tree of healing seems to be invented in the
story of how Simurgh conveys Rustam to a far-away
tree, from the branches of which he forges the fatal
arrow which kills Isfandiyar. Similarly, the story of
how Isfandiyar himself slays Simurgh must be a later
accretion.

It is perhaps not surprising to see the Simurgh of
Iranian mythology amalgamated with the Arabic ‘ank°”
(“phoenix” [g]) and even with Garu°a, the giant
bird which in Hindu mythology transports the god
Vishu. A striking example for this syncretism can be
found in the book of Kadit u°-D°na°; in the story of
the strand birds and the sea, as told in the first book
of the Pancatantra, of the Sanskrit Panchatantra, the
birds complain to their king Garu°a; in the old Syriac translation (and evi-
dently in its lost source in Middle Persian) Garu°a
has become simur°gh, while in the Arabic translation
by Ibn al-Mukaffa’ (from the same Middle Persian
original) he becomes al-°akh°° al-°ank°°. Similarly, in
Arabic accounts of the “history” of pre-Islamic Persia
(e.g. al-Tabari, al-°Ju°zl°bi) the Simurgh of the
Rustam story is represented by al-°ank°°, and conversely
Arabic ‘ank°”, is often translated in Persian by simur°gh.
Simurgh plays a role in Islamic mystical literature.
The Risti°at al-t°ytr (extant in an Arabic and a Persian
version, attributed, on very questionable authority,
used became of one essence with the Simurgh himself.

Bibliography: Ch. Bartholomae, Altritisches
Wörterbuch, Strasbourg 1904, 1548; V.F. Buchner,
EL, art. Simurgh (detailed, but rather speculative);
H. Ritter, Das Meer der Seele. Mensch, Welt und Gott
in den Geschichten des Farhasdu°n® A°fi°, Leiden 1955,
8-18, and index s.v. Simurgh; M. Mo’in (Mu’n),
Sistry, in Dr. J.M. Uwoka memorial volume, Bombay
1964, 18-24; M. Boyce, A history of Zoroastrianism,

(F.C. de Blois)

SIM and SIN, the 12th and 13th letters of the
Arabic alphabet. Both letters have the same
form (rsn), which derives from that of the Aramaic
letter 5mn, and are distinguished only by diacritics,
5mn having three dots above, while sin is in princi-
ple unpointed (m®n®d), though in carefully written
manuscripts it can be distinguished by a V-shaped
ger sign above the letter, or else by three dots below.
In the Eastern form of the abjadi [g.], sin occupies
the position of Aramaic 5mn, and, like this, has the
numerical value 60, while 5mn has the position of
Arabic 5mn (= 300), but in the Western abjadi, sin
occupies the position of Aramaic 5mn (= 300), while
5mn stands at the very end with the value 1000. It is
worth mentioning that 5 (5m®nd®t) is the only Aramaic
letter which has no graphic descendent in the Arabic
alphabet.
For the hypothetical common ancestor of the Semitic languages it is possible to postulate three unvoiced, non-galtilised sibilants, for which we can use the conventional symbols \( s^1 \), \( s^2 \) and \( s^3 \). In most Semitic languages these have coalesced into two or even one single phoneme (in Arabic and Old Ethiopic \( s^1 \) merges with \( s^2 \); in Akkadian, Uguritic and some Canaanite dialects \( s^1 \) merges with \( s^3 \); in Aramaic and modern Hebrew \( s^2 \) merges with \( s^3 \); in modern Ethiopic languages all three are reduced to a single sibilant), but they survived as three separate phonemes in Biblical Hebrew (where they are represented by ס, צ and ח respectively), in Ancient South Arabian (which has three different characters for these sibilants) and in the modern South Arabian languages (Mehri, Djibbali, Soqotri, Hobyo). In the latter the descending form of Semitic \( s^1 \) is a palato-alveolar \( [s] \)—with a frequent (except in Djibbali) secondary shift to [h]—, \( s^1 \) is represented by the voiceless lateral conventionally transcribed as [s]—roughly like Welsh ll—and \( s^3 \) by the alveolar [s]; it is probable that these were approximate realisations of the three sibilants in proto-Semitic. Already in the earliest documents in North Arabian (with the exception of Taymanitic, which apparently to have retained the three Semitic sibilants), \( s^1 \) and \( s^3 \) have become a single phoneme, which is represented by the South Arabian sign for \( s^1 \), and which in classical Arabic is continued by the phoneme represented by the letter sin, while \( s^2 \) survives as the separate phoneme represented in classical Arabic by dhamma. The etymological correspondence of Arabic sin and dhamma with the sibilants in other Semitic languages is clear and well-established; what remains uncertain is the chronology of the sound-shifts in Arabic and the precise pronunciation of the sibilants at any particular stage in the history of the language. It seems, however, that one must reckon with at least two sound-shifts: the first resulting in the merger of \( s^1 \) and \( s^3 \) into one phoneme, which in remote antiquity was probably realised as [s] but in modern Arabic has become a very sharp [s]—produced with the tip of the tongue just behind the ridge of the upper teeth—and, secondly, a more recent, shift of Semitic \( s^2 \) from a lateral [s], perhaps via some intermediate stage, to a palato-alveolar [s].

The mediaeval grammarians give detailed phonetic descriptions of sin and dhamma which, though much discussed by modern scholars, remain rather obscure; in particular, one must ask to what extent these descriptions really reflect the pronunciation at the time of a given author and are not merely repeated from an earlier tradition. Some light on the history of Arabic pronunciation is shed by the treatment of loan-words from non-Semitic languages (the many Arabic borrowings from Aramaic are less instructive, as there is always the possibility that their form has been influenced by that of cognate Arabic roots). It can be observed that in early Arabic borrowings from Greek the \( s \) of the latter language, though often represented by sin, quite frequently appears as yād (e.g. kaysar from καίσαρ, though here, verbalisation as a suprasegmental feature should be considered), which would seem to indicate that the Arabic phoneme represented by sin was in any case not perceived as being completely identical with the Greek or Aramaic \( s \), though the difference may be merely that the latter were produced with a more retracted tongue, i.e. with a tongue-position closer to that of Arabic \( s \). In Arabic words borrowed from Iranian languages, original [s] is, as the mediaeval philologists noted, normally represented by sin (e.g. Arabic santasi, "trousers", plural of sinasi, from Middle Persian sabūtar/sarstel, Arabic banafschg, "violet", from MP. wanafaqg, also proper nouns like Arabic Sabūr for MP. Sābuhr), though in some (presumably more recent) loan-words Iranian [s] is represented by dhamma (e.g. in dgh, "king [in the game of chess]"). Conversely, Arabic sin is represented by Persian \( [s] \) in the early loan-word šāhkīr, "army", from Arabic al-tasakh, itself evidently borrowed (via Aramaic and Greek) from Latin exercitus (thus Noldeke, apud S. Fraenkel, Die ariischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, Leiden 1886, 239; but this borrowing is not accepted by everybody, nor is it entirely clear in which direction the borrowing occurred). Such examples confirm that early Arabic sin was not pronounced like the Persian palatal-alveolar \( [s] \), for otherwise dhamma would have been used consistently for its supposed Persian equivalent.

On the other hand, Sibawayh (ed. Derenburg, ii, 376) cites the sin of the above-cited word sardwil as an example for how Arabic can substitute one "letter" for another in a borrowed Persian word even in cases where the replaced letter is one that occurs also in native Arabic words; in other words, the [s] of Persian sardwil was, in Sibawayh's judgement, one of the "letters of the Arabs". From this one must conclude that in the 2nd/8th century sin already had its modern value [s] and that the grammarians consequently saw the substitution of [s] for [s] no longer as a case of the replacement of an unknown sound by a known one but as a phenomenon within the phonological system of Arabic.

graphical and historical texts from the time of Ibn Khurradadhbih (mid-3rd/9th century [q.v.]) onwards. The origin of the name lies in that of the first of the Chinese empires, i.e. the Ch'in (Qin) (221-210 B.C.) (see V. Minorsky, Haddat al-Islam, comm. 227).

One also finds in later Islamic sources the place name Māthic = Māčin, said to be called by the Indians Māhāčīn "Great China", referring to the Northern and Southern Sung (Song) (960-1279), so that when Islamic sources link Cn with Māicīn, the latter term refers to southern China where the Sung emperors ruled after 1127. A reminiscence of the dynastic name is to be found in the local history by Bayhak by Ibn Funduk (later 6th/12th century), the Ta'dīkh-i Bayhak (ed. A. Bahnānī, Tehran 1317/1938, 18): Śinā = the capital of Māhāčīn.

2. The present distribution of Muslims in China and a characterization of Islam there.

The modern People's Republic of China (PRC) contains 55 recognized ethnic minority groups, ten of which include Muslims amongst their numbers: (a) The Turkic group: Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Úzbek, Turkestan, and the Sinkiang people (formerly part of these various peoples). (b) The Mongol group: Tung-hsian (Dong-xiang) and Tuo-an (Baoan) [see MONGOLIA. Muslims in the modern Mongolian People's Republic, at the end]. (c) The Iranian group: Tadžiks. (d) The Chinese group: the Hui or native Chinese Muslims. The Turkic group and the small number of Tadžiks are essentially concentrated in what was historically Eastern Turkestan. This was only fully incorporated into the Chinese empire after a lengthy military campaign in the mid-18th century, and is now the Hain-chiang (Sinkiang or Xinjiang) Uighur Autonomous Region, comprising about one-sixth of the total area of the Chinese Republic and its largest administrative unit. It contains over half of the Muslims in the Republic as a whole. For this region, see Sinkiang, and for its peoples and languages, see also Turks.

These facts show that Islam in China, although with indigenous Hui elements in various regions, such as Yün-nan (Yunnan), Sichuan (Ssu-chuan, or Szechuan), Shan-tung (Shandong), Shan-si (Shanxi), Kan-su (Gansu), Ning-hsia (Ningxia), Hu-nan (Henan) and T'īn-fang (Tianfang) is essentially a religion of the western lands lying between Tibet and Mongolia and of the interiors, rather than of the eastern coastlands. Hence Chinese Islam has over the centuries only been able sporadically to keep in touch with the main centres of Muslim piety and scholarship outside China, such as Western Turkestan, the Iranian world and Muslim India. Maritime contacts, e.g. with the very numerous Muslims of Indonesia, have been minimal in recent centuries, after European naval powers like the Portuguese, Dutch and British took control of the Indian Ocean and China Seas. On the other hand, Chinese Muslims have always had a consciousness that the focus of their faith lay in the "Western lands"; the T'īn-fang or "celestial region", and have endeavoured to send a trickle of believers for the Arabian Pilgrimage. This has increased in recent years, with a slackening in the anti-religious stance of the Chinese Communist Party, and have endeavoured to send a trickle of Muslims at least of believers for the Arabian Pilgrimage. This has increased in recent years, with a slackening in the anti-religious stance of the Chinese Communist Party, with the ending of the Cultural Revolution and its excesses, have made it possible to cater for increased numbers of students and potential religious leaders, with Islam being allowed to study abroad, in e.g. Pakistan. It was not really till the 18th and 19th centuries (the first Chinese Muslim literature seems to date from ca. 1600) that there grew up a Muslim apologetic literature in Chinese emphasizing the faith and trying to demonstrate a certain degree of conformableness to the mainstream of Han Chinese culture and traditional Confucian religion, with which Chinese Islam was always in a state of tension and, at times, of outright rebellion. It was at this time, too, that Chinese translations from Arabic and Persian religious literature were made, the first complete Chinese translation of the Kur'an being that by Tu Wen-shen (M. Broomhall) leader of the western Yunnan Muslim rebels in the Panthay (g.v.) revolt of 1855-73 [see AL-KUR'ĀN. 9. Translation of the Kur'an, 4]. Nevertheless, despite all such handicaps, the faith has survived in China and despite the repression of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, retains its place, so far as one can now discern, as one of the active and flourishing religions of China.

Reliable population statistics for the Muslims of China have never been easy to obtain. Estimates in the early part of the 20th century, as attempted by M. Broomhall (Islam in China, a neglected problem, Shanghai 1910, repr. London 1987, and the French military mission whose findings were published as Mission d'Ollone 1906-1909, recherches sur les musulmans chinois, Paris 1911, could only be tentative, but tended to show that their numbers had at that period been often much exaggerated. In the modern Peoples' Republic of China (PRC), an often-cited, semi-official estimate (1995) is 16 to 18 millions, with 7 to 8 millions of these being Hui.


The early connections of the pre-Islamic Near East with China were primarily commercial, involving above all the silk trade, carried on by land through the Persian, Transoxania, the Tarim basin (with a route along its northern rim passing through Kuča and Karaghār and one along the southern rim through Yarkand and Khotan) and the Kansu corridor to northwestern China. The native Chinese seem to have brought their goods only to the western borders of their empire, and the great carriers of the trade across Inner Asia were the Western Turks or Türků-Türků— in Chinese, T'u-chueh (Tuju)—and, above all, the Indo-European peoples of the Tarim basin, such as the Tokharians and the Khotanese, and the Sogdians of Transoxania, whose colonies were spread out along the route and into China itself (on the silk trade here, see A. Herrmann, Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien, Quellen und Vorschläge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Berlin 1910, repr. Tient-
sin 1941; W. Watson, ch. Iran and China, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iii/1, 537-58). The main consumers of silk goods in the Near East were the Sassanid Persians and the Byzantines, both of whom required a steady inflow of silk textiles for their elaborate court ceremonial and, in the latter case, for religious ceremonies. In the later 6th century, the Western Turks under their Kaganh or Yabghu Istemi (in the Byzantine historian Menander Protector, Silzilb < Yabghu) and his son and successor Tardu—in Chinese, Ta-t’u (Datu)—endeavoured to bypass the Persians, who claimed to act as sole intermediaries in the trade, and to deal directly with Byzantium, and diplomatic missions took place between the Kaghans and the Emperors Justin II and Tiberius II (see on these, R. Grousset, L’empire des steppes, Paris 1951, 128-30, Eng. tr. The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, 83-5; Gy. Moravcsik, Byzantino- turcica. I. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkenkild, Berlin 1958).

We have numerous accounts of the relations of the Islamic world with China, which in part prove to be very accurate. To the Arab geographers, China was the land of the unknown and mysterious, into which only the boldest might venture. It must be noted that even in the oldest Arab geographers, who deal with China, that have survived for us, the connection of South and North China is known; it is one and the same land whose coasts are washed by the Indian Ocean (Bahir Pâris, Bahir al-Hud [q.v.]) and whose mountains are connected with the mountains of Farghana and their continuation; so we are told by al-Balghi in al-Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal (sea-coasts, 40, 193; mountains, 109, 249). What the traditions of the Muslims of itself tells us about the earliest connections of China and western Asia, is legendary, although it is stated in numerous monuments in stone. It deals with the famous companion of the Prophet Sa’d b. Abl Wakkâ [q.v.], whom it makes a maternal uncle of Muhammad and whose grave in Canton (Guangzhou) is revered, although he really never came to China (de Thiersant mentions the name Warabi, among the Arab envoys of Sa’d b. Abl Wakkâ without sufficient authority, cf. Broomhall, Islam in China, 76 ff.). Tradition also tells of the bringing of Islam to China by land via Hami (Kumul) by Arab envoys and as a result of the 3,000 Arab and Chinese soldiers as a result of a dream of the Emperor Taisong (Taizong) (A.D. 626-49). These legends have been collected by de Thiersant and, more critically, by Devèria, Origine de l’islamisme en Chine. The oldest document on the beginnings of Islam in China is a stele in the chief mosque of Hsi’an (Si’an, or Xi’an), which under the name of Ch’ang-an (Chang’an) was the principal capital of the T’ang (Tang) emperors, Khumdân of the early Islamic sources (see below), situated on the River Wei, a tributary of the Yellow River. This stele prefabes to have been erected in A.D. 742. According to this, Islam must have been known in China under Won-ti (Wonti), first emperor of the Sai Tien-ch’e (Sai Diamche) dynasty (A.D. 581-604). Equally impossible dates for the introduction into China of Islam are given by the Chinese historians also. In any case, the inscription is a palpable forgery. It was probably erected when the mosque was repaired, possibly at the renovations undertaken in the Yuan or Mongol period by Sai Tien-ch’e (Sayyid-i Adjall, see below). The Chinese official tradition found in the dynastic histories is not much more reliable than that of Chinese Islam. These also are full of legendary matter, profoundly influenced by national pride and compiled with a lack of critical judgement; nevertheless, they cannot be entirely neglected as they contain a few geographical and linguistic data. One should note also that, in the older Chinese literature, the land of the Muslims is called Te-shih (Dustu), i.e. Tadjik (tadjik) being the Middle Persian form of the modern Persian utsz; it is the Persianised form of the Syriac utsj, properly “Arab of the tribe of Tâyî”.

The change in meaning is explained by the fact that once the Muslim Tâyî’ Arabs were regarded by one body of Persians as the representatives of the Arab world, their name was extended to all Arabs and thus came to mean “Arab” or “Muslim”. Later, they learned to distinguish more accurately between various branches of Muslims and Tadjik again became limited in application and was applied to the Muslim inhabitants of northeastern Persia; see Tâym.

The Arabic sources are much better. We have such splendid works as al-Tâbarî’s history, which gives us all the material available in his time so that we can reconstruct the history for ourselves; it is improbable that any important notices from older times have escaped him. The Arabic sources afford a check on the Chinese ones, which we cannot afford to neglect; they are quite silent regarding the legends handed down by the traditions of indigenous Chinese Islam.

The Arab geographers are of particular importance. While no exact definition of the locality of China or its chief towns is given by the historians, the geographers by the very nature of their works have to give this information. Striking differences are found when one compares the different accounts according to the views prevailing when they wrote. Particularly striking is the utter disagreement between the statements of Ibn Rusta [q.v.] (who wrote his al-Fikr al-naftisâ ca. 290/903) and al-Mas’ûdi (who wrote his geographical work al-Tanbih wa ‘l-ishrâm in 344-5/955-6). According to Ibn Rusta (96, l. 5), the first clime begins in the east in the farthest borders of China, passes over China, thence over the coast lands in the south of the land of Sind, etc.; the second clime begins (96, l. 13 ff.) in the east, passes over China, thence over India and thence to the land of Sind, etc.; the third clime (97, l. 1 ff.) begins in the east passes over northern China, then over India, etc.; Tibet is the first station of the fourth clime (97, l. 12); the fifth clime begins in the land of Yâdjudjî in the east (98, l. 5 ff.) and passes immediately into northern Khurasân; the sixth clime begins in the land of Madjudjî and passes over the land of the Khazaras; the seventh clime (98, l. 13 ff.) begins in the east with the northern Yâdjudjî, passes over the land of the Turks, the coast lands of the Caspian Sea, etc.; Ibn Rusta adds (98, l. 16 ff.); “what lies behind these climes, in addition to the inhabited areas enumerated by us, begins in the east with the land of Yâdjudjî, then passes over the land of the Toquhuzhuz (i.e. Toquhz Oghuz [q.v.], the ‘Nine Oghuz) and the land of the Turks, then over the land of the Alahs, then over the Avars (the land of the Avars), then over Burdjan or Burcân (the land of the Damubûn or ‘Inner Bulghars) and the Şâklîbâ [q.v.] (the land of the Slavs) and ends in the Western Ocean”. It is clear from this sketch that Ibn Rusta and his contemporaries only knew of South China, which was only reached by sea; China is a country by the sea, and so he speaks (83, l. 15 ff.) of the Sea of the Indians, Persians and Chinese. When he says (87, l. 19 ff.): “The Sea of the Indians is bounded on the east side [at the beginning] by the island of Tizmakran, at the end by China and is
bounded on the west side at the beginning by the Gulf of Aden, at the end by Java", he evidently means that the Indian Ocean is divided into an eastern and a western section, the first of which ends on the one side at the island of Tsiman and on the other at the end of China, which is a vast expanse of land reaching in the north to the land of Tibet in the fourth clime and to the land of Yadjudj and Madjudj in the fifth to seventh climes. Characteristic of Ibn Rusta's views is also the statement (88, l. 24, 89, l. 1) that the sea on which one sails from Basra to China is one sea and one water reaching to China, in which India also is situated. It was, however, thought that there were really seven seas, each of which had its characteristic features, such as different winds, different taste, different colour and different animals; on this opinion, cf. al-Mas'udi, Murādī, i, 325 = § 356, where it is stated that the sea is one but is to be navigated in different ways in different parts (this point is not raised in Ibn Rusta, 88, ll. 11 ff., where probably al-zābādī should be read for al-sin). Ibn Rusta unconcernedly makes another land adjoining China, sc. Japan and Korea. He says, 82, l. 23, 83, l. 1: "The distance from the land of Usa (Us, modern Murudj al-dhahab, a merchant of Samarkand, who on the voyage thither and to Djidda and al-Sanf on the coast, three days' journey from Kumār, he continues (69, l. 1-19): "from al-Sanf to Lukīn, which is the first harbour in China, is 100 farsāks by land and water ... from Lukīn to Kānšīn, which is the largest port, is a journey of four days by sea and of twenty days by land ... from Kānšīn to Khändjdīn is an eight days' journey ... from Khändjdīn to Kānšīj is a journey of twenty days ... every harbour of China has a large river which the ships sail into; there is ebb and flow of the tide there. ... The length of China along the coast from Armābdīr to the end of the land is a journey of two months. There are 300 flourishing towns in China, ninety of which are particularly renowned: the (northern) frontier of China runs from the sea to Tibet and the land of the Turks, in the west to India; to the east of China is the land al-Wākūwak, rich in gold ... (70, ll. 7 ff.) on Wākūwak, concerning which there is utter confusion in the Arabic sources between a Wākūwak between the East African coast and a Wākūwak = Sumatra, "the gold island", at the side of other names for this last like Zābādī and Fānsār, see the art. s.v.). At the end of China opposite Kānšīj, there are many mountains and many kings, this is the land of al-Sīlā, where is much gold; the Muslims who enter this land settle in it on account of its attractions (cf. the account of Ibn Rusta above); it is not known what lies beyond". The whole route from Ceylon to Kānšīj is discussed by A. Sprenger in his Post- und Reiserouten des Orient, Leipzig 1864, 82 ff. (on the route to Ceylon, it should be noted that "the harbour between 'Umān and China" is not a place called Kīla, to be identified with the town of Malacca, but Galla, which still survives in Point de Galle, see above). Al-Sanf he
identifies (with Reinaud and Peschel) with Campa, i.e., the southern part of Cochín China, and locates Lākūn at the mouth of the Songkôi. As to the latter part of the route, one should note that Khân-fū is undoubtedly Canton (Guangzhou), and Kânsū, in which we readily recognise the Khân-sâ of Ibn Bastûtâ, is clearly Hang-chou (Hangzhou, or Hangchow), and Khân-dû should be identified as Ch’iian-chou, with Khân-fû a scribes’ mistake for Qânsâq; this would agree with the distance, and we would then have evidence of the existence of Zaytûn, afterwards so important, in this period.

Ibn Khurradadhbih was, however, also acquainted with the land leads to China. He only briefly describes the route followed by the Jewish Râdğhân merchants [see AL-RÂDÎHANYYA] in connection with the route followed by them by sea from the land of the Franks (Mediterranean—al-Fârâm—carrying their goods on their backs over the isthmus to al-Kulzûm = Suez) (153, ll. 13-15) “beyond Rûm into the land of the Slavs, then to Khâmîlûd, the capital of the Khâzârs, then across the Caspian Sea, then to Bâlîch and ‘Irân, thence to the (i.e. pasturage) of the Toghzûhzâ and thence to China.” He is much more detailed in describing the roads which lead from Transoxania to the east, and gives a vivid picture of a journey by the main route from the lands of the west to the east (178 ff.). At the ford on the upper course of the Oxus where it separates the Pamirs from Tughbâristan (Badakhshân), the Turks used to wait on the Pamir side and watch for foreign merchants appearing and signalling to them at the summit of the mountains opposite; they crossed the river and brought back the strangers and their goods to set them on their journey again to China or to India; he describes in thrilling fashion the skill with which these mountain Turks travelled through the great deserts of rocks where no path was visible; this agrees pretty closely with what modern travellers tell us about the Pamir districts of Darwâz and Shughnân, which is the locality referred to by Ibn Khurradadhbih; even the name has survived, for we may easily recognise Shughnân in the Shïghnân of Ibn Khurradadhbih (179), who calls the Turks of this district Shïkhïna (178, 15) and gives the name of the district in the form Shïkïnân (37, 173). When Ibn Khurradadhbih calls the Shïghnî Turks (178, ll. 15: al-Turk alladghîna yassamama Shïghnî), he is using the word in a very general sense; the inhabitants of Shughnân as well as of the whole of the rest of Tughbâristan were certainly Indo-Iranians and probably spoke the same dialect (Shïghnî) as they do at the present day [see further, Shïghnä].

Ibn Khurradadhbih’s account makes it quite clear how distinctly the difference between China and the land of the Turks was understood in his time. This is all the more remarkable, as in his time the influence of China in the Turkish lands between China proper and the T’ien Shan (Tianshan) was still significant; the Khâkân and the lesser Turkish princes were regarded by China as vassals, and these princes endeavoured to place themselves under the protection of the Chinese Emperor or Fâghfûr [q.s.] when threatened, e.g. by the Arabs. Through contacts with the harbours of China, the Muslims were well enough acquainted with the characteristics of the Chinese to understand the differences between them and the Turks. The division of the earth into four continents by Ibn Khurradadhbih is characteristic (153): Arûfî (Europe), Lâbîya (Africa), İtyûfiya (Ethiopia) with Tihamâ, Yemen, Sind, India and China, and Bâkïyâ (7) with Armenia, Khürâsân, the land of the Turks and the land of the Khâzârs, which cuts up Asia in a peculiar fashion.

There are also other important extant sources of information on the connections by sea, namely the accounts collected by Abû Zayd al-Sârîrî in his Aḥbâr al-Sîn wa ū-l-Ḥind, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Relation de la Chine et de l’Inde, Paris 1948. Though the first part of this work is merely a repetition of the notes compiled in 237/851 by Sulaymân the Merchant (Reinaud, Relations de voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l’Inde et en la Chine, Paris 1845, ii, 61), supplemented by Abû Zayd’s own materials, the second part deals with the changes that had taken place in course of time by sea, in their relation to history and gives the narrative of the Khursîn Ibn Wâbî (of the family of Habbâr). This narrative is of no geographical importance: only two towns are fully dealt with, viz. Khân-fû, which has been just discussed above and shown to be Canton, and Khûmûndân or Khûmdûnd (Khân “Emperor” + l’ang “court”?) the capital of the empire, Khân-fû, which Ibn Wâbî visited. In the Aḥbâr, Khân-fû is the great centre of trade between the Arabs (the word is of course not to be taken literally, but means Muslims generally) and the Chinese; on account of the frequent fires and shipwrecks, the goods exposed were not numerous, however; trade was also seriously hampered by piracy (ed. Sauvaget, § 11); Sulaymân is quoted as authority for the statement that a Muslim was appointed law-giver to the Muslim colony by the King of China; this judge was also Imam and prayed for the caliph. His decisions were universally respected (§ 12). The voyage from the Gulf to Khân-fû was made in fresh water (§§ 13 ff.); the Chinese governor of Khân-fû bore the title dayûfî = t’ai fu (taifu) (§ 37); the revolt of the Banghûa was a disastrous period in the history of Khân-fû; he attacked the town which lay in the interior, a few days’ journey from the coast, on a large river; this was in 264/878; after the capture of the town by the rebels over 120,000 souls perished from famine, and the land of the Khâzârs, which cuts up Asia in a peculiar fashion.

It is not till a later period that the seaport of Zaytûn appears in Arabie literature, probably for the first time in Ibn Sa’d’s, whose statements Abû l-Fida’a’s (365, tr. in Reinaud, i, 124) has been utilised along with those of one who had been there, probably a fellow countryman and subject. It is next described by Ibn Battûta (iv, 268-72, tr. Gibb and Buckingham, iv, 894-5), who first stepped ashore on Chinese soil at Zaytûn. Zaytûn (i.e. Ch’ian-chou-fu or Quanzhou, near Amoy (Hia- men, or Xiamen), in Fukien or Fujian province) had an enormous harbour where the Moroccan traveller saw a hundred large junks and innumerable smaller ones. The Muslims lived in a separate town of their own, with a kâdi, a shaykh al-Islâm, a Sûfî convent and a colony of leading merchants who, to judge by their nisbas, were all Persians. He made Zaytûn his base for further journeys in China, e.g. to Sin Kalâm or Sin al-Sîn or Canton (i.e. Khân-fû), then after a return to Zaytûn, by river to Kang-shan, a large city on a plain (Fu-chou, or Fuzhou, Foochow, further north on the Fukien coast), which again had a Muslim colony with its shaykh. Then he went via al-Khansâ
(Hang-chou-fu or Hangzhou, Hangchow), Marco Polo's
Kinsai, in Chekiang province, which had a large
Muslim... had fled to China after his father's death in 651
[see SASANIDS] and had sought to persuade the Emperor
Uthman and a group of Sufis; and
from the Caliph
... of the Yuan, Khan Balik (Peking)
Arabic-Chinese bilingual ones, dating from the 7th to
a confusion with the name for Canton?). The lengthy
survival there of several hundred mosque and tomb-
Risdla,
ar b. Mu-
of the Arab author Abu Dulaf Mis
... al-KhazrajI
of the Chinese empire proper (see above).
Amongst the eastern Uyghurs on the western fringes
of China, Kâlîf b. al-Shakhir (Minorsky suggested for
this last component of the name *Qâyîf = Thish. *taghîr
"falcon") from the Sâmânîd Amîr of Bukhârâ, who
 refused to give a daughter in marriage to an infidel
but allowed his son to marry a Chinese princess. The
embassy travelled to Sandîbîlî [q.v.], which Marquart
identified (Serfassige, 85-90) with Kansu or Kan-cu, cap-
ital of the eastern, so-called "Yellow" (Sar) Uyghurs,
whose head was recognised as Khânîn by the Chinese
Emperor (see A. von Rohr-Sauer, Der Abî Dulaf (Peckert
über seine Reise nach Turkestân, China und Indien neu über-
setzt und untersucht, Bonn, 1939, tr. 25-30, comm. 56-
60). Unfortunately, Abû Dulaf's Risâla contains so
many fanciful elements and problems of itinerary that
it cannot be relied upon for firm evidence of Sâmânîd-
Chinese relations at this time.

Very important, however, for such considerations
as these is the information in the Hudul id-al-Islam (tr.
Minorsky, 83-6, comm. 223-25) and in the geographical-
ethnographical section of the K. Âzîn al-akhbâr of the
Ghaznavid historian Gardîzî [q.v.], who wrote in the
mid-5th/11th century (ed. 'Abîl-Hâyî Hâbrî, Tehran
1347/1668, 268-71; the significance of this passage
was first noted and translated by Barthold in
his Otet o popovskâ i Srediny Azjum 1893-1894,
St. Petersburg 1897, 92-4). These two sources are the
first Islamic ones to speak of China and Tibet [see
for this last, TURBAT, 1] in any detail, and though
they have many resemblances, they do not entirely
coincide. Minorsky surmised, with great probability,
that they both went back to the lost geographical
work of the Sâmânîd vizier Abû 'Abîl-Mulâh Muham-
mad al-Djâhaynî [see al-Djâyahînî, in Suppl.].
Both sources give roughly the same itinerary for the
land route to China. The Hudul id-al-Islam notes that
the Chinese monarch was called the Faghîfî-i Çim, and
was said to be a Châmîn (Buddhist). His capital was
at Khümdân (Ch'ang-an fu, Hsî-an-fu), although after
the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 907 it was trans-
ferred elsewhere. China is said to have nine large
provinces, but the places mentioned, apart from the
capital, tend to be in the Tarim basin-Kansu region
rather than in China proper further to the east and
south. Gardîzî, however, was by his time aware that
there were many kings in China, "of whom the great-
est is the Faghîfî", thus reflecting the post-T'ang polit-
ical divisions of the land. The statement in both
sources that the main religion of China was Mani-
cheism can only, of course, reflect the state of affairs
amongst the eastern Uyghurs on the western fringes
of the Chinese empire proper (see above).

Writing some 70 years after Gardîzî, in ca. 514/
1120, the account of the China of the Minorsky
[q.e.] is less concerned with itineraries and places than with eth-
nological and sociological details plus an emphasis on
the importance of trade and manufactures for the
Chinese (Minorsky, Şanârî al-Zamân Tîşbî Manavî
on China, the Turks and India, London 1942, tr. 13-27,
comm. 61-92). Chinese artisans had long been famed in
the Islamic world for their aptitudes; thus al-
-Şanâ'î [q.e.] praises their fine silk textiles and their
porcelain, and states that "The Arabs used to call
every delicately or curiously made vessel and such like,
whatever its real origin, 'Chinese', because finely-
made things are a speciality of China" (Lâtîfî al-
This fame of Chinese technical skills may go back to
the capture of Chinese paper-makers at the battle of Talas
in 1373/1272 and the consequent establishment by means
of these workers of paper manufacture at Samarqand
[see supra, 140].

From all these accounts, there emerges that the
road from Turfan via the Kansu corridor to north-
western China was always the main land route for
diplomatic and commercial contacts with China up
to the Mongol period. It appears that, in the 13th
century, the Mongol Great Khâns tended to take a
more northerly route from their ordos to Karakorum
[q.e.] in Mongolia, one going north of the Tienshan
via Bishbalik, Almahî, Talas and Sayram [q.e.] to the
Sir Darya valley, though much of the traffic in the
Mongol period was military rather than commercial.
The above analysis of the accounts of the land of
China by Islamic writers will facilitate the investiga-
tion of the history of Islam in China. For the older
period, this investigation must be undertaken in two
quite separate fields. The two routes by which Islam
came to China were quite different in character and
object: the land route, which led into northern China,
brought Islam into the western parts of the northern
kingdom only, and did not send out colonies to the
coast; the route by sea ran along the coast of China
as far as Hangchow, founding colonies everywhere,
which carefully avoided any attempt to advance into
the interior. This was one of the features of the
advance of Islam; when it came by water, it remained
on the coast, and when it came by land, it remained
in the interior. The maritime contacts of the Islamic
lands of Western Asia and China remained strong
well into the Yuan period of Chinese history (1260-
1368), and probably into that of the early Ming (1368-
1644), but as noted in 2. above, the appearance of
the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and the China
Seas during the 16th century severed this connection;
thereafter, Islamic-Chinese contacts were to be almost
entirely by the land route, and it is now the Hui Mus-
lim communities of western and northwestern China
which become significant for Chinese imperial history.
The story of the maritime contacts has largely
emerged from the geographers' and travellers' accounts
detailed above. However, for the story of political and
military relations via the land route across Inner Asia,
one needs to go back to the early decades of Islam.
The earliest notices of the relations of Islam with
China that are worthy of mention, are connected with
the political events which arose out of the expansion
of Islam. Firuz, son of the last Sâsânîd king, Yazdgîrd
III, had fled to China after his father's death in 651
[see Sâsânîs] and had sought to persuade the Emperor
to take action on his behalf. His prospects seemed on the whole not unfavourable, as an important fact that the huge mountain wall of the T'ienshan was never crossed by the Chinese (see Goldziher, *Mub. Stud.*, i, 270-1, Eng. tr. Barber and Stern, i, 245-6). Muhammad issued a warning against provoking the Turks, whose name he possibly did not even know. Such stories are later inventions.

The Emperor T'ai-tsung (Taizong) refused his request for help (this we may assume from *Al-Sin*, 622 AL-SIN, to take action on his behalf. His prospects seemed on the whole not unfavourable, as an important

On the 25th/7th century onwards, overland connections between the Arab Persian governors of Khurāsān and the successor-states there to the caliphate (e.g. those of the Samanids and Ghaznavids [q.v.]) and China, tended to be blocked by the constituting of powerful Turkish states like those of the Uyghurs of Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia, with their capital on the Orkhon river (till A.D. 840), and, in the 4th/10th century, the ascendancy of the Kārūl Turks [q.v.] and the Ilīg Khāns or Karakhāns which almost certainly arose out of them. Hence contacts were only sporadic. From this period, we know of the possible embassy to the Emperor of China sent by the Samānīd Afīr Nār b. Aḥmad in response to a Chinese approach (see above), and of a more historically-attested embassy from the rulers of Kātī and of the Uyghurs to Mahmūd of Ghāzna in 417/1026 (Gardīzī, *Hābībī*, 191) or in 418/1027 (Marwazi, tr. 19-21), bearing presents of the specialities of China and Siberia and seeking marriage alliances, in fact refused to the infidels by the Sultan; the potentates in question would appear to be the Sheng-tung (Shengzong), emperor of the (probably Mongol) Liao (Khitan) dynasty (982-1031) [see KARA KHITAI] and the Uyghur Kān of Kansu, head of the "Yellow" (Sīr) Uyghurs there. See Minorsky, *Marazī*, comm. 76-80.


During the Sung (Song) period (Northern Sung, 960-1127, Southern Sung, 1127-1279) we again hear in the Chinese annals of Muslim mercenaries. In 1070, the Sung emperor, Shên-tung (Shenzong), invited a group of 5,300 young Arabs, under the leadership of Amr Sayyid So-fei'er (this name being as mentioned in the *Chinese source* of Bukanār, to settle in China. This group had helped the emperor in his war with the newly-established Liao empire (Khitān) (on these, see above, 3) in northeastern China. Shên-tung gave the prince an honorary title, and his men were encouraged to settle in the war-devastated areas in northeastern China between Kaifeng, the capital of the Sung, and Yen-ching (Yanjing) (today's Peking or Beijing) in order to create a buffer zone between the weaker Chinese and the aggressive Liao. In 1080, another group of more than 10,000 Arab men and women on horseback are said to have arrived in China to join So-fei'er. These people settled in all

May have formed a nucleus for the spread of Islam there. The Arabic sources are equally silent about what was a long series of Arab diplomatic missions mentioned as being received at the T'ang court from 716 onwards by *Les Musulmans et Manichéens en Chine*, Taipei 1980; Zhang Jun-yan, *Relations between China and the Arabs in early times*, in *Jih-ming Chang, M. Hartmann [C.E. Bosworth]*. 4. History of Islam in China from ca. A.D. 1050 to the present day.

During the Sung (Song) period (Northern Sung, 960-1127, Southern Sung, 1127-1279) we again hear in the Chinese annals of Muslim mercenaries. In 1070, the Sung emperor, Shên-tung (Shenzong), invited a group of 5,300 young Arabs, under the leadership of Amr Sayyid So-fei'er (this name being as mentioned in the *Chinese source* of Bukanār, to settle in China. This group had helped the emperor in his war with the newly-established Liao empire (Khitān) (on these, see above, 3) in northeastern China. Shên-tung gave the prince an honorary title, and his men were encouraged to settle in the war-devastated areas in northeastern China between Kaifeng, the capital of the Sung, and Yen-ching (Yanjing) (today's Peking or Beijing) in order to create a buffer zone between the weaker Chinese and the aggressive Liao. In 1080, another group of more than 10,000 Arab men and women on horseback are said to have arrived in China to join So-fei'er. These people settled in all
the provinces of the north and northeast, mainly in Shan-tung (Shandong), Ho-nan (Henan), An-hui (Anhui), Hu-peii (Hubei), Shan-hsi (Shanxi) and Shen-hsi (Shaanxi). As settlers in the area between the Chinese and the northern nomads, these Muslims became local elements in the 11th and 12th centuries, being involved in the land commercial traffic along the Silk Road with the support of the Chinese, the Khitan, and the Tibetan and Tangut authorities.

So-fe-i-er was not only the leader of the Muslims in his province, but he acquired the reputation also of being the founder and "father" of the Muslim community in China. Sayyid-i So-fe-i-er discovered that Arabia and Islam were named by the T'ang and were misnamed by the T'ang and became an important local element in the Ilth and the provinces of the north and northeast, mainly in Shan-tung (Shandong), Ho-nan (Henan), An-hui (Anhui), Hu-pei (Hubei), Shan-hsi (Shanxi) and Shen-hsi (Shaanxi) as Ta-shi kuo (Dashi guo) ("the land of the Arabs") or as Ta-shi fa (Dashi fa) ("the religion, or law, of Islam"). This was derived from the ancient Chinese name for Arabia, Ta-shi (Dashi), which remained unchanged even after the great developments in Islamic history since that time. He then introduced Ta-shi kuo (Dashi guo) ("the Religion of Double Return") to substitute for Ta-shi fa (Dashi fa), and then replaced Ta-shi kuo (Dashi guo) with Hui-hui chiao (Huihui jiao) ("the Islamic state"). "The Religion of Double Return" meant to "submit and return to Allah". Thus, in Chinese, Hui-hui kuo (Huihui guo) was universally accepted and adopted for Islam by the Chinese, Khitan, Mongols and Turks of the Chinese border lands before the end of the 11th century.

The appearance of the Mongols [q.v.] in China meant a new phase in the development of Islam there. The Yuan Dynasty was founded by Kubilay Khan (r. 1260-94 [q.v.]), a grandson of the Great Khan, Cingiz Khan (1206-27 [q.v.]). His military forces, used for the overrunning of both North and South China, were built largely upon the thousands of Muslim soldiers which he brought with him from the Middle Eastern and Central Asian campaigns. At least two of the commanders-in-chief of the three Mongol war zones were Arabs: Amir Sayyid Bayan (Po-yen, Boyan) (1255-94) and Amir Sayyid-i Adjall Shams al-Din Umar (1211-79) (see below). They fought in the war against the Sung, and helped to establish Mongol power in China, with many thousands of Muslims serving as high officials in the central and provincial governments. Because large numbers of the Mongol soldiers were Muslims, the Khan decreed them to be second-class citizens of the Mongol empire (after the Mongols themselves in Yuan China). One of Kubilay's Muslim commanders was the Bukharian, who claimed to be a sayyid, i.e. descendant of the Prophet, Shams al-Din 'Umar, called Sayyid-i Adjall, given by the Great Khan the transliterated Chinese title Sai-tien-ch'e (Saidanche). He was Kubilay's governor of the southwestern Chinese province of Yunnan [q.v.] for the period 1273 till his death in 1279. He was buried there, and his tomb, with its inscriptions, was subsequently discovered at the opening of the 20th century by the French Mission d'Ollone; a second grave also exists at Hsi-an (Xi'an), also with an inscription, this being a cenotaph which only contained the dead governor's ceremonial court dress (see A. Vissiere, *Etudes sino-mahometanes*, Paris 1911, 41 n. 1). Sayyid-i Adjall probably did much for the spread of Islam in Yunnan, but it is his son 'Nasir al-Din who is given the main credit for its spread there. The latter had been governor of Shensi, and when he died in Yunnan as governor there in 1292, he was succeeded by his brother Husayn. Other sons of Sayyid-i Adjall and their sons in turn held high office under the Yuan emperors, and the family remained famous in Chinese life. Thus the famous scholar Ma-chu (Mazhu) (ca. 1630-1710) supervised the renovation of the tomb and shrine of his ancestor Sayyid-i Adjall, as attested by an inscription. It seems that during this prosperity the movement of Islam in Yunnan dates from the Yuan period, being accomplished through land contacts and not maritime ones, and the Muslims of Yunnan must have remained in constant contact with the Hui Muslims of the northern provinces of Shensi and Kansu, especially as Muslims became famous as traders and hirers of animals for transport.

The tolerant, or rather, indifferent Great Khans thus encouraged the Muslims, as they did other religious groups within their empire. Under such conditions, the Muslim community in China made great strides, and the evidence of such Muslim travellers as Ibn Batutta shows that there were also flourishing mercantile colonies in the coastal cities along the China Sea (see above, 3.). Muslims became prominent in occupations such as engineering, medicine, technology, transportation and overseas trade, agriculture and handicraft work. Under the Yuan, there was a significant change in religious life as well, many mosques and schools were built, and a network of Muslim hostels was established for travelling Muslim merchants. In the 14th century, by the end of the Mongol role in China, the Muslims totalled about 4,000,000, more than any other minority in China. They took their place in all aspects of Chinese life: political, economic, administrative and military; yet they were still confined to their own communities, somewhat isolated from the vast Chinese population surrounding them. Most of their large communities were still located in areas distant from "China Proper".

The high profile of some Muslims under the Yuan inevitably provoked a backlash. Many Muslim officials and commanders behaved arrogantly and oppressively, lording it over the native Chinese majority, with its own, much more ancient Confucian ethos and traditions, very much at variance with many Muslim attitudes (e.g. in regard to taboos on food and to ritual cleanliness). Already in Kubilay's reign, Marco Polo noted the tyranny of a certain Ahmad, who secured an ascendancy of the Khan and used it to further the interests of his own family, until after suffering 22 years of oppression, a Chinese revolt took place in which Ahmad was killed (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, i, 415-23; cf. also H. Franke, *Ahmed. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Chinas unter Qubilai*, in *Orients*, i [1948], 222-36).

Hence the situation changed for the Muslims under the indigenous Chinese Ming dynasty (1368-1644), during whose period the Hui-hui evolved from being Muslims in China to being Chinese Muslims but for whom the golden age under the Yuan was now over. At the beginning, Muslims were granted political, economic, social and religious freedom, but later this attitude changed. The new regime forced many Chinese immigrants to settle in the border zones, such as the northwest and the southwest where the Muslims had established their communities, and the majority of the people in these areas became Chinese. Moreover, the Muslims were prohibited from upholding their dietary, marriage, dress and speech customs. Under these circumstances, they adopted Chinese names, wore Chinese dress and often married Chinese spouses. This process of acculturation into Chinese culture continued steadily, and the Muslims in China came to consider themselves Chinese.
But with the increase of Sinicisation, they also insisted on retaining many customs and traditions attesting to their origin. Many Arabic and Persian words were preserved, particularly in religious life. This syncretism of the two cultures created the Hui as we know them today, namely, not merely “Chinese with Islamic faith”, but a minority with various ethnic distinctions from the Chinese. Towards the end of the Ming rule, in the late 16th century, the first Chinese translations of Arabic and Persian books concerning Islamic history, ritual and philosophy appeared in China. This was probably the most obvious sign of the culmination of the process of Sinicisation. By the end of the Ming, in the year 1644, the total Chinese Muslim population had increased considerably. But then, the almost 1,000 years of Islamic existence in China were undergoing a violent form. The new Manchu rulers, who conquered China and established the Ch'ing (Qing) Dynasty (1644-1911), would act adversely as far as the Hui minority was concerned.

The Muslims greeted the new dynasty with a series of rebellions. Muslim “Ming loyalists” led uprisings against the Manchus in various locations where large Muslim populations resided. Such was the Tang Kusung (Ding Guodong) rebellion (1648) in Kansu. This ill-prepared uprising lasted one year and resulted in many cities destroyed and hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Muslims killed. The Ch'ing rule in China was characterised by many Muslim rebellions, and an uneasy coexistence between Chinese and Muslims. Intercultural and inter-religious violence usually triggered significant rebellions of the Muslims in mid-19th century China also, when Muslim leaders established ephemeral Muslim states and threw all northwestern and southwestern China into chaos. A case in point was Tu Wen-hsiu (Du Wenhui), who took over much of Yunnan and styled himself “Sultan Sulaymân”. After 17 years of struggle, in 1872, he was defeated by the Manchu forces with more than one million Muslims killed [see PANTHAY]. This was probably the last significant chapter in the history of Islam in Imperial China. In Kansu, Ma Hua-lung (Ma Mingxin). His century scholar, Ma Ming-hsin [q.v.] (Ma Mingxin). His group was known as the Hsin chiao (Xinjiao) (“New Teaching”). When he returned to China in 1761 from his trip to the Middle East and Central Asia, Ma Ming-hsin was imbued with revivalist ideas which generated much of the unrest in 18th and 19th-century China. He introduced new variants of ritual, for example, the reading out loud and declamation of the Qur'an (the name of the Qoran) followed with mujâja, the silent reciting of before). There is reason to believe that many of the leaders of the rebellions, notably Ma Hua-lung and Tu Wen-hsiu, were related to this revivalist trend.

Islam in Communist China

Under the Republic (1911-49), and then under Communist rule (since 1949), the Muslims have been recognised as a “national” minority, but under the PRC they are kept atomised under their various ethnic appellations (Hui, Uyghur, Kazakh, etc.; see 2., above). Generally speaking, because of the régime’s necessity to have relations with Muslim countries on the international arena, it attempted to avoid any overt and brutal oppression of the Muslims domestically. But during the harsh periods of ideological oppression (the Great Leap in the 1950s, and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s), Muslims were grossly mistreated, as were members of other religious groups. Wakfs lands were confiscated, mosques destroyed (only one remained open in the capital Beijing) and Muslims forced to undergo Marxist education. On some occasions, even physical attacks were launched by Chinese troops against Muslim villages. However, since the advent of Deng Hsiao ping (Deng Xiaoping) (1979) and the opening up of China to the outside world, there has been a considerable relenting regarding these policies. More Chinese Muslims than ever are allowed to go on the Haajaj. Muslim delegations are allowed in from outside. There are at present several mosques open in the capital to serve its considerable Hui population, the largest and oldest of which, that in Niu chich (Niujie) or Ox Street, now (1993) has six Ahongs on its staff. Scattered manifestations of Islamic revival are again evident in many a Chinese Muslim locality. Whether these emergences of Islam amongst the Hui will follow the path of fundamentalism, as has been the case amongst the Turks of Sinkiang in the early 1990s, or will settle into a pattern of mild protest and peaceful religious re-emergence, remains to be seen.


SINA', the Arabic form for Sinai (as in Kur'an, XXXIII, 20, though whether this term denoted Mount Sinai itself (Ar. Bjabal Musa, the Kur'anic al-Tur, on the Gulf of Suez, and Nakhl, in central Sinai) or governorate, and was the set-

cched by the Turks, and there was strenuous fighting in northern Sinai between Ottoman forces under Djalal Pasha, attempting to push towards the Suez Canal, and British forces, who in 1917 after defeats at Gaza nevertheless broke through under General Allenby towards Palestine. For much of the interwar period, Major C.S. Jarvis, whose various books are an interesting and amusing commentary on life in Sinai during this period (see Bible), was governor of Sinai. In 1946, Egypt gained control of Sinai, which became a mahallya or governorate, and was the setting for large-scale warfare against Israel in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1968-70 and 1973. Sinai was under Israeli military occupation 1967-82. Since its retrocession to Egypt, the latter power has constructed several strategic roads, developed tourism on the two Gulf coasts, and decentralised the Bedouin and settled Egyptians in newly-founded towns.


SINA'A (a., pl. sina'at), the occupation of and production by artisans; craft, industry, derived from the verb sina'a "to do, to produce". The Arab lexicographers provide several meanings of sina'a, san', san'a; the common significance is "occupation" (defined as harf; san', pl. san'āt meaning hādīfik (adj.) = "skilful, skilful artisan". The original verb means "to produce, to keep well or take care of (a horse)"; san'a arrivals from the Arabian peninsula in the 15th and 16th centuries, most tribes already inhabited their present areas by 1807, when Seetzen visited Sinai. Since then, peace has prevailed amongst the Bedouin, except for some who participated in the 19th century tribal wars of fehṛ-tribe against in the adjacent Negev desert.

During the 19th century, various Western travellers visited Sinai and wrote about the region, including the German Seetzen, the Swiss Burckhardt, the English professor Palmer, the American E. Robinson and the Czech explorer Musil. The most comprehensive work on Sinai's history is that of the official in British service, Na'um Shukayr. Britain took over administrative responsibility for Sinai, along with the rest of Egypt, in 1882 [see Mus. D. 7]. The major impact of this change of power was that the whole peninsula was for the first time under regular administration. In 1884 the Cairo-Mecca Pilgrimage caravan was ended, and, on the diplomatic level, the Ottoman government was compelled to recognise that Sinai was part of Egypt, with the present eastern border of Sinai delimited in 1906. During the First World War, Sinai was occupied by the Turks, and there was strenuous fighting in northern Sinai between Ottoman forces under Djemal Pasha, attempting to push towards the Suez Canal, and British forces, who in 1917 after defeat at Gaza nevertheless broke through under General Allenby towards Palestine. For much of the interwar period, Major C.S. Jarvis, whose various books are an interesting and amusing commentary on life in Sinai during this period (see Bible), was governor of Sinai. In 1946, Egypt gained control of Sinai, which became a mahallya or governorate, and was the setting for large-scale warfare against Israel in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1968-70 and 1973. Sinai was under Israeli military occupation 1967-82. Since its retrocession to Egypt, the latter power has constructed several strategic roads, developed tourism on the two Gulf coasts, and decentralised the Bedouin and settled Egyptians in newly-founded towns.


SINA’ (a., pl. sina’at), the occupation of and production by artisans; craft, industry, derived from the verb sina’a "to do, to produce". The Arab lexicographers provide several meanings of sina’a, san’, san’a; the common significance is "occupation" (defined as harf; san’, pl. san’āt meaning hādīfik (adj.) = “skilful, skilful artisan”. The original verb means “to produce, to keep well or take care of (a horse)”; san’
(adj.) would mean “polished (sword)”, masnāʿ (pl. maṣāmīn) means “notable palaces, fortresses and edifices in which special endeavours are invested”. This denomination originated from Kūrān, XXVI, 129, where the noun is used [ād. iṣbah “polished (sword)”. The members of the maṣāmīn that they built to dwell forever (see Ibn Sīdā, al-Mukhāsas, x, 53, xii, 255-61). Sināʿa could also denote the action of shipbuilding that flourished in Umayyad, Fāṭimid and Mamlūk times and was adopted in dār al-sināʿa, in both English and French, arsenal, asnātāt = workshop or house for handwork. In modern Arabic, masnāʿ denotes “factory” and sināʿa means “industry”. Sināʿa also denotes the action of shipbuilding that flourished in the Middle Ages the activities of the craftsmen which were usually concentrated in the market (ṣāk [g.e.], the latter consisting of lanes and streets, each specified in a given category: a street of shoemakers producing and selling ordinary shoes, a street of producers and vendors of special shoes, streets of saddlers, tent makers, goldsmiths, etc. On the periphery of the town one finds industries requiring space or causing bad smells and dirt, such as potteries, dyeing and tanning. The streets of Cairo are minutely depicted by Ibn Dūmāk in his at-‘Intisāt li-ḥāṣāt ‘l-umrān, and al-Mạkṣrī, Ḥāṣāt, as well as by authors of hisba manuals (see Ḥiba; sṭaḥ; see also L. Massignon, Enc. of the Social Sciences, art. Guilds, in the section Islam; B. Lewis, The Islamic guilds, in Economic History Review, viii (1957), 20-35; idem, An epistle on manual crafts, in IG, xvii (1947) 142-51; G.E. Von Grunebaum, Islam. Essays in the nature and growth of a cultural tradition, ch. vii, 141-50; G. Baer, Guilds in Middle Eastern history, in M.A. Cook (ed.), Studies on the economic history of the Middle East, Oxford 1970, 11-17; S.M. Stern, The constitution of the Islamic city, in A. Hourani and Stern (eds.), The Islamic city. Several vocations, such as medicine (sometimes defined as craft), singing, poetry, calligraphy and astrology, that one describes today as technical and free professions, were considered by the Muslim world, before modern times, as mere sināṭā (see Ikhvān al-Ṣafā, Rasā‘il, in the 8th risāla; al-Mạwardī, Adhāl al-dimu‘a wa l-dīn, Beirut 1986, 213-14; Ibn Khaldūn, Makaddimah, Beirut n.d., 382-3, 405-34). The classification of crafts is an important issue. Al-Dāḥīḥ is one of the first authors in Islam who dealt with crafts and craftsmen. He claims that God planned the differentiation between artisans in order to keep society in harmony (see his Ḥujā‘ al-nabnawī, in Rasā‘il, ed. ‘A.-S. Hārūn, Beirut 1991, iii, 242-3). In some of his other works, he describes the two principal categories of crafts: (a) The trades that bring wealth to their occupiers, like jewellers (aṣhāb al-dajāwar, vendors or producers of embroidery (aṣhāb al-awqā‘ā), money-changers (jawārā). (b) Minor crafts and trades that hardly suffice the provisions of their occupiers, like water-supplier (sakīd), plasterer (javāyān) and ploughman (harānī; see Hayyāz, ed. ‘A.-S. Hārūn, Cairo 1988, iv, 434-5; Baghdād, Cairo 1983, ii, 48-9; Rūzīlā fi sināt al-kawāṣim, in the above-mentioned Rasā‘il, 370-97 [partly in. in Ch. Pellat, Life and works of Ĥūzīh, London 1963, 114, 116, and minutely discussed in Sadan, Kings and craftsmen, in SI, lvi [1982], 4-95, bxi [1985], 92-120; see also W.T. al-Nadjīm, al-Dāḥīḥ wa l-hādāra al-‘abāsyya, Baghdād 1965, 44-101; Pellat, Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ĥūžīh, Paris 1953, ch. vi; M. ‘Uways, al-Mu‘jamma al-‘abāsī min khīlit khābat al-Dāḥīḥ, Cairo 1977, 156-73. The above-mentioned Ikhwān classify the crafts according to their simplicity and according to the materials used and according to ranks (Rasā‘il li-Zakāt al-Sa‘ā, ed. Ziriklī, Damascus 1928, i, 210-26; see also the analysis of the eighth risāla by B. Lewis, in op. cit.). This classification was adopted in the Kūhān (guilds), and a similar classification is to be found in the maṣāmīn (see al-Mạwardī, in Kāmil, xii, 1960, 1967), as well as al-Mạwardī, op. cit., 195-4, and Ibn Khaldūn, op. cit. It is possible that the Muslims followed the pre-Islamic classification of Bryson (see M. Plessner, Der Oekonomikus des Neubegraders Bryson, Heidelberg 1928, 145-8; see also R. al-Sayyid, Abu ‘l-Hasan al-Mạwardī: dirāsa fi rī‘yāthi al-‘idārātīyya, in al-Abdābb, xxxiii (1985), 55-97. In addition to sināʿa and hisba, there are two other terms with the same denomination, denāa and sinf. Mahbān (pl. miḥān) means “profession, service and handiness, mostly domestic”, while aṣhāb al-miḥān means artisans. Mahbān is one who serves others skilfully, a servant, and is to be distinguished from mahāna and intihanā signifying “to submit, to be humiliated” (see LA, s.v. m-h-n; J. Sadan, A new source, in IOS, ix, 375, n. 15). Sinf (pl. asnf and asnfūn) means literally “sort, kind”, whereas tanāfat means “classification”. In the wider sense, sinf means a group of something, ta‘īfa min kull ghayr; at the beginning of the ‘Abdābb period sinf means also various kinds of crafts and trades. Al-Ya‘kūbī uses the term asnf, meaning various artisans that the caliph al-Mạṣhrūr grouped, classified and arranged in the sūdā of his new capital (Buldān, Leiden 1891, 242, 253). Concerning the controversy regarding the beginning of asnf and whether they constituted real guilds, see Massignon, op. cit., in Enc. of Soc. Sc., 215; idem, Les corps de métiers et la cité islamique, in Opera minora, i; Lewis, loc. cit., Stern, loc. cit., Baer, loc. cit.; Goitein, Studies in Islamic history and institutions, Leiden 1968, 267; S. al-Shawkālī, al-Asndfī fi l-‘asr al-‘abbāsī, Baghdād 1967; Dūrū, Ṣāfīd al-asnfūn wa l-khānīf fi l-‘islām, in Bulletin of Fac. of Arts, Baghdād (1959), 133-69; and see sinf. The sīnīf (craftsmen) play an important role in the Islamic society. They constitute a distinct group within the ‘ammā (pl.). Ethnically, the sīnīf class consisted of Arabs, Persians, Syriac Christians, Nābaṭ (g.e.) (“autochthonous” speakers of Aramaic), Kurds, Turks, Jews and others. Many of them, especially those who embraced Islam or were born Muslims, played an important part in the religious, political and the social movements, and even in the rebellions against the Sunnite authorities. They were also organised in professional groups in order to resist any kind of hostile actions or governmental sanctions (al-Tabārī, iii, 895-6; al-Mạs‘īdī, Murādī, vi, 452-7; Ibn al-Aḍīḥī, al-Kāmil, vi, 271-3; Pellat, Milieu, loc. cit.; al-Naḍīm, loc. cit.; Fahmī Sa‘d, al-‘Ammā fi Baghdād, Beirut 1983; al-Dārf, Turāḏ al-‘Irāk al-ḥīṣādī, Beirut 1974, 75-116, 246-8. The nomad Arabs and dwellers of the desert towns esteemed trade and despired crafts; they respected the brave horsemen who used to take part in wars and raids; even robbery was not despised. When someone worked for himself, performing any occasional handwork, or when he was served by his wife in works such as clothing and manufacturing tents, it did not provoke any criticism (see Sadan, The art of the goldsmith, in D.J. Content (ed.), Islamic rings and gems in the collection of B. Zucker, London 1987, 462-73). However, earning one’s living by serving others was disdained. Accordingly, kayn (blacksmith), sadīq (goldsmith), dabībh (tanner) and ḥākā (weaver) were despised by pre-Islamic Arabs (see Goldziner, Die Handwerke bei den Arabern, in Gesammelte Schriften, 1967-73, iii, 316-18; Erttinghausen, The character of Islamic art, in N. Paris
When some circles spoke in favour of the tradesmen, they quoted the tradition according to which Muham-
med earned his living as a herdsman and merchant. According to this tradition, the Prophet also used to
perform repairing works (mending shoes and clothes) for himself; in this manner, the Islamic tradition could
praise modesty and handiwork, without depicting the Prophet contrary to the old Arab values. One should
not neglect the traditions ascribed to the Prophet and to his Companions encouraging kasb ("earning") in all
its permitted forms, including trade and crafts (special chapters titled al-Bay'wa ʿl-tuḥārāt and Sind al-
in Hadith collections, such as those by Abu Dāwūd, Ibn Mājid, al-Kulaynī, al-Rāzī and others; see also al-Ǧaḍālī, Iḥyāʿ, ch. Adab al-kasb wa ʿl-mutabāḥ; al-Šaybahī, al-Ḫāṣibī fi ʿl-rizq al-mustāṭrath; Abū Bakr al-Khālīlī, al-Ḥāfīthī ʿalā ʿl-tifārā wa ʿl-sīnā; see also Gotein, The rise of the Middle Eastern bourgeoisie in Journal of World History, iii
(1957), 583-604.

In the Kurʿān one encounters a positive attitude towards the outcome of the various crafts, i.e., the
products, especially those which will be used by believers in paradise (see the various utensils described in
the verses XVII, 31; XLIV, 53; LXXVI, 21; LV, 54; XXII, 23; XXXV, 33). On the other hand, the exces-
sive luxury of use in this world (al-tanūra), especially precious objects and imposing buildings, is far
from being praised. It is possible that the period of the Prophet inherited certain concepts from pre-
Islamic times, namely, the discrepancy between the taste for fine objects and the attitude towards their
producer, the artisan. Many Kurʿānic verses praise kasb, i.e., earning from any permitted craft and trade
(LXXII, 8-10; XX, 73; II, 198, 267). Verses XXXIV, 10-11; XXXI, 80, tell the story of David. God taught
him how to use iron and produce armour in order to defend himself at war (XXI, 80, wa-ʿallāmumahu sanʿat idabāt), whereas verse LVII, 25 speaks about the various uses of iron. No wonder that the Kurʿānic verses indicating positively the crafts of iron and link-
ing them to a prophetic figure are quoted, in later periods, by those who try to plead for the apparently
despised professions. Is it possible that through these verses the Kurʿān intended to change the negative
pre-Islamic attitude towards such crafts? However, in Arabic literature we encounter a real discrepancy
between the positive attitude towards the product and the negative attitude towards the producer (Sadan,
The art, and Kings, in SI, especially III [1985], 89-
120). One can conclude that the first generations of Islam were still under the influence of pre-Islamic
concepts, transmitted, inter alia, by language and poetry. On the other hand, one should not forget the con-
tinuation of the sedentary concepts inherited from the civilisations, the territories of which were occupied
by the Muslims; even these civilisations felt a certain contempt towards certain crafts. However, in the
Djāḥiz's dialogue with a carpenter in al-Ḥayawānī, III, 276-7, iv, 434-5; see also al-Bayān, ed. A.-S. Hārūn,
Cairo 1990, i, 240-9 and the conclusions drawn from these passages by al-Nāṣirī, op. cit., 52-62; Sadan,
Kings, 89-94; F. Saʿd, op. cit., 85-91). Another kind of pleading for the manual crafts is manifested by jurists
and theologians such as Abū Ḥanīfa, al-ʿĀmilī wa ʿl-muttaʿālim; al-Šaybahī, op. cit.; al-Khālīlī, op. cit.; al-
Ḫābāshī al-Wiṣābi, op. cit. One of their arguments is based on the tradition according to which every
prophet was given by God at least one trade for his living: Adam knew one thousand crafts which he
taught his descendents; his wife was a weaver; Idrīs was a tailor and calligrapher; Nūh and Zakariyyā
were carpenters; Hūd and Ẓālikh were merchants; ʿIbrāhīm was a farmer and carpenter; Dāwūd was an
armourer; and lastly, Muhammad used to repair his own garments and shoes, as mentioned above, and
he also tended his herd as a shepherd and was engaged in the housework of his family. Thus the trades
of the various prophets include all kinds of kaṣb; and ināra ("governing"), trading, farming and ināra is
equal and of the same status (see al-Šaybahī, al-Kasb, 36; al-Wiṣābī, op. cit., 6-7; al-Khālīlī, op. cit., 5-21).

Apparently, this apologetic attitude was needed in the 3rd/9th century; certain Ṣāḥīfi beliefs in relying
_totally on God (tawakkul [q.v.]) even in everyday
domestic life and those who exaggerated this princi-
ple, called for tabīr al-makāsib, i.e. the prohibition of
all forms of earning (see al-Muhāṣibī, d. 243/857), al-
Maṣūbī, Cairo 1969, 180-212). From the 5th/11th
century onwards, more positive views towards kaṣb (earning) and crafts are expressed by theologians such

in Si, xvi [1962]) excludes the weavers and stresses
that they were despised in particular by the free Arab
society because of the hard labour and servitude involved in
this trade; the rich testimony to the inter-seden-
tary aspects of the pre-Islamic Persian aristocracy towards weavers, is rejected by Brunschvig (who accepts, however, this argumentation concerning other trades, relying mainly on Talmudic
sources), because he suspects the evidence to be non-
authentic projected into the past by the Arab
historiographers who were influenced by their own
standpoint and the atmosphere prevailing in their
period (ibid., 49, n. 1). For a different opinion, empha-
sizing the continuation of the Persian concept, see
Sadan, in SI, (1986), 89-91, and n. 33, who takes
into consideration the great skill of A. Christensen,
L'iran sous les Sassanides, Copenhagen 1944, in
distinguishing, in the Arabic sources, between authentic and doubtful data.

In his so far unpublished Nāṣir al-Maṣūbī, Ibn al-
Ḳalīlī, one of the first Arab historiographers, depicted
the crafts despised by the Arabs; his descriptions reflect urban circles, i.e., those of Maṣūbī, probably at the
beginning of the Islamic era: for instance, trades such as ḡazārūn, ṣāṣāb, ṭahām — all designating butcher, with
probable different nuances—as well as teacher, tailor
and smith (Sadan, op. cit., 120).

There were also serious attempts to defend crafts
and craftsmen and give the latter a better place in
Muslim society. Al-Djāḥiz, who does not refrain from
humoristic statements concerning tradesmen, shows
respect and understanding of their vocation and respon-
bility to mankind, from the practical and moral point
of view. He also praises tifārā (commerce) and con-
siders the high status of merchants in society. Weavers,
he believes, are essential for the religious duty of sar
al-tauwara ("hiding of intimate parts"); without builders,
people would not live safely (Rasāʾil, ii, 242-3, and
al-Djāḥiz's dialogue with a carpenter in al-
Ḥayawānī, III, 276-7, iv, 434-5; see also al-
Bayān, ed. A.-S. Hārūn, Cairo 1990, i, 240-9 and the conclusions drawn from these passages by al-
Nāṣirī, op. cit., 52-62; Sadan, Kings, 89-94; F. Saʿd, op. cit., 85-91). Another kind of
pleading for the manual crafts is manifested by jurists
and theologians such as Abū Ḥanīfa, al-ʿĀmilī wa
ʿl-muttaʿālim; al-Šaybahī, op. cit.; al-Khālīlī, op. cit.; al-
Ḫābāshī al-Wiṣābi, op. cit. One of their arguments is
based on the tradition according to which every
prophet was given by God at least one trade for his
living: Adam knew one thousand crafts which he
taught his descendents; his wife was a weaver; Idrīs
was a tailor and calligrapher; Nūh and Zakariyyā
were carpenters; Hūd and Ẓālikh were merchants;
ʿIbrāhīm was a farmer and carpenter; Dāwūd was an
armourer; and lastly, Muhammad used to repair his
own garments and shoes, as mentioned above, and
he also tended his herd as a shepherd and was engaged in
the housework of his family. Thus the trades of
the various prophets include all kinds of kaṣb; and
ināra ("governing"), trading, farming and ināra is
equal and of the same status (see al-Šaybahī, al-Kasb, 36; al-Wiṣābī, op. cit., 6-7; al-Khālīlī, op. cit., 5-21).

Apparently, this apologetic attitude was needed in the
3rd/9th century; certain Ṣāḥīfi beliefs in relying
totally on God (tawakkul [q.v.]) even in everyday
domestic life and those who exaggerated this principle,
called for tabīr al-makāsib, i.e. the prohibition of
all forms of earning (see al-Muhāṣibī, d. 243/857), al-
Maṣūbī, Cairo 1969, 180-212). From the 5th/11th
century onwards, more positive views towards kaṣb (earning) and crafts are expressed by theologians such

( ), The Arab heritage, 251-67; and see the reaction of Ağa-oğlu to these arguments, "Remarks on the character of Islamic art, in Art Bulletin" (Sept. 1954), 175-202.)
as al-Mawardi and al-Ghazālī. They laid down the legal grounds for all kinds of ka'b, including almost all trades and crafts. At the same time, the role played by the lower classes, especially craftsmen, in the Islamic city became a topic of investigation. However, religious opposition movements, such as the ʿālaẖiyah (and associated groups like the Karāmīṭah), may possibly have tried to get close to the spirit of the 'umma. Thus the Ikhwān al-Saḥāf, who reflect Ismaʿīlī tendencies, may have sought positively to change the social attitude towards them in order to recruit them against the Sunni caliphate. On this ground, certain orientalists have sought the origin of the ʿālaẖiyah organisations in these movements, e.g. Massignon, and B. Lewis, in his Islamic guilds, repeats the same argument (see also Lombard, L'Islam dans sa première grandeur, 153-8). But more recent opinion denies any connection between the ʿālaẖiyah and the Ismaʿīlī movement; see, e.g., Stern, op. cit.; Goitein, op. cit., 255-70 and especially Cahen, Y-at-il eu des corporations professionnelles?, in Stern and Hourani (eds.), Islamic city, 51-63; Baer, op. cit.; al-Shaykhāli, op. cit., 48-57.

The ʿālaẖ movements were used by the various categories of tradesmen in order to improve their position in Islamic society. They used to adopt a wāli (a patron, like a saint chosen by Christians for each of the arts and crafts) for each of the trades, such as Salmān al-Fārisī (q.v.), a Companion of the Prophet, for the barbers. The religious ground for this was the tradition that every prophet had a special craft from which he earned his living. Those prophets are considered by the ʿālaẖ as qawwālī ("roots") of the various crafts, while the patrons chosen among the Companions of Muhammad and the Successors are the bīrās (pīrs), the elder heads of the trades, who inaugurated these trades in Islam. By this the asbāb al-ḥiraṟ intended to prove the religious origin of their crafts and to assure their legitimacy in Islam (see anon., al-Dhakhdhakha wa 'l-tuhaṯ fi 'l-ṣanādīq wa 'l-ḥiraṯ, ms. Gotha, Or. 903; Lewis, op. cit., 29; ʿShaykhāli, op. cit., 116-20).

An interesting resemblance exists between the organisation of ʿālaẖiyah and futuwwa (q.v.) associations. The mediaeval phenomenon of futuwwa groups organised as ṣiyāriyya (q.v.) ("robbers, brigands") provoked a controversy between those who were eager to define them as representatives of the proletarians and those who saw in them (as well as in other elements, such as the ʿadūyī) the latent expression of civil and corporate feeling in Islamic city life. According to Ibn al-Mīrānī, Khāb al-Futuwwa, Baghdād 1368, the nakib (the assistant of the shaykh al-ḥiyal, the leader) presides over the ceremony held in honour of the newly-recruited members, reads the names of the elder masters of trades and blesses them. The ceremony is called qawwāl al-futuwwa (see qawwāl). (The futuwwa of the following categories is defined as "deficient" (futuwwa nāxiṣa): mudallātīn ("cheaters"); abāb al-ḥiyal ("people using trickery devices") and of the despised crafts (see Ibn al-Mīrānī, op. cit., 139-78; F. Taeschner, Futuwwa Studien, in Islamica, iv [1932], 285-333; idem, Die Islamischen Futuwwaschwände, in ZDMG, bxxvi [1934], 649; Cahen, Mouvements populaires, in Africa, vi [1959], 47-48; Von Grunebaum, Medaelsk Islam, Chicago 1954, ch. 6; E. Ashtor, Social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages, Berkeley etc. 1976, 183-92). The craftsmen's associations were apparently based on the fraternity principle used to bring together the members within a strong unit in order to protect their trades from outside depredations, such as those of robbers and governmental sanctions. According to Ibn Badrī, futuwwa associations were transformed in Anatolia into akbī (q.v.) organisations called akbīyat al-ḥiyal ("fraternity associations of futuwwa brethren"). He defines the akbī as one who, in his ẕayyāj joins his fellow-tradesmen, akbī al-ṣanādīq, and other young people who like their elders. The craftspeople and essential members of the akbī associations, although the associations were non-professional (see Taeschner, op. cit., Baer, op. cit., 16-30; M. Djawād, al-Futuwwa wa-aṣhafa al-dhakhdhak, in Madżallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlāmi al-Ḥiyātī, v [1958], 46-81; D.A. Breebaart, The Futuwwa-name i kebir, a manual on Turkish guilds, in JESHO, xii [1970], 203-15).

A very important aspect of ʿīnāʾa's in the mediaeval Islamic city was the agoraronomos (muhātāsīb); see B. Foster, Agoraronomos and Muqtaṣīb, in JESHO, viii [1965], 128-44, and ʿīnā. The latter's task included inspecting the morality, integrity and quality of the various trades. He inspected prices, measures, weights and scales, as well as religious and moral regulations. Obviously, the muḥātāsīb relied on the assistance of specialists chosen from each of the various trades. He also appointed an ʿarf (a man responsible) for each craft and each part of the market. The candidate for such an appointment should be "one who is experienced in the craft, and familiar with all the swindlings and deceits; one who is well-known for trustworthiness and honesty and who will be a true observer of the craftsmen's affairs and who will inform about it the muḥātāsīb" (see anon., in Sādan, A new source of the Bytul period, in IOS, ix [1979], 355-76; al-Sayyari, Nāḥīyat al-rafta fi tabāb al-ḥisāba, Cairo 1946, 12; Ibn al-ʿUkhuwwa, Maʿālim al-kurba, ed. R. Levy, Cambridge 1938, 217-21, and Eng. tr. ibid., 88; R.B. Buckley, The Muṣṭāṣīb, in Arabica, xxxix [1992], 59-117). With the help of the ʿarf, the muḥātāsīb could keep in touch with the people of the market, both tradesmen and customers. A special literary genre dealt with tricks and devices of the various craftsmen and reveals their secrets. It began in the time of al-Dāhīzī, who composed the lost epistle Ghishsh al-ṣanātī (see Pellat, Inventaire, in Arabica, iii [1957], in the alphabetical list, under ʿīnā'). There are other works, such as the anonymous Rākhiʾ al-ḥilal fi dātāʾ al-ḥiyal, Fr. tr. René Khawam, who also published separately the Arabic text; the manuscript on which both the translation and the edition are based contains only the sections dealing with the relatively better-off classes, whereas the part dealing with the masses (and which, according to the list of contents, should have dealt with the various artisans and tradesmen) is now lost. Other lost works are Kaft al-dakk wa-tābāt al-ḍawkāt of Ibn Shuḥayd al-Maghribī (d. 425/1035 q.v.), see Ibn Khalīḵān, Waqāyāt, Beirut 1968, i, 116-18. A manuscript of Ḥirkiʾ al-suṭūr wa-ḥilal fi kaft al-dakkāt wa-ḥilal of Ibn Dahhān (d. 591/1195) is to be found at the Rampur Library, no. 1/689. The best-known work in this literary genre is the Kaft al-ṣanātī wa-tābāt al-ṣanātī by al-Djawbarī (q.v. in Suppl.), Fr. tr. R. Khawam, Le côté arrêté, Paris 1960. An Arabic summary of this book was published in Damascus 1885 and in Beirut 1992 (the latter edited by ʿĪsā Shaparī). In his book al-Djawbarī reveals all the devices and secrets used by perfumers (ṣāṭārīn), alchemists (ḥal al-kaf), wandering physicians (ajbatī) al-ṭarīf, jewellers (ḏawarshīyūn), armourers (ḥal al-ḥarb wa-dīlāt al-silāb), money-changers (ṣabīrī) and so forth; many of the tricks described here are also mentioned briefly by ḥisna manuals.

A noteworthy phenomenon in Islamic ʿīnāʾa is the fact that one craft can be referred to by more than one term. For example, the goldsmith (ṣdīgh [q.v.]) is
SINA'A — SINAN 629
also called sawwagh, dhahabi, sabbak and ajawhan (see Ibn Sida, op. cit., xii, 256-261; Sadan, The goldsmith, in Islamic arts, 480, and H. Shay, A glossary of gold-smithing terms, in ibid., 502-16).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but note also the philosophers, e.g. al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, al-Dharrī’s tā’lī makārin al-ghar’ī, ed. Tāhā ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf Sa‘d, Cairo 1393/1973, 197-219, with an interesting classification of the crafts at 202-3. (A. Ghabin)

SINAI [see SINA; AL-TIH; AL-TŪK].

SINAN, born in 895/1490, the chief Ottoman court architect from 945/1538 until his death in 996/1588. Although the later Ottoman court architects are known, none match his fame. Combining a long life with the opportunities afforded by the resources of the Ottoman empire at its zenith, he produced an oeuvre that is unmatched in quantity and quality, not just in Ottoman, but in Islamic architecture as a whole. Of Christian Greek origin, he was recruited in the devshirme he was recruited in the army in 940 and H. Shay, court architect from 945/1538 until his death in 1588. The goldsmith, Ibn Sida, also called sawwagh, dhahabi, sabbak and ajawhan (see ibid., 502-16).

A glossary of gold-work was published in 1502-16. Its bulk necessitated a link to the corner minarets, but the diminutive paired columns of the arcade which accomplish this

The first is the fenestration. Sinan virtually doubled the number of windows of the Bâyezîd mosque by a novel approach to the supporting walls: thickening them with buttresses at regular intervals to open up the intervening walls for light. This is also the case in the Fatih Pasha mosque at Diyar Bakr which have been attributed to Sinan. The only drawback of the building is that he could not have oversaw each project. For those in centres remote from Istanbul he can hardly have done more than send a plan with more or less detailed instructions on how the finished buildings should be realised. For instance, the Suleymânîye in Istanbul (957-64/1550-7) was the most ambitious single Ottoman complex, with an array of some 14 buildings of various functions accommodated ingeniously on the sloping site around the mosque. The mosque itself was divorced from these by a surrounding garden which can be viewed as a variation of the ziyāda. Set on a hill overlooking the harbour, the mosque still dominates the skyline of the city. Sinan took up the challenge of the Hagia Sophia, the largest dome in Istanbul, by reproducing its vaulting scheme of two axial flanking domes. At ground level, however, the vast interior is adjusted to the requirements of Islamic ritual by having the maximum uninterrupted space, to enable the faithful to pray in rows, the plan being actually quite similar to that of the Şehzâde, apart from the three smaller domes on the sides that replace the earlier mosque’s semi-dome and exedrae.

In the complex built for Selim II at Edirne (972-82/1564-75) Sinan determined to surpass the dome of Hagia Sophia, although as built it was approximately the same diameter; it is lower if measured from the ground, but its steeper profile makes it higher than the original. The challenge resulted in a ground plan radically different from the previous two large mosques: based on an octagon, so that eight instead of four piers are the main load-bearing elements. In this form permitted the most striking feature of the building: a reduction of the curtain walls to enable light to pour into the building from an even greater multitude of windows than in his previous mosques. The only drawback of the octagonal plan is the arrangements that had to be made for the mihrab. To leave it on the plane of the rest of the kibla wall would have been to overshadow it by the colossal flanking piers, so a deep recess was made between them. In contrast to the rest of the mosque, this area has few windows and so leaves the mihrab, despite its flanking Iznik tile panels, in relative obscurity. The exterior treatment of this recess is also much simpler, although it still has a link to the corner minarets, but the diminutive paired columns of the arcade which accomplish this does not take great imagination to alter the dome flanked by two semi-domes of the Sultan Bâyezîd II mosque at Istanbul (906-11/1501-5) to the four flanking semi-domes of the Şehzâde. But a comparison of the Şehzâde with the mosque of Bâyezîd II reveals two striking differences, each repeated in his later major projects, which are indeed the result of a new vision.

The first is the fenestration. Sinan virtually doubled the number of windows of the Bâyezîd mosque by a novel approach to the supporting walls: thickening them with buttresses at regular intervals to open up the intervening walls for light. This is also the case in the Fatih Pasha mosque at Diyar Bakr which have been attributed to Sinan. The only drawback of the building is that he could not have oversaw each project. For those in centres remote from Istanbul he can hardly have done more than send a plan with more or less detailed instructions on how the finished buildings should be realised. For instance, the Suleymânîye in Istanbul (957-64/1550-7) was the most ambitious single Ottoman complex, with an array of some 14 buildings of various functions accommodated ingeniously on the sloping site around the mosque. The mosque itself was divorced from these by a surrounding garden which can be viewed as a variation of the ziyâda. Set on a hill overlooking the harbour, the mosque still dominates the skyline of the city. Sinan took up the challenge of the Hagia Sophia, the largest dome in Istanbul, by reproducing its vaulting scheme of two axial flanking domes. At ground level, however, the vast interior is adjusted to the requirements of Islamic ritual by having the maximum uninterrupted space, to enable the faithful to pray in rows, the plan being actually quite similar to that of the Şehzâde, apart from the three smaller domes on the sides that replace the earlier mosque’s semi-dome and exedrae.

In the complex built for Selim II at Edirne (972-82/1564-75) Sinan determined to surpass the dome of Hagia Sophia, although as built it was approximately the same diameter; it is lower if measured from the ground, but its steeper profile makes it higher than the original. The challenge resulted in a ground plan radically different from the previous two large mosques: based on an octagon, so that eight instead of four piers are the main load-bearing elements. In this form permitted the most striking feature of the building: a reduction of the curtain walls to enable light to pour into the building from an even greater multitude of windows than in his previous mosques. The only drawback of the octagonal plan is the arrangements that had to be made for the mihrab. To leave it on the plane of the rest of the kibla wall would have been to overshadow it by the colossal flanking piers, so a deep recess was made between them. In contrast to the rest of the mosque, this area has few windows and so leaves the mihrab, despite its flanking Iznik tile panels, in relative obscurity. The exterior treatment of this recess is also much simpler, although it still has a link to the corner minarets, but the diminutive paired columns of the arcade which accomplish this
are on too small a scale. The minarets are the tallest in Ottoman architecture; their slender form at the
four corners of the dome chamber provides an effective complement to the massiveness of the dome between them.

Smaller projects. Among the myriad of Sinan's smaller projects, we may single out four of particular interest. The complex of the Grand Vizier Rüstem Paşa [q.v.] at Takhtakale in Istanbul was finished not long after his death in 1561. Structurally its mosque is of interest for being raised on a vaulted substructure that enables it to dominate its commercial neighbourhood. However, the relatively simple architectural lines of its interior, with a dome on an octagonal base, are unfortunately sabotaged by the very thing that gives the mosque its fame: its lavish revetment of Iznik tiles. Seen close up these are indeed superb examples of their kind, but the overall effect of repeated small-scale patterns, especially on the four large piers, is to negate the stability of the structure.

The exact date of the complex of Mihrimah Sultan, the daughter of Süleyman, at Edirnekapi in Istanbul is not known, although a teaching appointment to it not long after his death in 1561. Structurally its dome chamber provides an effective complement to the massiveness of the dome between them.

The complex of the Grand Vizier Şekûlu Mehmmed Paşa [q.v.] at Kadirgâha in Istanbul (979/1571-2) was expertly fitted into an awkward sloping site downhill from the ancient hippodrome. Here it is the interior which holds the greatest interest. The dome is seamlessly incorporated within the rectangular prayer hall without using columns by means of a hexagonal base. For once, the balance of decoration seems appropriately weighed: the central arched panel on the kibla wall is revetted to its full height near the base of the dome with Iznik tiles patterned on a large scale.

Notwithstanding these comments on decoration, it is as well to remember that we are unfortunately missing an essential ingredient in evaluating the decorative programme of Sinan's buildings: their painted interiors. Not one has survived intact without restoration and decoration. Judging from the lavishly-painted decoration of a provincial Ottoman building such as the mosque of Suleymân Paşa in the citadel of Cairo (935/1529), the loss is a major one that might have tempered a view of Sinan's structures as usually being of exclusively architectonic interest.

One other architectural masterpiece should be mentioned, partially because it is so unexpected: the aqueduct at Maghlova (1553-64). Its diamond-shaped piers support twin buttresses which are faceted like the diamond-shaped piers of the grand old mas-
became known consequently as "Khodja Pasha". In 881/1476 he was apparently appointed Grand Vizier to succeed Gedik Ahmed Pasha [q.v.], but was himself disgraced and imprisoned within a year. Although the precise cause remains unknown, one possibility is that, as a prominent member of a particular "ulumā" group, he may have been a victim of factional rivalry ([IA art. Sinan Pasa, Hoca, at x, 666-7]. Mehemmed II ordered his release following "ulumā" protests, but he was removed to Sivrihisar as kâdî, where he remained five years. On the accession of Bayezid II in 886/1481, Sinān Pasha was restored to the rank of vizier and appointed müfti to the city of Edirne with a daily salary of 100 akçe. He died in 891/1486, either in Edirne or in Istanbul. His brothers, Ahmed Pasha, miliği of Bursa (d. 892/1519), and Ya'kûb Pasha, kâdî of Bursa (d. 891/1486), were also prominent members of the "ulumā".

Sinān Pasha was a noted scholar and sceptic, with wide-ranging interests and a talent for debate; he became a follower of the dervish Şeyhi̇veli̇. His early works comprised learned treatises in Arabic on law and mathematics, but he is better known for his three works in Ottoman Turkish written during Bayezid II's reign: (i) Taḍdarra'-name, a work on tausuwuf, particularly admired for its fluent rhymed prose (ed. M. Tulum, Istanbul 1971); (ii) Nasihatı̇-name or Ma'ṣūfı̇-name, a work on ethics (ed. I.H. Ertalayän, Istanbul 1961); (iii) Taḍkikreti cutqul-ı asvuf, containing the biographies of 28 saints, a partial translation of ʿAṯūr's [q.v.] Taḍkikreti cutqul-ı asvuf (ed. E. Gürsoy-Naskali, Ankara 1967).

Bibliography:  Khodja Sa'du̇dhu  'd-din, Tâhî al-tawirin (Istanbul 1280/1863, ii, 498-500, 510; Kınılažade Hasan Çelebi, Tezkireti qurâ, ed. I. Kutuk, Ankara 1978, i, 486-8; Mehemmed Meğджi, Hâdîkî al-s̄akârîk, Istanbul 1269/1853, i, 193-6; Bursalı Mehemmed ʿİh̄ir, ʿOM, i, 223-5; I.H. Uzungarî, Osmanlı tarihı, Ankara 1943, i, 534, 658-60; ms. and further bibl. in [IA, art. Sinan Pasa, Hoca, at x, 666-70. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

2. The vizier and statesman (d. 1004/1596). He was born in Albania, in the village of Topovan, belonging to the province Lure, ca. 1520. His father was a Muslim, with the name of ʿAbī al-Ḥaim. His first appearance in the Serai was as the āṣâfi̇nâgî basği, chief taster of Sûleymán the Magnificent [q.v.]. Narrative sources maintain that he was later promoted to be müt-i leveyi of Malaya, Kaštağımı, ʿHâzza, Şarabûls in Syria, and baglerbegi of Erzerum and Haleb (Hadîkî al-wuzerî, 35). Archival evidence suggests a somewhat different career. At least the appointment of a āṣâfi̇nâgî basği Sinân, who must be identical with the other Grand Vizier, to the sanajak of Malatya on 28 April 1556 can be documented (cf. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühtimî defteri 2, p. 68, no. 618). Sinân, the former sanâğîhâr of Şarabûls, is referred to on 4 Rabîʿ I 967/4 December 1559 (Mühtimî defteri 3, p. 334, no. 666). Then he is mentioned as the sanâğîhâr of ʿHâzza in April 1560 (ibid. 317, no. 929), from which he was transferred to Malatya on 28 Dümâdî II 968/16 March 1561 (Mühtimî defteri 4, p. 191, no. 99). After some years, Sinân was baglerbegi of Erzerum in 1564 and 1565 (Mühtimî defteri 6, p. 9, and Mühtimî defteri 5, p. 144, no. 325). His holding office in Aleppo can also be proved in October 1565 (BBÖA, Kepeci 7602, p. 115). At the end of 1567, he became governor of Egypt. While in this function, he was appointed vizier and sanâğîhâr on 20 Şaʿr 976/15 August 1568, to undertake cam-
s But when his successor, Lal Nehomed Pagha, died on the third day after his appointment, the imperial seal was again entrusted to Sinan Pagha, this great survivor, for the fifth time. In this office he died, when just engaged in plans to attack Transylvania, on 4 Sha'ban 1004/3 April 1596. He was buried in his own türbe, built by Mî'mâr Dâwûd, in the Çarşihkâpi quarter in Istanbul.

Sinân Pagha's fabulous wealth, with which he could finance the state in cases of emergency, explains why he was able—besides his personal capacities—to survive four periods of disgrace. He established several pious foundations in various places of the Empire. Although most of them were confiscated by the treasury when he was dismissed, many others survived or were renewed later. The handsomely-fitted kâğıt of the Serai on the shore of the Golden Horn bore his name and survived till 1827.

It was during his terms as Grand Vizier that—as a result of the consummation of the process of princely isolation of the sultans—the communication in writing of the ruler and his "absolute attorney" became a general practice in the form of this kâğıt [q.v.]. His strong personality provoked his contemporaries, mainly those who belonged to the Bosnian faction in the Serai. The chronicler Mustafâ 'Ali [q.v.] had a special hatred for him, partly because the vizier openly expressed his contempt for the literati. On the other hand, for people of lower rank he symbolised the Ottoman soldier, the true pillar of the empire, and the suppressor of the infidels.

The Indus civilisation [q.v.] had barely been in majority Hindu but with a very sub-


1. History in the pre-modern period.

Sind forms part of one of the early centres of human civilisation, that of the Indus valley (overall span, approximately 2500-1700 B.C.), with its epicentre at Mohenjo-daro on the right bank of the river in Upper Sind (see Sir R. Mortimer Wheeler, Ge-

izations of the Indus valley and beyond, London 1966; idem, The Indus civilisation [q.v.], Cambridge 1968). This civilisation was succeeded by the one brought into the subcontinent by the Indo-Europeans or Aryans, doubtless in several waves but apparently covering the years 1750-1000 B.C. The Achaemenid king Darius the Great (522-486 B.C.) made Sind and Gandhara parts of his empire, but these were soon lost to the Persians, certainly by the time Alexander the Great traversed the region in 325-323 B.C. before turning westwards and homewards through Gedrosia (the later Makrân [q.v.]) [see M. Stein, On Alexander's track to the Indus, London 1929; P.H.L. Eggermont, Alexander's camp-

aigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the siege of the Brahmin town of Harmatelia, Leuven 1975]. Various conquerors subsequently controlled Sind, from the Mauryas through the Indo-Bactrian Greeks and the Parthians, the Scythians and the Kushans. Under the Kushan emperor Kanishka (1st century A.D.), Sind apparently became, at least in part, Buddhist in faith, in addition to its existing Hinduism, so that, at the time of the Arab invasion of the early 8th century, Sind seems to have been in majority Hindu but with a very sub-

stantial Buddhist minority.

The Arab general Muhammad b. al-Kâsim al-

Thâkâfî [q.v.] invaded Sind in 93/712, during the gov-

ernorship of 'Irâk and the east of al-Hadiljâ and the caliphate of al-Wâlî I b. 'Abd al-Malîk, march-

ing from southern Persia through the arid region of the Makrân [q.v.] coastland to the Indus delta, and by the time of his recall and death three years later, the Arabs controlled all the lower Indus valley up and including Mâultan [q.v.] and beyond. Despite the brevity of this conquest period, fierce and bloody cam-
paigning was necessary. Probably a majority of the towns of Sind sought amân from the Arabs and sub-

mitted, generally under a treaty of peace, suh, as was the case, e.g. at Arîr/al-Râr, Armaîlî and Siwâsîn. But resist-

ance at the capital Dîwâl/Dêbal/Daybûl [q.v.] by the local king, named in the Arabic sources as Dâhir (whose attacks on Muslim shipping in the Arabian Sea had allegedly provoked the Arab's punitive expe-
dition) was strenuous, with the invaders conducting a massacre of the inhabitants over three days; 6,000 were killed at Rawar and another 6,000 at Mâultan (see F. Gabrieli, Muhammad ibn Qâqim ath-Thâqfi and The Arab conquest of Sind, in EW, N.S. xv [1964-5],
SIND IN THE
PRE-MODERN PERIOD

BĀLŪCISTĀN

BAHMANĀBĀD
al-Manṣūra(?)

Haydarābād

pre-1758 course of river

(Bambhôr

Thattā

Dewāl, Daybul(?)

GREAT RAN
OF KAGHCH

Pātan

Bhūḍí

Dwārkā

66° 68° 70° 72°
During the three centuries of Arab rule in Sind up to the Ghaznavid period (5th/11th century), the province was governed by officials sent out by the caliphs, with the capital and residence of these governors at al-Mansūrā (perhaps 78 km/45 miles to the northeast of modern Ḥaydarābād, Sind), founded by Muhammad b. al-Kasim's son Muhammad b. al-Kasim (See Kramers, 31; McLean, op. cit., 96-7; also of Radjput origin, the Sammas [q.v.], whose monarchs, the Rājāns, were to rule Sind for nearly two centuries until the early 10th/16th century. Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlūk [q.v.] of Dihlī died in Multan 752/March 1351, on the banks of the Indus, while in pursuit of a rebel whom the Sammas had harboured, and Sind contended successfully with the imperial arms until the Sammas were reduced to obedience and vassalage by Fīrūz Shāh, Muhammad's successor. With the decline of the power of Dihlī, that of the Sammas revived, the greatest of their line being Dīnjān Nandā, or Niẓām al-Dīn, who reigned for forty-six years and died in 915/1509. In 926/1520 Sind was invaded by Shāh Beg Arghūn [q.v.], who, having been driven from Kandahār by Bābur, succeeded in establishing himself in Sind. Dīnjān Fīrūz, the last of the Sammas, was driven into Gujārāt, where he died. The Mughal Humāyūn [q.v.], expelled from Hindūstān by Shīr Shāh Sūr [q.v.], made two abortive attempts to conquer Sind, during the second of which his son Akbar was born at 'Umarkot in 1549/1542, but was compelled to flee into Persia. On the death of Shāh Ḩasan, the last of the Arghūns, in 1555, but in 1000/1592 Akbar defeated Mīrzā Dīnjān Beg Tārgān and annexed Sind, which was incorporated in the sāhā of Multān. The province was a part of the empire, but owing to its remoteness local affairs remained much in native hands. The Dāḍūptūras were powerful in Lower Sind in the 11th/17th century, and were succeeded by the Kalarūs, who in 1112/1701 ousted them from Shīkāpur and obtained from Awrangīth a large grant of land. For the next forty years, the Kalarūs increased their power, but in 1153/1740 Nūr Muḥammad Kalarū incurred the displeasure of the Persian invader Nāẓīr Shāh [q.v.], to whom that part of Sind lying to the west of the Indus had been ceded, and was compelled to surrender Shīkāpur and Sībī and to pay a heavy tribute. In 1167/1754 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (Abdālī) [q.v.], to whom Sind had passed on after the death of Nāẓīr Shāh, drove Nūr Muḥammad to Djasānsāh, where he died, but his son, Muḥammad Murād Yūsūf Khan, appeased the Afgān and retained the kingdom. In
1182/1768 his brother and successor, Ghulam Shah, founded Haydarabad on the site of Nerankot. The relations of the Kalhoras with the English East India Company, which in 1772 opened a factory at Thatta, were of little moment, and the factory was closed in 1775. Some years later, Mir Bighar, a chief of the Talpur tribe of the Baluch, rose in rebellion, and the Kalhora compromised the matter by appointing him minister, but he was assassinated in 1195/1781 after defeating an Afghan army near Shikarpur, and his son 'Abd Allah Khan Talpur drove 'Abd al-Nabi, the last of the Kalhoras, to Kallar [g.v.]. 'Abd al-Nabi regained his throne and put 'Abd Allah to death, but the latter's kinsman, Mir Fath 'Ali, defeated him and finally compelled him to take refuge in Djoopur, where his descendants held distinguished rank till the end of British Indian days. In 1197/1783 Fath 'Ali, the first of the Talpur Mirs, established himself as Ra's of Sind. The history of the country under its new rulers was bewildering, owing to its partition among different members of the family: (1) the Haydarabad or Shahdadpur branch, ruling in Central Sind, (2) the Mfrpur or Manikanj branch, seated at Mfrpur, and (3) the Suhrawad branches, ruling at Khayrpur [g.v.].

The English East India Company had had a factory at Thatta for some thirty years in the mid-17th century and, as noted above, again in the later 18th century. In 1799 an attempt to establish commercial relations was made by the Governor of Bombay, with the additional motives of excluding possible French Revolutionary influence from Sind and, more pressingly, that of the Talpur Mirs' suzerains, the Durrani rulers of Afghanistan. By ca. 1830 the possibility was being mooted in British Indian circles of trade along the Indus waters, and a mission under Henry Pottinger was sent to Sind in 1832. At the time of the First Afghan War, British Indian troops insisted on transit through Sind and the Bolan Pass into Afghanistan, and in 1839 a treaty was imposed on the Mfrs. Military disasters in Afghanistan and north-eastern Baluchistan weakened British prestige. In the rising in Sind of 1843 against British interference there, Sir Charles Napier defeated the insurgents at Miyani near Haydarabad. Mir 'Ali Murad, of the Suhrawad branch, remained faithful to the British connection, and was permitted to retain his principalcy of Khayrpur and the honorary office of Ra's of Upper Sind. The rest of Sind was annexed to British India, attached administratively to Bombay, and until 1847 was in fact governed by Napier, until his retirement from the post, as Commissioner for Sind.


2. History from 1843.

Sind was annexed by the British in 1843 following the defeat by British troops commanded by Sir Charles Napier of the local Talpur mirs at the battles of Miani (17 February) and Haydarabad (22 March). This action was taken as part of a wider plan to secure India's northwestern frontier in the aftermath of the unsuccessful First Afghan War of 1838-41, and was officially justified by claims that Sind's rulers had failed to honour agreements entered into with the British administration in India. Contemporary British opinion, however, was divided over the way in which the mirs had been treated, some observers alleging that Britain had behaved dishonourably, which led to the famous "Peccavi" (I have sinned/Sind) saying attributed by the magazine Punch to Napier.

Under British administration, a hierarchy of officials was installed along the same lines as other parts of British-controlled India. A similar land revenue system was also introduced which did not differ very greatly from the situation under the mirs. In return for their allegiance, most landholders were confirmed in their estates. From the British point of view, Sind remained a frontier province, albeit attached to the Bombay Presidency after 1847, and consolidating and maintaining the security of its borders was consequently a high priority. The other main concern of Sind's new authorities was to encourage the development of the local economic infrastructure in order to expand the region's usefulness as a source of raw materials and a market for British goods. The introduction of new irrigation schemes such as the Jamrao canal in 1900 and the Sukkur barrage in 1932 facilitated a steady shift to cash cropping as thousands of acres were released for cultivation. Helped by the expansion of the railway network, the port of Karachi [g.v.] acquired all-India importance. The strains of commercialisation combined with British revenue demands resulted in a familiar pattern of alienation, with land often moving out of Muslim into Hindu hands. The events of 1857-8 had passed by almost unnoticed in Sind, but economic problems in the 1890s produced a period of instability when the administration was confronted with problems of law and order. Local people also began to resent the presence of settlers from outside the region, who were officially encouraged to exploit the new agrarian opportunities.

While the province escaped the communal bitterness of many other parts of India, Muslim-Hindu differences gradually came to dominate local politics. By 1936, enough public support had been generated to win Sind's separation from the Bombay Presidency, which had communal implications, as on the whole Muslims supported the break while Hindus remained wary. Sindhi Muslims had enthusiastically supported the Khilafat movement [g.v.] of 1919-22, but it was not until the Second World War that Sindhi politics were drawn more fully into the wider nationalist debate. Both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League had only acquired toe-holds in the province prior to the war years. However, during 1939-45 the League, in particular, with the help of influential Muslim landlords, increased its support, winning victory in the post-war elections of 1945-6.

At independence in 1947, Sind became a province in the new state of Pakistan, with Karachi the federal capital until 1962. As a result of the demographic
upheaval which accompanied partition, Sind received large numbers of refugees from north and west India who were largely urban-based and so filled to some extent the gap left behind by Sindhis who had moved to India. Contributing to this were the high degree of isolation from other parts of South Asia imposed upon Sind by the deserts and hills with which the historically inhabited riverain area is largely surrounded. Internal dialectal divisions, e.g. between the standard VicolT of the central region, including Haydarabād, and the Lāri of the Indus delta, are less significant than those between Sindhi proper and Kaĉchī, a distinct variety of Sindhi which is spread across the region's eastern border to Gujarat.

Among the more notable conservative features of Sindhi particular mention may be made of the widespread retention of short final vowels (albeit often as whispered vowels) now entirely lost in most other Indo-Aryan languages, thus permitting the retention of such grammatical distinctions as ghara “house”, ghara “houses”, ghara “at home”. Other conservative features include the continued existence of distinctive feminine pronouns, partial distinctions in conjugation between intransitive and transitive verbs, the maintenance of more than 100 irregular past participles. Innovatory distinctive features include the formation of the future from the present participle, and the exceptionally widespread use of pronominal suffixes not only with verbs, e.g. atha- “is for me”, also with nouns of relationship, e.g. pi’-u- “my father”, and common postpositions, e.g. atha- “with me”. While Sindhi is naturally further distinguished from Urdu and the other Indo-Aryan languages of Pakistan by many distinctive lexical items, its vocabulary also shares with them a very considerable component of Perso-Arabic loans, although here too there are some unexpected contrasts, e.g. Sindhi kādū “book”, masculine, versus the feminine Urdu ṭūdī and Pandjabi ṭūd.

Phonologically, the most distinctive feature of Sindhi (and Sirālkī) is the presence of the voiced implosives g d j d’ v’, which are derived from Middle Indo-Aryan initial and medial geminate voiced unaspirates, and which now stand in phonemic contrast with the corresponding explosives g d j d( ) b. As a result of these and other contrasts, Sindhi possesses 41 consonant phonemes, an exceptionally large inventory which led to rather far-reaching adaptations of the Arabic script. Earlier conventions were formalised soon after the British conquest of 1843, with the implementation in 1853 of the recommendations of the Ellis Committee of 1851. A regularised Sindhi orthography was thereby instituted, using a 52-letter alphabet normally written in naskhī style as opposed to the nastā‘īk favoured for Urdu and other South Asian languages. Many letters are distinguished by additional dots, so that, e.g. the gīm set also includes separate letters for implosive gī (with two vertical subscript dots), palatal ŭ (with two horizontal subscript dots) and aspirated -Sah (with four subscript dots). Other usual conventions include the specialisation of different forms of kaf for k and aspirated lhamza with nunation for a:n “and”. Although the unsystematic character of these innovations was deplored by Trumpp, whose German enthusiasm for order led him to devise a confusingly different orthography in his classic grammar, the quite distinctive character of the Sindhi script has done much to ensure the subsequent literary and cultural autonomy of the language. The autonomy of Sindhi was fostered by the region’s separate administration from Bombay during the British period, but came to be challenged after 1947 by the settlement of very large numbers of Urdu-speaking mohādżīran in Karāčī, Haydarabād and other urban areas and the accompanying expulsion of most of the Sindhi Hindu population to India, and by subsequent attempts by centralising regimes to enhance the unique status of Urdu as national language of Pakistan. In spite of enduring tensions, however, the status of Sindhi as the most highly developed of Pakistan’s provincial languages has now been amply secured, while in India its national status was recog-
nised in 1967 in the eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution.

(b) Literature. The beginnings of a reliable literary record hardly predate the late 16th century. In spite of the claims sometimes more or less extravagantly advanced, evocations of the volcanic early date of Muslim conquest of Sind is therefore not matched by the preservation of any substantial early Muslim Sindhi literature. The Sindhi and Kaččhī elements to be discerned in some of the hymns (gīnda) of the Ismāʿīlī Ḥādīr Saḥdr al-Dīn (d. 1416?) and his successors provide tantalising indications of the likely early existence of an important sectarian literature, but much has been obscured by uncertain textual transmission and the tendency of later copyists and editors to impart a strongly Gujjarātī character to the language of these Ismāʿīlī compositions.

The classical tradition of Sindhi literature has a strongly Sūfī emphasis, already apparent in the brief couples referred to Kādī Ḫādīn (d. 1551) and the better authenticated and poetically more memorable set composed by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Balīf (1536-1623). The apotheosis of this tradition is reached in the Rūsāl of Shāh Ṭāhiri and ʿAbd al-Latīf of Bhit (1689-1752), a collection of verses designed for musical performance in kausūlī, which has subsequently become the focus of extraordinary veneration as the supreme expression of Sindhi cultural identity. Arranged under the modal headings called sur, the Rūsāl draws for its poetic inspiration not only upon the ʿUrūs-ān and Muḥāḥāṣ, but also variously upon directly observed phenomena of Sindhi rural life, upon such local folk-romances as the tragic stories of Sasūfī and Mārūf, and upon memories of the yogis to whose company the author appears to have been so particularly drawn. Many later Sūfī poets were inspired by the example of ʿAbd al-Latīf, but his ecstatic inspiration is genuinely matched only by Saʿūdī Sarīmst (1739-1827) of Khayrpūr [q.v.] in Upper Sind, who also wrote in Sirāyī. The primacy of the Sūfī lyric has caused the considerable Islamic literature produced in other traditional poetic genres in the Kalhorā and Talpur periods (1748-1858) to appear to be of rather lower interest.

During the British period, there was the usual shift in fashion away from indigenous genres to more prestigious external models, involving extensive adaptations into Sindhi both of the pedantic niceties of Persian-Urdu arsād and the Western genres now being more familiar through English. While Hindī writers played an important part in these modernising developments, in Sindhi, both tendencies were most vigorously if only prosyly promulgated by the extraordinarily prolific writer Mīr Māḥīr Bāḏ (1853-1929), the son of a Georgian Christian convert to Islam. Māḥīr Bāḏ was one of those figures characteristic of the age who devoted his life to the service of his mother tongue. Fluent in Persian, Arabic, Urdu and English, he drew upon the most varied sources in his 300-odd books, which embraced poetry, drama, novels, essays, grammar, bibliography and children's books, as well as many translations of all sorts. In the Pakistani period, the leading figure in Sindhi literature has been the poet Shāykh Ayāz (b. 1923), whose extensive oeuvre has drawn profoundly upon the resources of ʿAbd al-Latīf's Rūsāl in its often outspoken articulation of Sindhi cultural nationalism.


Deserts, marshes and inhospitable ranges of hills and mountains have isolated Sind from the architectural traditions and building techniques of Persia, the Panḍījāb and other parts of the subcontinent. The earlier tradition of building in brick was followed throughout the Islamic period, with plinths of stone to protect the walls from rising salt. The use of stone structures and carving could have been introduced from neighbouring Gujjarāt in the late 8/15th century. A century earlier, the glazed tilework tradition of Persia started to enliven brick buildings with two shades of blue and white; the occasional touch of yellow appeared later.

Built under Arab rule, the earliest mosque of the subcontinent in Bhambrū [see DAYBUL] contains two dated inscriptions: 109/727 and 294/906. Excavations only reveal the outline in stone of the ground plan; it follows the square plan of the earlier mosques in Kūfā and Wāsit with a sanctuary without mīrābād, three bays deep and with three rows of eleven columns on stone bases. The sāhr is surrounded by the usual ṭawāṣ. Presumably the mosques in al-Manṣūrā [q.v.] followed the same plan. Later mosques can be grouped according to their tilework decoration inspired by Persian work. Their ground plans recall Lōdī and Mughal prototypes. The earliest example is the Dabgīr
mosque 966/1558 in Thatta [q.v.] as well as the better-known one, the Djamā' Masjid built between 1553/1644 and 1066/1657. Other such mosques in bad repair are scattered throughout Sind in Sukkur, Khudābād, Rōhāt (ca. 990/1583) and Ghotki (1144/1732).

More than mosques, tombs stand out as the major architectural achievement of Sind. Many of them are characterised by a funerary enclosure which includes a maḥārīb. Once more, baked brick remains the basic material and in the earlier examples of Arūr [q.v.] near Sukkur, such as the tombs of Farād al-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāhkar-Ganj [q.v.] or Khatāl al-Dīn, the relief patterning in terra cotta recalls the decoration of the tomb towers of Khārākān from 486/1093 in northern Persia. On the other hand, the square plans with dome are drawn from monuments such as the tomb of the Sāmānids [q.v.] in Būhkārā or in Sind from indigenous stupas. Although Mūltān [q.v.] remains the province of grandiose mausolea with glazed tiles, yet in the Makī [q.v.] Hills near Thātā, the largest Muslim cemetery of the subcontinent, there are also brick tombs with intense patterning in tilework. The best preserved brick-and-tile mausoleum is that of Dīwān Shāh Khān (1048/1638) with its mosque; inside its enclosure the square domed building with corner round towers, is sited on a plinth. In Hāydarābād, the massive tomb of the founder Ghūlām Shāh Khālīhrābūr buried in 1186/1772 follows the same building traditions as do the two groups of later Tālpūr tombs.

The impact of Ghūjārī stone carving is also echoed in the stone mausolea of the Sindī ruling dynasties. In the Makī Hills, the most richly carved is the tomb of Dīwān Nāṣīl al-Dīn, who died in 1194/1586. Amongst other large cemeteries, that of Chaukundi, containing numerous stone būrāls of the Jokhia tribe (12th/18th century); they exhibit geometric carvings and crude representations of warriors on horseback.

To protect cities, forts and bridges, forts were an essential feature of river and desert landscapes. Nothing much remains of the walls of Bāmbōr or al-Muṣnūr, but the battlements of the two forts of Hāydarābād still dominate the city. In Sukkur, one imposing brick watch tower (1003/1594) survives by the Arām-gūh or resthouse of Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm [q.v.], the gifted courtier of the Muḥgul court. South of Sukkur, the fort of Kōt Dīdī (12th/18th century) stands out as an impressive landmark; and the ruined battlements of Rōhāt still overlook the Indus, as do those of the fortress on the island of Bhākkar near by. The early 13th/19th century fort at Rānkīt, with its 24 km/15 miles of walls, is said to be the largest in the world.

Urban architecture during the British period in Kārācī [q.v.], in particular, took on a syncretic European style of great exuberance. After independence, Māhīr 'Alī Mīrzā (1910-61), the first president of the Institute of Architects of Pakistan, directed the next generation into a more modern international form of building, although in Kārācī's university complex planned by M. Ecohard, the materials used are a combination of cement and local stone, sand and aggregate.

All over Sind, wind catchers, māngh or mānq, from around 1 m square and up to 2 m high/3.3-6.6 feet high, rise above the flat roofs of houses to catch the summer wind. From the shāhārghām or the game reserves comes the acacia arabica for the building of houses. In Thātā, fine lime plaster or ānām covers the mud rendering of the walls; it is carved into mouldings and pilasters. Doors for the fort of Hāydarābād are elegantly carved in Indian rosewood or shisham, as are in Lāhrīhnā the doors for the tomb of Shāh Bahārā, who died in 1148/1735. Bibliography: H. Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, Calcutta 1925; M.S. Siddiqui, Thatta, Karachi 1956; Muhammad Abdul Ghafoor, Fourteenth Kufic inscriptions of Bahbūr, the site of Bahbūr, in Pakistan Archaeology, iii (1966), 65-90; S.M. Ashfaqe The Great Mosque at Banbhore, in ibid., vi (1969), 182-209; F.A. Khan, Banbhore, Karachi 1969; S. Qudratullah Fatimi, The twin ports of Daybūl, in Hamida Khuhro (ed.), Sind through the centuries, Karachi 1981, 97-105; A.H. Dani, Thatta—Islamic architecture, Islamabad 1982; Anne- Marie Schimmel, Maktī Nūmā: a centre of Islamic culture in Sind, Karachi 1983; A. F. G. Mushtaq, Architecture of Pakistan, Singapore 1985; Y. Lari, Traditional architecture of Thatta, Karachi 1989; A.A. Brohi, A history on tombstones. Sind and Baluchistan, Lahore n.d. [1980s]; Salome Zajaddacz-Hastenrath, Islamic funerary enclosures in Sind, in Islamic Art (Geneva, iv (1992)); Suhail Zaheer Lari, A history of Sind, Karachi 1994. (YOLANDE CROWE)

SINDÀBŪR, Sindabur, port on the western coast of peninsular India, mentioned by the early Islamic geographers (Ibn Khurradadhbih, Ibn Hawkal, the Neẓām-i Sūr of al-Shāfī'ī, etc.) as a flourishing mercantile town with a mixed population of Hindus and Muslims. It has been identified with the Sanjam of Portuguese maps and the St. John of English ones and as lying south of Dāmnūn and north of Thānā, hence in the modern Bombay state of the Indian Union. Bibliography: H. Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, Calcutta 1925; M.S. Siddiqui, Thatta, Karachi 1956, 62, 102, 159. (ED.)

SINDAN, Sindān, port on the western coast of peninsular India, mentioned by the early Islamic geographers (Ibn Khurradadhbih, Ibn Hawkal, the Hūdād al-ʿilmām) as a flourishing mercantile town with a mixed population of Hindus and Muslims. It has been identified with the Sanjam of Portuguese maps and the St. John of English ones and as lying south of Dāmnūn and north of Thānā, hence in the modern Bombay state of the Indian Union. Bibliography: H. Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, Calcutta 1925; M.S. Siddiqui, Thatta, Karachi 1956, 62, 102. (ED.)

SINDĪBĀD (the sailor), narrator and protagonist of a collection of travel narratives, originally an independent work, but since the time of Antoine Galland's adaptation (1704-6), forming an integral part of the Arabian Nights (Alf layla wa-layla [q.v.]). The frame story tells of how the wealthy merchant Sindībād overheard a passing porter, his namesake (alternatively also called Hindībād), complain about the injustice of fortune. He invites the porter, and at a number of subsequent occasions narrates about his seven mercantile voyages at sea. On all occasions he is shipwrecked by some misfortune, saved by chance, endurance, and cleverness, and after experiencing varying numbers of adventures, at the end of each journey eventually returns home richer than before. All of Sindībād's adventures mention a number of mirabilia, e.g. wonderful objects, creatures, facts, etc.

Generally speaking, the various voyages focus on the following central episodes: (1) Sindībād's companions mistake a huge fish for an island on which they light a fire. Later, he finds a mare that is to be impregnated by the magic stallion of the sea. (2) Sindībād finds the huge egg of the giant bird Rūkhkh [q.v.]. Tying himself to the bird's leg, he is carried...
to the diamond valley guarded by huge snakes. From there he is saved by clinging to a large piece of wood. The giant is blinded with a glowing spike, but only Sindbad himself manages to escape from the wrath of his fellow giants. Later, he saves himself from being devoured by a giant snake by tying his body to large pieces of wood. Caught to the diamond valley guarded by huge snakes, Sindbad is saved by clinging to a large piece of wood. From there he is saved by clinging to a large piece of wood. A cannibal giant roasts and exploits the diamonds. (3) Sindbad's company is kidnapped by hairy dwarfs. (4) Caught to the diamond valley guarded by huge snakes, Sindbad saves himself from being devoured by a giant snake by tying his body to large pieces of wood. (5) Sindbad's comrades on the island of the Rukhkh destroy some eggs, and the returning birds bombard their ships with rocks. Sindbad is saved on an island where an old man, taken on Sindbad's back, slings his legs around his body and forces him under Sindbad until Sindbad gets him drunk and kills him. On another island, the inhabitants regularly flee from hordes of monkeys until Sindbad teaches them how to exploit the monkeys' habit of throwing back items thrown at themselves. (6) Sindbad's ship is wrecked at the shores of the magnetic mountain, and he entrusts himself on a raft to a river leading through an underground passage. Eventually emerging in Sarandib [Ceylon], the kingdom's ruler furnishes him with numerous presents intended for Har•n al-Ragîbd. (7) Har•n subsequently orders him to repay the ruler's generosity, but Sindbad is kidnapped by pirates, who sell him into slavery. When his master orders him to go hunting elephants, he does not engage in killing the animals. In return, they lead him to their cemetery, where he finds huge amounts of ivory.—A variant rendition renders the last adventure in a different way: (7a) Sindbad saves himself through the passage of an underground river, and lives with people who turn into flying demons at certain occasions. Not knowing their true nature, he evokes God's name while airborne and is cursed for risking their life.

The Sindbad tales usually are considered as originating from the context of sailors' yarns such as are preserved in Buzurg b. Shahriyar's [q.v.] Ajd•b• al-bahr, a collection of edifying stories, focusing on a homonym protagonist, which was popular in Persian and Arabic at an early period. The further textual history of the Sindbad tales remains largely unknown, though obvious similarities exist between the Sindbad tales and other narratives of fabulous journeys, such as the Latin Navigatio Sancti Brendani (ca. 10th century; see M.J. de Goede, La légende de Saint Brendan, in Actes du xiiie Congrès International des Orientalistes, ii, Leiden 1893, 43-76), the German Herzog Ernst (12th century; see C. Lecouteux, Herzog Ernst, in Encyclopädie des Märchens, vi, Berlin-New York 1990, 939-42), or the Arabic romance S̄af al-mulâk, itself integrated in the Arabian Nights (V. Chauvin, Bibliographie, vii, 64-73). The Sindbad collection was first publicised by the French orientalist Galland (see M. Abdel-Halim, Antoine Galland, sa vie et son œuvre, Paris, 1986, s.v.) towards the end of the 17th century. Galland initially intended to publish an independent French translation, but becoming aware of the fact that the Sindbad tales were similar to the larger collection of the Arabian Nights, he included them in his translation Les mille et une nuits, adapted to the literary taste of the contemporary French mode of contes de fées.

Since then, the Sindbad tales have achieved an immense popularity, notably in the Western literatures, where they continue to constitute a mine of inspiration for literary and artistic production (see e.g. The Arabian Nights in English literature, ed. P.L. Caracciolo, Houndmills 1988, s.v.; R. Irwin, The Arabian Nights, London 1994, s.v.). In this respect, their impact is challenged only by that of the tale of A'ūl• al-Dh•n (Aladin) and the wonderful lamp (U. Marzolph, Das Aladinsyndrom, in Sehen, Horen, Lesen, Lemen, Festschrift Rudolf Schenck, Festschrift für Hermann Graf, Wiesbaden 1973, 279-98, or the Persian storyteller's Mashd• Galin Kh•num's re-telling of Sindbad's fourth journey (see Die Erzählungen der Maldi Galin Ḵanum/ Kissâd•i Mâshd•i Galin Ḵânum, ed. U. Marzolph and A. Amirhosseini-Nitemher, Wiesbaden 1994, i, no. 60).

As for single traits, numerous motifs incorporated in the Sindbad tales find analogues in other literatures, prior and posterior to the collection (E. Rohde, Der greichische Roman und seine Vorläufer, Leipzig 1914, 191-6). To name only the most important: The huge fish (or turtle) in the first journey appears already in the Ps.-Callithenes (see J. Runberg, Le conte de l'île poisson, in Mémoires de la société néophilologique à Helsingfors, iii [1902], 343-95). The huge egg of the Rukhkh in the second and fifth journeys is known by Lucian (True history, ii, 40). The diamond valley and the particular way to harvest its treasures also form the basis of another story of the Arabian Nights (see U. Marzolph, Haun von Baura, in Encyclopädie des Märchens, vi, 538-40). The blinding of the giant cannibal in the third journey reminds one of the Homeric adventure of Odysseus and Polyphemus (Odyssey, ix, 231-499; see J.L. Comhaire, Oriental versions of Polyphemus' myth, in Anthropological Quarterly, xxxi [1958], 21-8), and the fattening of Sindbad's companions in the fourth journey bears a vague memory of Odysseus' adventure with Circe (Odyssey, x, 229-347; see Chauvin, Homère et les 1001 nuits, in Le Musée Belge, iii [1899], 6-9). The old man in the fifth journey, often misinterpreted as an orang-utan of Sumatra or Borneo, undoubtedly represents a popular repercussion of the ancient and widely spread belief in a race of strap-legged monsters (see F. Meier, Das Volk der Riemenbein, in Festschrift Wilhelm Eilers, Wiesbaden 1967, 341-67). The mountain in the sixth journey, although its magnetic qualities are not mentioned in an outspoken way in the Sindbad tales, derives from a Persian tradition rendered in the Comontaurum Palladii which was popularised by the latter's incorporation into the Alexander legend (see...
C. Lecouteux, "Die Sage vom Magnetberg, in Fabula, xxv [1984], 35-65). Finally, the story of the cemetery of the elephants, as in Sindbad’s seventh journey, is already included in al-Tanukhī’s (d. 384/994) al-Farargābūd al-dhīdhdh, ed. al-Shalīdgī, iv, no. 424.

In addition to inspiring Western artistic imaginations, the Sindbad tales have occasioned a number of specialised interpretations, such as concerning the real geographical background of the travels (B. Wallkenauer, Analyse géographique des voyages de Sindbad le marin, in Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques, lii [1832], 5-26; J. Heininger, Die geographische Horizont der Erzähler der 1001 Nacht, in Geographica Helvetica, in lii (1949), 214-9). Here, it has been stated that Sindbad’s travels almost exclusively head eastward toward India, Cyprus, and the Indonesian archipelagoes, with the sole exception of East African islands (the home of the Rukkīhd).

While M. Gerhardt has pointed out the structural characteristics of fixing the culmination point of the small cycle of travel narratives in the middle rather than at the end (Les voyages de Sindbad le Marin, Utrecht 1957; cf. the art of story-telling in the Ana, in Nights, Leiden 1963, 236-63), P. Molan additionally deciphered the underlying ethics of violence (Sindbad the Sailor, a commentary of the ethics of violence, in JRAS [1978], 237-47), which justify the means of solving a conflict by ultimate success. Probably, this point is the most responsible for the Sindbad tales’ enthusiastic reception in Western societies.


**SINDBAD AL-ŠAIKIM** (Šnytpsas), a collection of tales also known by the title Book of the seven viziers.

The existence, as early as the 4th/10th century, of an Arabic version translated or adapted from Pahlavi, is mentioned by al-Mas‘ūdī. This version, revised, was later incorporated into certain editions of the Thousand and one nights as well as the Hundred and one nights, but independent references to it exist in particular, that given by A. Atiq following his edition of the Persian Šindbad-nāme by Žāhīr Šamarkandī, Istanbul 1948. From the 4th/10th century onwards, numerous Persian versions also appeared (mentioned in that of Žāhīr, mid-5th/11th century, cf. D. Bogdanovic, Le livre de sept vizirs de Žāhīr de Samarkand, Paris 1975, “Postface”); then, towards the end of the 5th/11th century, a Greek version, Šnytpsas, was made, based on a Syriac intermediary (Sindbān), as well as a Hebrew version (Sinidhād); the work was finally translated into Spanish in 1253, at the court of Alfonso the Wise, under the title Libro de los engaños y los asyagamentos de las mujeres. It was also the subject of numerous adaptations in the literature of mediaeval Europe, in particular the Book of the seven sages of Rome, of which numerous editions exist, as well as the Dolopathios. It is also worth mentioning the fact that several tales from Sindbād, in more or less adapted form, are reprinted in collections of exempla intended for preachers; such volumes proliferated from the 12th-13th centuries onward.

The framework-narrative of Sindbād adopts the thoroughly classical theme of “rescue through story-telling”. A young prince, commanded to keep silence for seven days by his teacher, the sage Sindbād, is saved by one of his father’s wives of having attempted to seduce her; he is condemned to death, but the king’s seven viziers take turns in delaying the execution from day to day, each telling a story designed to show the perfidy of women. Each evening, their work is undone by the guilty wife, who tells the king a story presenting the contrary case. After seven days the prince, permitted once more to speak, exculpates himself and then pardons his accuser.

The Indian origin of this theme, accepted by the majority of specialists, has been contested by B.E. Perry (The Origins of the Book of Sindbād, in Fabula [Berlin 1960], 1-95), according to whom it is linked to a very ancient Greco-Oriental tradition; there also close kinship between certain stories in the collection and tales known in classical Antiquity. Although there can be no definitive resolution of this point, it may be noted that Sindbād’s apparent exposure of international thematic material, which was probably constituted in such an early period that its origin is not easily to be determined.

A variation on the framework-narrative of Sindbād appears in the Story of the ten viziers, also known by the title of Bağhiyār-nāme, of which an Arabic version (probably based on a Persian version from the second half of the 8th/14th century; later versions exist in Persian, Turkish, Malay and Syriac) also appears in certain editions of the Thousand and one nights and has been translated by R. Basset (Paris 1883); here, it is the ten viziers who accuse the prince Bağhiyār of having attempted to seduce one of the king’s wives. The cycle of Šīh Baktī, likewise incorporated into certain versions of the Thousand and one nights, and known in Turkish, is also close to the two preceding in terms of its framework-narrative and some of its thematic material; in this case, it is a vizier who, unjustly accused of trying to assassinate his master, postpones his execution by telling the king stories intended to exonerate himself.

**Bibliography:** R. Basset, Histoire des dix vizirs (= annotated tr.), Paris 1883; idem, Deux manuscrits d’une version arabe inédite du recueil des Sept Sages, in JA, ii (1903), 43-83. See also V. Chauvin, Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes, Liége-Leipzig, viii, 1904; M. Gaudufoy-Dembonymes (annotated tr.) Les cent et une nuits, Paris 1911, repr. 1962, 134-71. (J.-P. GUILLAUME)

**SINDHIND,** a word understood by various Arabic authors to mean “eternal” because its astronomical system is based on a Kalpa of 4,320,000,000,000 years, but in fact a clever calque (Sind and Hind) on sīndhānta (“perfected”), a term applied to a class of Sanskrit astronomical texts. Such a sindhānta—probably entailed Mādhavānīdānta because there is mention of al-Sīndhānd al-kahib—was brought to Baghādād by an embassy sent from Sind in 773, and there translated into Arabic by an Indian scholar collaborating with an Arab, probably Muhammad b. Ibrrāhmīn al-Fazārī. The original Sanskrit sindhānta was either a part (adhāyasī XIX) of the Bhāmahāṇaśatānīdānta, composed by Brahmagupta at Bhilāmāla in southern Rādjaṣṭhān in A.D. 628 for the Cāpa ruler Viṣyag-rāmukha (Fiyaghār in Arabic), or a separate treatise, the hypothetical Mādhavānīdānta, derivative from it, but mixing with it elements from other Sanskrit astronomical works. The Arabic translation is known only through its remote descendents, each of which has distorted its immediate ancestor in various ways.
The original translation would have been characterised by numerous parameters and by rules for computation based on certain geometrical or other mathematical models; the only table would have been the *Zīgī al-Sīndhind al-kabīr* (though not in tabular form) for Sines and Versines. From the (now lost) translation, al-Fazārī fashioned a set of astronomical tables according to canons for their use; his models would have been the Sāsānīd Ẓī kahrīyān and the latter’s model, Ptolemy’s *Handy tables*. Al-Fazārī entitled his work Ẓīgī al-Sīndhind al-kabīr, in which he mingled elements from Indian, Pahlavi and Greek sources into a usable but internally contradictory set of rules and tables for astronomical computations.

A different solution to the problem of combining the various astronomical traditions known in the early ʿAbbāsid period was achieved by Yaʿqūb b. Tārīq, apparently a collaborator with al-Fazārī, in his Ẓīgī, also written in the mid-770s. Fifty years later, in the 820s, the task was undertaken again by Muḥammad b. Muṣā al-Khāraẓmī [q.v.] in his Ẓīgī al-Sīndhind. Of this work we know much more than we do of the earlier one: we can perceive more clearly the process of Ptolemaicisation that gradually rendered the Indian part of the *Sīndhind*, except for its trigonometry and its analecta, meaningless to Muslim astronomers.

Shortly after al-Khāraẓmī composed it, the Ẓīgī al-Sīndhind was brought to Spain, and it was there and in Western Europe that it thrived the longest. Though it is the basis of a Byzantine treatise of the 11th century and still survives today in Samaria, the last eastern astronomer writing in Arabic to base, at least nominally, his upon it was Ibn al-ʿAdānī, whose Ẓīgī al-kabīr was completed by his pupil, al-ʿAlawī, who completed it under the title ʿNzīm al-ʿiḍā in 338/949. To scholars like al-Bīrūnī, the *Sīndhind* was simply a curious antiquity. Meanwhile, the Ẓīgī al-Sīndhind of al-Khāraẓmī was revised by Maslama al-Maǧrīfī at Cordova in the late 10th century, and later by two of his students, Ibn al-Ṣaffār and Ibn al-Samḥī. Through the work of Ṣādī al-Andalusī [q.v.] and al-Zarrākūla, some elements of the *Sīndhind* were incorporated into the *Toledan tables*; the translation of these tables into Latin in the 12th century, along with the translations of the commentary on al-Khāraẓmī’s original version by Ibn al-Muṭḥannā (which was also translated into Hebrew by Ibrāhīm b. Eṣra), who wrote elsewhere about the *Sīndhind* in Latin works and in Hebrew works that were translated into Latin, of the Ẓīgī al-Sīndhind itself in Maslama’s recension, and of Ibn Muṣīdī’s Ẓīgī al-Ḍayyānī, written in Jaen in about 1080, strongly established *Sīndhind* astronomy (of course, with modifications or replacements for many of its Indian components) as the basis of that of Western Europe. This position it held till the introduction of the *Alfonsine tables* in the 14th century.


AL-SINDI, ABU ‘ATA’ [see Abu ‘Ata’ al-Sindi].

SINDJABI (in Kurdish, Sendjawi/Sindjawi), a Kurdish tribe of Persia, playing an important role in the inter-tribal relations of western Persia, on account of its loyalty to the Iranian state and its defence of the frontiers, confronting foreign powers—Russian, British and in particular, the Ottomans.

Localisation of the tribe. The areas of habitation and of agricultural and stock-rearing activity comprised two regions: that of transhumance in summer and that of settled residence in winter.

The territories of transhumance (kiškāt) included the regions of Bāghča, Kaṭār, Ak-čāgh and Kaľa-Šabšt with their numerous villages and pasturing places extending from Kaş-či Şhabšt to the neighbourhood of Khānākīn as well as Kızılı-Rıbat and Naft-i Şāh. The Zehbā was located to the north and the pasturages of the Kahlors to the east. Other tribes originating from more or less far-flung districts (Bāḏgelān, Mafī, Morādī and Šabzefāl) bordered on territory of this tribe and sometimes engaged in legal disputes with them. Following the treaty of 1914 and the determination of the Persian-Ottoman frontiers imposed by the representatives of Britain and Russia, Sir Arnold Wilson and V. Minorsky, a significant proportion of these territories was ceded to the Ottomans and is currently part of ʿIrāq.

Eighty per cent of this population was sedentary, still living on a permanent basis in the regions of winter residence to the north of the Māḥīdāštat plain (neighbouring the Kahlor and Giṟun tribes) in the province of Kirmāngāš. This geographical position has never been favourable for rebellion against the central government; rebellion tends to be the prerogative of mountain-dwellers, with access to mountain refuges.

The Džali-wand and Surḵhāt clans and numerous other minor branches inhabit the mountainous region in the capacity of ḍowrd ā-mālek (small-holders), each peasant owning his portion of land; in ancient times these included major landowners.

This region of sedentary habitation is thus subdivided into two districts, plain and mountain. These districts were at all times centres of stock-rearing and comprised huge pasturages later transformed into arable land. The horses of Māḥīdāštat were and still are famous.

Origins, history and clans. The organisation of the numerous clans constituting this tribe is relatively recent and mention of the *Sindjabi* does not date back beyond two centuries, although the existence of its components is much more ancient. The denomination of this tribe cannot be accounted for with precision. It is said to derive, however, from the word...
sandjâb (Persian)/sandjû (Kurdish) "squirrel", which is corroborated by tradition. In fact, the first time that its members were thus named dates back to the period of the war for the reconquest of Harât (formerly in Khurasan, currently in Afghanistan), in which the rebellious chieftains were supported by the British, to detach it from Persia. This war had begun at a time when the Sindjâbîs were still a part of the tribe of the Zangena, before joining with the Gurâns and finally forming an independent tribe; they then constituted a group apart, supplying the government with soldiers in return, as was normal under the bontû system, for retention of their equipment and the security of their families. The Persian defence of Harât was begun in 1249/1833, but was interrupted on account of the death of Abbâs Mîrzâ (the Crown Prince), son of Fath 'All Shâh. The second war for the reconquest of Harât took place in 1255/1838 under the reign of Muhammad Shâh and the third in 1273/1856 in the time of Nâşir al-Dîn Shâh. It was actually in the course of the second war for Harât that a detachment of 200 horsemen from this tribe took part for the first time in the siege of this city of Khurasan. The lining of their tunics being made of squirrel fur, it is said that the army commander assigned them the nickname of Sindjâbî "those dressed in the fur of squirrels".

At the outset, there existed in this geographical zone numerous families of diverse origin led by a succession of chieftains (fûhân), known as Calâwî/Câlâbi, from the province of Fârs. They claimed that their ancestors belonged to the Shahânkâra Kûrds [q.v.], they themselves constituting a branch of the descend- ants of the pre-Islamic Sânâsîrs. This is at least the version of this family's tradition. According to other oral versions, they were descended from the Daylâmîs, the best known of whom was the Amîr 'Arûd al-Dawla of the Bûyîd dynasty (who reigned from 338/949 to 372/982). In the period of Nâdîr Shâh (1736-47) they left their original home and migrated to western Persia before settling in their region of current residence.

The line of chieftains included the branches of the khâns of Bakhtîyâr, Barkhordâr, Khodâ-Morovwât and Allâh-îr Khân. Other groupings which followed them in this migration were the clans of 'Abbâs-wand (in Kurdish, Hawâsaw-wan), Khorda-dasta, Djalal-wand (in Kurdish, Djalâ-wan), Sorkhâ, Sorkh-wan (in Kur- dish, Surâ-wan), Dâhîyân, Dawlat-mand (in Kurdish, Dawla-man), Dastadja, Dârkhor and the minor clans of the Sûfî and the 'Ali-Wâlî, all including their sub- groups. Some groups and clans which no longer exist also accompanied them, sc.: Rahbar-wand (in Kurdish, Rîwara-wan) Wotka-wand (in Kurdish, Wotka-wan), Biwa-Djâshnîyân (Biwar-Djashnîyan?) and Mojîrîlân. The suffix -wand (-îan) which follows certain names of clans, of mountains and villages shows that outside elements (coming from Luristan) were mingled at the outset nomadic, it was thus that this family, at the outset nomadic, practising livestock husbandry and participating in wars of survival, passing through periods of prosperity and of penury, became, for some time, influential and rich.

The son of Hasan Khân, Shîr Muhammad Khân Sandjâbî, officially nicknamed Şâmsâm al-Mâmâlik "the sharp sword of the Kingdom", was the governor of Kâsîr-i Shîrîn, a frontier town in western Persia, and to some extent, the warden or marâgîn entrusted with the protection of a border zone. He tirelessly defended the frontiers of Persia against the incursions of the army of the Ottoman Pâshas and sporadic attacks by Russian and British units before and during the First World War. After the death of Şâmsâm al-Mâmâlik, it was before and during the illustrious sons, 'Ali Akbar Shâh Sardâr Mûk- tadîr, Kâsîm Khân Sardâr Nâşir and Husayn Khân Sâlîr Zafâr, who continued their father's activities. Sardâr Mûk- tadîr, the best known of the three, was frequently imprisoned and finally exiled to Tehrân and placed under house arrest; he died in 1955. Sardâr Nâşir, exiled to Kazwîn and dispossessed of his lands and property, died in 1950. Sâlîr Zafâr, the youngest, who survived the repressions under Rida Shâh Pahlawî, unwisely took refuge in 1930 in Russia, and was killed at the time of the Stalinist purges.

The last celebrity produced by this family was Dr. Karim Bakhtîyâr Sandjâbî, son of Sardâr Nâşir, statesman, former professor and Dean of the Faculty of Law, Minister of National Education in the cabinet of Muhammad Musaâddîk [q.v.] and the Iranian judge at the Hague, during the Anglo-Iranian dispute over the nationalisation of Iranian oil. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs at the outset of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, before retiring and going into self-imposed exile, disappointed at the turn of events.

In summary, in the preceding decades, before the policy of sedentarisation pursued by the state from the time of Rîdâ Shâh onwards, and before the damage which this caused, each tribe had a place designated for the pasturing of its livestock. By consensus and by traditionally established regulations, changes could be made in the allocation of territory. Conflicts resulting from the greed of individuals, owners of substantial herds of cattle and sheep and from the bellicosity of young nomads, were not uncommon. Tribal elders and government officials tried to solve these problems amicably. Such disputes were ended by force or by the decision of the government, or by the payment of compensation calculated by head of animals, for the use of pasturage possessed by another tribe. Ultimately the Sindjâbîs and other tribes were deprived of their regions of transhumance.

This sedentarisation (which was, however, partially abandoned after the fall of Rîdâ Shâh), has contributed to the impoverishment of the peasantry and a decline in livestock numbers, the policy being hastily introduced and badly planned. Instability has reigned in recent years, and reigns still among the nomads, semi-nomads and sedentary tribes. It has led to the decline of herds and progressive pauperisation, in turn entailing an increase in the importation of foreign meat and dairy products, as well as malnutrition of country dwellers; this process is thus changing the economic structure of the tribes of these regions.
Bibliography: The late nature of the formation of this tribe accounts for the absence of ancient and recent sources. In the capacity of representative of a commission for the training and education of the nomadic and sedentary tribes of Iran, founded in 1944, the author of the article has travelled extensively among these tribes, and has had the opportunity to question the elders and dignitaries of tribes. Thus the first study relating to the Singâbîs was published in the historical and literary review Yadâq, Tehran, in 1948, then printed as a book in its own right, in Tehran in 1951; new ed. Mohammad Mokri, Les tribus kurdes. I. Tribu des singâbîs. Histoire, géographie, nộpâzioni, groupements, Paris-Louvain 1993. This third edition has been revised and expanded with the addition of a supplement containing new notes and hitherto unpublished documents, as well as a summary in French from which a substantial part of this article has been drawn. See also Karim Sanjabi, Hopes and despairs. Political memoirs [in Persian], London 1989, and M. Mokri, Le foyer kurde, in Ethnographie [Review of the Ethnographic Society of Paris] (1961), 79-95; in the same, Nota sur la géographie des fonds teurs de la secte des Fidèles de Vérité (Abî-i Haq), d’après un manuscrit inédit de source sumite, in Jâ (1994), 37-109 (see esp. 83, 92). The Farhang-i digdrif-yâ'i Irân, Tehran 1951, mentions the names of certain villages in the Sindjâbî district, but the majority of these are inaccurate and incomplete.

SINDJAR, DJABAL, a steep mountain range to the west of Mawslî, rising to 1,463 m/4,798 ft in height, in the desert zone between the Tigris and Khabûr rivers. At the present time, it lies mainly in Tréék, but has its western slopes in Syria. There are only a few valleys with vegetation and timber; some wâdîs of the southern slopes are affluents of the Nahr al-Tharthâr, and irrigated agriculture (in mediaeval Islamic times, with figs, date palms and mulberry trees for a flourishing silk production) is possible. The town of Tréék, but has its western slopes in Syria. There are times between Persians and Byzantines (see al-Baladî, Futülh, 129). Its most flourishing phase came in the 1st/7th century until A.D. 818, one in 1278 from the 7th century until A.D. 818, one in 1278, another in 1345. According to early Islamic sources, the region controlled of early Islam is reflected in the Apocryphal of Ps.-Methodius, written in Sindjâr (see G.J. Reinink, in Bibl.). From the late 5th century, this part of the later Dîyâr Rabî’a [q.v.] was inhabited by the Arab tribe of Taghût [q.v.].

At the time of the conquests, it was taken over by Ya‘îd b. Ghânnî. Already in 117 or 118/735-6, Damascius of Tell Mahre (Chronique, 30, tr. Chabot, 27-8) mentions the revolt in Sindjâr of one ‘Atrîk, perhaps a Khândjîte, and al-Mas‘ûdî, Murâdî, ii, 302 -§ 1994, mentions Ibâdîyâ there at an unspecified date. Since the 4th/10th century until today, Yazdî Kurds have been dwelling there (see R. Lesoc, Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjâr, Paris 1939). It was taken by the Handânîs in 359/970, but the citadel seems to be of ‘Ukayîd origin (Elisséeff, Nûr al-Dîn, 129). Its most flourishing phase came in the period of the Turkmen commanders and dynasties, who from the time of Cemârîn of Mawslî (ca. 500/1106-7) tried to secure their independence in this remote region. Nûr al-Dîn Zangi twice conquered Sindjâr (563 and 566/1169-71) and a branch of the Zangid dynasty grew up there, beginning with ‘Imâm al-Dîn Abû Sa‘îd Zangi II (565-94/1170-97), whose petty court achieved a high cultural level. There followed Ayyûbîd rule under al-Malik al-Sharif Muzaffar al-Dîn of Dîyâr Bakr (607/1210-20) and then that of the vizier of Mawslî, Badr al-Dîn ‘Elâ‘î (619/1222-59).

Ibn Shadîdâd describes the town as having a double wall and two citadels, the old ‘Ukayîd one and a new one built by the local Zangid ruler Kûthî al-Dîn Muhammad in the early 6th/12th century, both of them devastated by the Il-Khând Mongols in 660/1261-2, together with a ma‘zîhîd ‘Altî next to the wall, subsequently rebuilt by the Il-Khândîs’ Persian governor Muhammad al-Yazdî. Also mentioned are two mosques and six madrasas, for both the Hanâfî and Shâfi‘î madhvahs. A minaret is preserved with an inscription by Kûthî al-Dîn from 598/1201 (Van Berchem, in Serres-Herzfeld, Reise, i, 9-10, ii, 229, 308, 318, iii, pl. 4, and 84-5, with a view of the town; RCEA, vi, iii, 3544). According to Ibn Bâju‘îta, the Friday mosque was encircled by a running stream (Rihîla, ii, 141, tr. Gibbs, ii, 352). Ibn Shaddîd also mentions three khândââhs, and a further zîrîbîya is mentioned by Ibn al-‘Adîn, Bâghîya, viii, 3647. Al-Kâzîwnî calls Singâr a “little Damascus”, especially from its fine baths with mosaic floors and walls and its octagonal stone-lined ponds (Abîr al-hâlîd, ed. Wustenfeld, i, 263). A Yazdîc sanctuary, that of Imam Pir Zakar, one km to the south of the town, is mentioned by Serres-Herzfeld, Reise, ii, 204, and they also mention (ii, 200-1) two shrines, apparently of the Kûrdishyya. Ibn al-‘Adîn records several ‘ulamâ’ of Sindjâr, to which others may be added from al-Dhahabit, such as the polymath Ibn al-Akîwîn al-Sindjâri, d. 749/1348 [q.v. in Suppl.].

After the Timûrid interlude, for which Ewliyâ Čelbi records the local tradition of a seven months’ siege by Timûr (Sepbât-nâme, iv, 64), the region passed under the control of the Kara Koyunlu and then the Aq Koyunlu until the Safawid conquest of 913-14/1507-8 and the Ottoman conquest in 941/1534. Under the Ottomans it was a sanâ‘îk of the province of Dîyâr Bekîr, then a nâ‘iy of the sanâ‘îk of Mârdûn until ca. 1830, and thereafter of Mawslî. According to Ewliyâ, there were 45,000 Yazdî and Bâbir Kurds in the Dîjbal Sindjâr and, within the town itself, Kurds and Arabs of the tribe of Ta‘îtî. For long the Yazdîs were a threat to travellers through the region (cf. Layard, Nineveh and its remains, London 1849, 317; M. von Oppenheim, Von Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf, ii, 17-18). In spite of the efforts of the governor of Baghdad, Dâwûd Pasha, Yazdî revolts in the period 1850-64 could not be suppressed by force, and it was only after careful diplomacy that Midhat Pasha [q.v.] was able to introduce Ottoman taxation and customs to the Djabal (see ‘Abbâd al-‘Azâzî, Ta‘îtî al-Tréék, vii, 173-4, viii, 119-20). The modern town of
Sindjar (lat. 36° 20' N., long. 41° 51' E.) comes within the Mawsil governorate (muhdafa) of 'Irak. Sindjar (lat. 36° 20' N., long. 41° 51' E.) comes within the Mawsil governorate (muhdafa) of 'Irak. Sindjar (lat. 36° 20' N., long. 41° 51' E.) comes within the Mawsil governorate (muhdafa) of 'Irak.


**ŞINF** (a.), pl. *asndf*, a term denoting "profession" (synonyms *hirfa*, *pdr*, and *kdr*, pl. *kdrat*), and not "corporation".

1. In the Arab world.

In Cairo, in the Ottoman period, *sinf* is not used in the sense by which the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi, in his renowned description of professional corporations (*Seyyid-ndme*, x, 358-86). There is no word in Arabic specifically denoting the professional corporation: texts frequently use the word *tawd* (*tawd'd*), which has the much more general connotation of "group", "community". It is only in the expression *ashba al-hirafa wa l-sand* that *hirfa* takes on a very similar meaning, "the masters of arts and professions". It is important to stress this limitation before describing the corporative system in the Arab world with reference to the word *sinf*, as was done by L. Massignon in *El*.

This lexical lacuna could be one of the reasons which has recently led scholars to reconsider the classical notions of the origin and development of professional corporations in the Muslim world, such as were expounded by L. Massignon (see his *El* articles *sang* and *sinf*) and synthesized by B. Lewis in his article of 1937. The idea that professional corporations were born in the 3rd/9th century in an Isma'ili environment (in the framework of the Karmat movement) was subjected to vehement criticism on the part of S. Stern and Cl. Cahen, in *The Islamic City* (1970). These two authors concluded that professional corporations did not exist in the classical Muslim world, the date of their appearance needing to be postponed until the 16th century, i.e. the start of the Ottoman period: influences emanating from the Anatolian Turkish world would then have led to the formation in the Arab world of professional organisations of a powerfully religious nature, with the *akhd* [q.v.], the *sipah* [q.v.], and the *sang* ("brothers") of the *fipan* ("young people"), whose activities and ritual were described by Ibn Battita (*Rabha*, ii, 260-5).

This revisionism seems, in its turn, excessively radical. According to all the evidence there were, before the 16th century, professional communities (*qandates*) directed by *shqyks*, which could be quite legitimately be considered corporations. It is not clear, in particular, was under their control. But there is no doubt that the 16th century has to be considered effectively as a turning-point. In the Arab Near East it was at this time that there was introduced, in the corporative system, the *futawwa* [q.v.], which constituted its "catechism". In the Maghrib, the corporative organisation seems to have been regenerated under the influence of Andalusian immigration, very strong in the 16th and the early 17th centuries; this was, evidently, the case of Tunisia where the corporative system was controlled entirely by Andalusians, who were to dominate it until the 19th century.

The functioning of professional corporations comprises internal aspects (organisation) which often remain obscure, and external aspects (ceremonies) which are in general better known. The hierarchy in professions is described in detail in the manuals of *futawwa* of the Arab East, rites of passage being marked by the *shqykh* [q.v.]. It does not appear with the same clarity in the practices revealed by the texts currently available. The essential grades were those of apprentice (mubtadi'at), of companion (*'adil*) and of master (*mualim* or *wali*): there is only fragmentary information regarding the tests which formally existed, and, in particular, regarding the presentation of a "master-piece", with a view to access to the status of master. Corporations were directed by a *shqykh* (amin in the Maghrib) appointed by his peers, but often confirmed by the administration which intervened in cases of difficulty. The older masters constituted a council, that of the *shqyks*: it seems that the corporative organisation was often headed by a senior dignitary: in Damascus there was (according to Qudsi) a *shqykh al-mahajj* (in Tunis an amin al-tubbqf), in Algiers (Touati) an amin al-umand. But these individuals seem to have performed a purely ceremonial role.

The number of professional corporations varied according to the importance of cities and their economic activity: Algiers contained only about sixty and Cairo more than two hundred. But the number of professions was much higher: Qasmī and Azem have referred to 435 in Damascus where A. Rafeq thinks that there were between 160 and 180 corporations.

The efficacy of professional corporations was assured, on the one hand, by the very thorough specialisation of professions which gave them strong cohesion, on the other by a very effective geographical localisation, each profession, and the corporation which represented it, occupying a specified zone of the urban centre: there was thus a correspondence between professional corporations, market (*ikht*) and quarter. The corporation also played an important role as a factor of integration when, as was the case in Aleppo it united members of different communities (in this case, Muslims, Christians and Jews) (A. Rafeq).

The activity of the corporations was multifarious. Their economic role is evident. They regulated dealings between artisans and merchants and with consumers; and they co-operated with the authorities in the fixing of prices in times of crisis. They played the role of a "para-administrative" structure, helping to represent the working population in dealings with rulers, and enabling the latter to control their subjects and to raise taxes and contributions. They were one of the communities (*asndf* which assisted the functioning of the city, the absence of a precise judicial statute constituting no obstacle, either to their existence or to their role (on this point, too, the analysis of S.M. Stern, in "The constitution of the Islamic city, is to be treated with caution). In the central (public) part of the city they were an active instrument for urban generation: they palliated the lack of "public services", since it was through their agency that citizens were assured of the supply of water, street-cleaning, and fire-fighting. They contributed to the vitality of the city, participating in public festivals (organisation of markets to celebrate the arrival of an important individual), in religious ceremonies (in Cairo, the *ru'ya* [see *Ru'yat al-Hilal*] at the beginning of the month of Ramadan was the occasion for a kind of
major review of the corporations which paraded with floats symbolising the activities of the different professions).

There can be doubt that the strict organisation of professions did not favour a spirit of competition, the quasi-hereditary principle in professional activities which institutionalised the practice of gedik (a right awarded by shop-keepers and giving access to the profession) also contributed to a certain technical stagnation. But the importance of these negative factors should not be exaggerated: the introduction into the corporative system (and into the future) of new professions (such as the regulations which concern, and the quasi-hereditary right of which had been long debated) clearly shows that the corporative organisation was not totally immovable.

These corporations were profoundly affected by the political, economic and social changes experienced in the Arab world during the 19th century: their disappearance was, in general, gradual and was not the result of formal decisions (such as, in France, the Le Chapelier law of 1791). Economic changes (decline of traditional activities, appearance of new professions, competition from western products, emergence of national industries) played a decisive role in the decline of the corporations. Rapid urban growth in the second half of the 19th century led to the installation in cities of populations having no place in the corporate framework, while modernised states took charge of the administrative functions traditionally exercised by corporations (raising of taxes, administration of central zones) and organised genuine public services, substitutes for the services formerly supplied by the corporations. Colonisation accelerated this process with the imposition of free enterprise and the installation of a foreign population engaged in the most modern economic activities.

However, this evolution was slow. In Egypt, the industrialising efforts of Muhammad ‘Ali did not put an end to the activity of the corporations: in 1868, ‘Ali Pasha Mubarak, organising the development of the modern city of Cairo, used the services of the building workers’ corporations. But the process was inevitable. In Damascus in 1927, according to a survey conducted by L. Massignon, only 10% of the working population still belonged to corporations (La structure du travail à Damas). The retention, here or there, of a few corporations and a few corporative practices constitutes nothing more than an anomalous survival, of only folkloristic significance. There is no evidence to suggest that the emergence of modern trade unionism [see NIKABA] represents an element of substitution: the work of J. Gaulmier in Hamāt (1932) seems to show that this was an independent process.

Notwithstanding a widespread idea that guilds were part of the futuwwa organisation [q.v.], there is no shred of evidence for this supposition in the Persian context (Floor, Guilds and futuwwa in Iran, in JOMG, cxxiv [1984], 106-14). Many guilds had their own habitual location (patan), or festivals peculiar to them, but guilds seldom provided for mutual assistance. During the period of the Constitutionalist Movement (1905-6), guilds acquired some political influence, which resulted in their receiving 32 seats in the first Majlis. However, they lost all their seats in 1909 and reverted to their traditional role.

During the Pahlavi period, guilds were strictly controlled and basically became trade organisations and an extension of the state, membership of which was compulsory. The guilds themselves were in the hands of wealthy members, who had links with the prevailing political power. Rather than being voluntary organisations with social and other functions, guilds became amorphous intermediaries, haggling over taxes and price policies. Despite the fact that the guilds and other bezirks helped finance the Islamic Revolution of 1979-80, the situation has not much changed under the Islamic Republic. As in previous times, the Islamic government, by using financial, economic and other instruments, has a fair control over the qanlik.

Bibliography: See also Floor, The guilds in Iran: an overview from the earliest beginnings till 1972, in JOMG, cxxv (1975), 99-103; idem, Ehr art. Aynaf; M. Keyvan, Artisans and guild life in the later Safavid period, Berlin 1982 (to be used with caution).

(W. FLOOR)

3. In Turkey.

Trade guilds (esnaf longolari) were first established in Anatolia during the later 13th century and were called Aghilik, and continued until the beginning of the 20th century [see Aghil, Aghil Baba, Aghil Fwran, Futuwwa]. In Arabic, Aghil means "my brother", but the resemblance to Tiksh. agh is fortuitous; in old and middle Turkish, agh means "generous, brave, stout-hearted".

The Aghil were typically a Turkish trade guild, arising from economic and social necessity, which aimed from economic and social necessity, which aimed to regulate the relationship between the producer and the consumer. Within the organisation they had several meeting places, called zaney, where they taught morals, good manners and ceremonial behaviour to the young members of this organisation. The members of a zaney had different tasks: they acted as religious leaders, teachers, preachers, poets and dancers. These members ranked in nine categories: (1) Virgils (apprentices) were the lowest category; (2) Aghil, divided into six divisions: the first three divisions were aghab-tark, the experienced, and the last three, nakhil, inexperienced; (7) Koltfeller, who could not function outside the zaney; (8) Shoghilh, heads of the previous seven categories; and (9) Shoghil ul-mahshyghil (the heads of the Shoghs).

Aghil did not like yellow and red colours in their costume (floor, Guilds and futuwwa in Iran, in JOMG, cxxiv [1984], 106-14). Many guilds had their own habitual location (patan), or festivals peculiar to them, but guilds seldom provided for mutual assistance. During the period of the Constitutionalist Movement (1905-6), guilds acquired some political influence, which resulted in their receiving 32 seats in the first Majlis. However, they lost all their seats in 1909 and reverted to their traditional role.

During the Pahlavi period, guilds were strictly controlled and basically became trade organisations and an extension of the state, membership of which was compulsory. The guilds themselves were in the hands of wealthy members, who had links with the prevailing political power. Rather than being voluntary organisations with social and other functions, guilds became amorphous intermediaries, haggling over taxes and price policies. Despite the fact that the guilds and other bezirks helped finance the Islamic Revolution of 1979-80, the situation has not much changed under the Islamic Republic. As in previous times, the Islamic government, by using financial, economic and other instruments, has a fair control over the qanlik.

Bibliography: See also Floor, The guilds in Iran: an overview from the earliest beginnings till 1972, in JOMG, cxxv (1975), 99-103; idem, Ehr art. Aynaf; M. Keyvan, Artisans and guild life in the later Safavid period, Berlin 1982 (to be used with caution).

(W. FLOOR)
SINGAPORE — SÍNI 647

Peninsula [q.v.]. The island itself is 544 km²/210 square miles in extent and there are a further 50 islets, many of which are uninhabited.

Singapore was an important Malay city in the Middle Ages, acting as a port of call between India and China. Singapore's fortunes declined in the 14th century following its sacking by the Majapahit Javanese, and in the following century it was superseded by the port of Malacca [q.v.]. The modern history of Singapore can be dated from 6 February 1819, when Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles of the East India Company secured from the titular sovereign, Sultan Husayn of Johore, cession of the island. Britain's position was consolidated five years later when the Dutch recognised Britain's claim to Singapore.

When Raffles arrived on the island, it was inhabited by a mere two hundred or so Malay fishermen. The island's rapid economic expansion, which followed Raffles' intervention, witnessed profound demographic and social changes. By 1824, the population had risen to over 10,000, 30% of whom were Chinese immigrants. By the 1830s and 1840s, Chinese were arriving at the rate of 2,000-3,000 a year, with the Malaya [q.v.] soon assuming the position of a minority community. Nevertheless, Singapore became a centre for Islamic reformism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Not only did it stand on the pilgrimage route from South-East Asia to the Middle East, but it also enjoyed a large measure of religious freedom under the British colonial regime. Moreover, the presence of Hadramawt [q.v.] Arabs, Indo-Malays descended from Indian Muslims, and Indonesians, enriched the Islamic community of Singapore. These groups maintained links with Islamic centres in the Middle East and encouraged the spread of new ideas through writing and journalism.

British colonial rule in Singapore came to an abrupt end on 15 February 1942, when the island fell to the invading Japanese. Despite suffering dislocation during the Japanese occupation, Singapore soon recovered. The post-war period has been characterised by rapid and sustained economic growth, the island becoming one of the most prosperous countries in South-East Asia. In 1963 Singapore became formally independent from Britain and on 16 September of that year entered the new federal state of Malaysia [q.v.]. The constitutional experiment, however, proved unsuccessful. The large Chinese majority in Singapore radically affected the racial composition of the new country and challenged traditional Malay supremacy on the Peninsula. Indeed, politics assumed the appearance of a struggle between Malays and non-Malays. Relations with the federal capital, Kuala Lumpur, became increasingly strained and in 1965, just two years after the inauguration of Malaysia, Singapore seceded from the federation.


ȘINİ (A., p. čini), a generic term for Chinese ceramics including porcelain. High-fired Chinese wares were exported to South-East Asia, India and the Islamic world from at least as early as the Abbāsīd period. T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) white wares have been found at Sāmarrā', as well as their local imitations. Similar T'ang sherds have been discovered at Daybul, Straf, Fustat, 'Ākaba and Antioch; and at the mouth of the Māntāl (Māntār) and the islands of northern Sri Lanka, which ceased commercial activity in the early 4th/11th century, including white wares, Changsha painted stoneware, yue, sancai sherds, and "Dusun" storage jars, suggesting the Chinese exports were largely sea-borne.

Amongst the earliest references to Chinese wares is that of the author of the Al-Babhār al-Sin wa l-Hind, who recorded in 243/851 that "[The Chinese] have a fine clay, from which they make drinking cups as fine as glasses, through which you can see the gleam of water, though they are made of clay" (ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde, Paris 1948, 16). Ibn Khurradadhbih, his contemporary, mentions that the port of Līkān was well stocked with Chinese wares, al-fakhkhdr al-ğayyid al-şinl. Al-Dhābij (d. 256/869) refers to coloured Chinese pottery, waṣṣat sinīya mulamma', probably Changsha ware. Ibn al-Fakhir (ca. 291/903) notes pottery and a Chinese craft, al-fakhkhir al-ṣinīya. According to al-Thālabī (d. 429/1038), "The Arabs used to call any delicately or finely-made vessel and such like, whatever its real origin, 'Chinese' (jišt), because finely-made things are a specialty of China... They also have translucent pottery (al-fakhkdhir al-mustashiff) for cooking purposes; a piece of this may be used equally for boiling things, for frying or simply as a dish for eating from. And the best of these are the delicate, evenly-pigmented, clearly-finished wares,前辈 coloured (milhum) and rather that the cream-coloured (zabādi) ware with similar characteristics" (Latfī al-mustafīr, tr. C.E. Bosworth, The Book of curious and entertaining information, Edinburgh 1968, 141).

As al-Thālabī was writing at the beginning of the Sung dynasty (349-678/960-1279), he must be referring to such wares as yue and qingbai. Al-Birrūnī (363-440/973-1048) saw no less than thirteen different types of Chinese ware in the house of a merchant from Ifshān, who lived in Rayy; these included bowls, dishes, bottles, trays, jugs, drinking vessels, ewers, hand basins, baskets, incense-burners, lamps, lamp standards and other objects. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (after 656/1258) mentions cups, mugs, plates and dishes of Chinese ware, and is one of the first to repeat the popular fallacy that poison is detectable when served on it.

Chinese blue-and-white porcelain was developed in the first quarter of the 7th/14th century. The cobalt blue was imported from Persia, probably by Persian merchants living on the China coast. Initially, blue-and-white ware was largely exported to India, Central Asia and the Islamic world, with massive and highly decorated bowls and dishes representing a complete break with the more delicate and plain wares of the Song period. Evidence of early blue-and-white, whether sherds or complete specimens, has been found at Karakho in Inner Mongolia and on the Central Asian trade routes, and at Samarkand; in Dihlī, South India, Humruz, Fustāt, East Africa, Hamāt, Damascus and Aleppo; and specimens exist in the two great royal collections of Persia and Turkey, now housed in the National Museum in Tehran and the Topkapi Sarayi Museum in Istanbul (see PIs. VIII and IX, 6).

A most important authority for the early 7th/14th century is the traveller Ibn Bāṭītah [q.v.] who not only makes remarks on the technique and manufacture of fine wares when he was in China (ca. 749/1346), al-fakhkhir al-şinl, made in Zaytun (Quanzhou) and Şin-i Kalan (Canton/Guangzhou), and exported to India and other
countries including his own, the Maghrib, as well as to Yemen. Twenty years earlier, when he was in Damascus (727/1326) he witnessed an incident in the sik when a slave-boy dropped his master's Chinese dish, safa min al-falkhirri al-yini, and was advised that there was a waqf for broken utensils, which would provide funds for a new one (Ribla, i, 238, iv, 256, tr. Gibb, i, 149, 889). The date corresponds to that of the very earliest blue-and-white, (see PL VI) and a number of whole or almost intact early dishes and bowls have been recorded from Syria during the past two decades. Another famous traveller, Marco Polo, was responsible for the introduction of the term porcelain into the European language: in French porcelain is derived from the Italian porcellana ("concha porcellana") in both Latin and Italian = "cowrie shell", and a cowrie shell was the closest Marco Polo could think of to characterise china. The cowrie shell was thus called because of its resemblance to the female vulva, Latin porcus or porcella, itself a calque from Greek χοίρος ("pig" and "vulva").

From the earliest times, the secret of the composition and manufacture of Chinese stonewares and porcelain remained a mystery to Islamic potters (and indeed to most of the world until the 12th/18th century). This did not prevent the Islamic craftsmen from imitating the Chinese wares in humber materials, such as the so-called "Sâmarra" pottery of the Abbâsîd period. From the 9th/15th century onwards, imitations of blue-and-white were made in Central Asia, Persia, Syria, Egypt and Turkey, often with Chinese-inspired designs; celadon was also replicated. Chinese designs also inspired a whole series of blue-and-white hexagonal tiles, examples of which occur in Syria, Egypt and Turkey; the craftsmen were originally from Tabrīz (see PL VII, 2). In Persia, in the Safavid period, the influence of Chinese blue-and-white on the indigenous pottery was so marked that a legend arose that Chinese craftsmen actually worked in Persia. The influence of Chinese wares continued in Turkey until the 12th/18th century, and in Persia throughout the Qâdîjâd period in the 13th/19th century. At the same time, the influence of Mamlûk glass and inlaid metalwork can be clearly discerned in the shapes of Chinese blue-and-white, and even on occasion in its decoration as well, as for instance a porcelain stand in the British Museum (1966.12.15.1) (Pls. VII, 3 and IX, 7) with imitation Mamlûk ornament and a pseudo-Arabic inscription. Chinese porcelain made specifically for Muslim patrons in the early 10th/16th century, with Persian or Arabic inscriptions, and frequently with the mark of the Emperor Zhengde (912-942), has been attributed to the period when the influence of Muslim emuhs was particularly strong at the Chinese court (Pl. VIII, 4).

Nor should one underestimate the influence of Chinese blue-and-white on other decorative arts in the Islamic world. It frequently appears, with celadon (Pl. IX, 6), in Persian and Turkish miniature paintings, often in scenes of feasting and festivities. Individual Chinese motifs such as the lotus, and the cloud-scroll, became an integral part of the répertoire of decorative motifs throughout the Islamic world. It is evident that Muslim merchants and traders played a major part in the export of Chinese ceramics, both by sea and by land.


J. CARSWELL

SINKIANG, SIN-KIANG (also spelt as Hsin-chiang in the Wade-Giles system), the largest province (area ca. 620,000 sq. miles) of the People’s Republic of China.

It is situated in the north-west of the country, and is also known as “Chinese Central Asia”, “Eastern Turkestan” or “Chinese Turkestan”. Sin-kiang in Chinese means “new dominion” or “recently pacified territory”. Geopolitically, it is important as it holds a pivotal position between China, Central Asia, Russia and India. Sin-kiang is divided by the Tien-shan range into two main regions, the Tarim Basin in the south and Dzungaria in the north, and two lesser regions of economic importance, the Ili Valley and the Turfan Depression. The Tien-shan range runs roughly eastwards from the Pamir massif, and forms a natural wall between Dzungaria and the Tarim Basin, making communication between the two regions difficult. The Ili Valley, isolated from the rest of the province, was cut off by the northern spur of the Tien-shan, and is only accessible from the western fringes of the province, while the Turfan Depression is closely linked with Kansu province [x.x] and China proper. Sin-kiang is a multi-national province whose population is composed of the following main ethnic groups: Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tatar, Tadjik, Mongol, Tongkan, Sibo, Manchu, Solon, Tafur, Han, Slavic and others. The total population of the province is approximately 12,500,000.

From the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) until the middle of the 17th century, Sin-kiang was always mentioned in Chinese sources as part of Hsi-yü (the Western Territory) referring to Central Asia, and was intermittently under Chinese control or sovereignty. By 60 B.C. after the Hsiung-nu (the Huns) had been expelled from Sin-kiang, the Han imperial court exerted its authority there by setting up Hsi-yü Tu-ha Fu ("The Commandery of the Western Territory"). Many city-states in the region thus became vassals of the Han Empire. Sin-kiang has been regarded as the
1. A broken Chinese blue-and-white porcelain dish, found in the suk in Damascus. 7th/14th century. Private collection, Hong Kong.

Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul, TKS 15/3168.

5. A Chinese blue-and-white porcelain flask. 7th/14th century.  
Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul, TKS 15/1391.

crossroads of Chinese and Central Asian cultures. Historical evidence proves that Buddhism from Central Asia travelled along the Silk Road and entered China via Sin-kiang during the Han period, and other religious influences subsequently. By the end of the Han dynasty, Chinese Han influence in this region had gradually died away. At the turn of the 7th and 8th centuries, Indian, Persian, and Central Asian influences prevailed. As a result, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeanism, Nestorianism and Buddhism flourished in this region. These religious elements were carried to Tibet after the Tibetan invasion of Sin-kiang (ca. 760 A.D.), and contributed to shaping of the syncretic Lamaistic Buddhism.

During the T'ang period (618-906 A.D.), the political situation in Sin-kiang region was complicated by the movements of Turkic nomadic peoples, such as the Uighurs, Karlugs, Khirghiz [q.v.] and others, from the northern steppe fringe of Inner Asia and the southern edges of the Siberian forests into this region. These nomadic peoples competed with the Chinese and Tibetans for dominance over this region. Amongst them, the Uighurs, who adopted Manichaeanism as their state religion between 744 and 840, later became the new masters of Sin-kiang.

Although Islam might have entered Sin-kiang before the Arab invasion to the region of Tarāz [q.v.](or Talas) around 750-1, it was not widely spread there until the establishment of the Karakhânids [see ILK GHANES] (382-607/992-1211). Muslim sources mentioned that Sanūk Bughra Khān's devotion to Islam instigated mass conversion of the Karakhânids to Islam. However, Sūfis from Buhārā may equally have played an important role in it. The earliest establishment of Islam as a state religion in Sin-kiang probably took place during the reign of Ūusuf Kadhr Khān (417-24/1026-32), and practice of Islam was most likely limited to the area of Kāshgar and to the Khotan area in south-west of Sin-kiang. The Karakhânids survived until the beginning of the 7th/13th century, and control of Sin-kiang then fell into the hands of the Qara Khitāy [q.v.] (the Western Liao dynasty in Chinese history). The Sinicised Khitans favoured the Confucian-Buddhist culture. Therefore, according to Muslim sources, the Qara Khitay rulers were hostile to Islam and to Arabo-Persian culture, so that the spread of Islam in Sin-kiang under their rule was probably slowed down.

After the great Mongol conquests in Asia, Sin-kiang was taken under the authority of the Ghaghatay Khānate (624-771/1227-1370 [q.v.]). Despite a good relationship between the Mongol rulers and their Muslim subjects, the practice of Islam in Sin-kiang was apparently not encouraged. Most of the Khāns inclined rather to their native religious practices and to their nomadic tradition and customs. Throughout the Ghaghatay period, compared with the Karakhânids times, the Uighurs, who were the main element of the population, were not so interested in the religion of Tughluq Temür (760-4/1359-63). By the middle of the 14th century, the Ghaghatay Khānate began to disintegrate. The eastern branch based on the Tarim Basin and the Turfan region survived under the protection of the Turkish Dughlat state based in Kāshgar until the late 17th century. By then, they had already become Islamised. They paid homage to the Chinese Ming authority (1368-1644). However, Chinese influence was not exerted there, just as it had never been exerted under the influence of Chinese Buddhism. According to contemporary Muslim sources, Perso-Turkish Islam, rather than Chinese culture was flourishing in the region during the 16th century, possibly due to the Timūrids' influence in the region.

From the 17th century onwards, the history of Sin-kiang became more complicated. Various peoples such as the Uighurs, Mongols, Tibetans and the Sino-Manchu were contending for dominance of the region. By the early 17th century, the surviving Ghaghatay Khānate's authority was undermined by the rising Khādja family originating from the Nakhshbandiya order of the Sīsidat al-Khādija in Samarkand. The Khādja family who were de facto Islamic missionaries, activated Islamisation in the region. In the second half of the 17th century, descendants of the family were involved in political strife and split up into two lines called Aqtaghils (people of the White Mountain) based in Kāshgar, and Karaghils (people of the Black Mountain) based in Yarkand respectively. They were called "White-cap Hui" and "Black-cap Hui" in Chinese sources. In 1678, with the help from the Kalmuck Mongols in Dzungaria, the Aqtaghils under Khādja Ḥusayn Apak defeated his rival faction and reunited Kāshgar. An Islamic theocratic state was thus formed, but functioning as a protectorate of the Mongol Empire of the Dzungars. This indirectly challenged the Sino-Manchu authority in the region, and caused serious conflicts between the two powers throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

By the middle of the 17th century, Dzungaria was still under a Mongol khānate's domination. The Tarim Basin was then called Hui-p'u ("Islamic or Muslim region") by the Sino-Manchu government. In 1757 Dzungaria was annexed to the Chinese territory. In order to keep firm control, the Manchu government deliberately repopulated this region with various peoples of Altaic stock, including Muslims from the Tarim Basin, from Kansu province and from other parts of China proper. Two years later, Kāshgar was also annexed, and then the Hui-p'u and Dzungaria were renamed as Hui-chiang ("Muslim or Islamic dominion"). Throughout the 19th century, several Muslim rebellions against Manchu rule took place in Hui-chiang. In 1884, six years after the suppression of Ya'kūb Beg's [q.v.] rebellion (1864-77), the Manchu government re-organised the region by placing it under a form of Chinese provincial administration, and designated it Hsin-chiang. From then onwards, Eastern Turkestan became an official Chinese province.

During the Nationalist Republican period (1911-19), Sin-kiang continued to be a nominal province of China, but was in a chaotic state. The provincial governors acted in reality as independent warlords, conducting their own foreign relations with neighbouring countries. Chinese rule has always been regarded by the local Muslims as that of a foreign power. Nationalism amongst the Turkish Muslims grew strongly since the fall of Ya'kūb Beg's emirate, and eventually resulted in secession movements. In 1931 Khādja Niyāz Ḥudūdī led a rebellion trying to liberate the country by establishing a "Turkish Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan". However, with Soviet intervention in support of the Chinese governor, the movement was put down in July 1934. A cruel campaign of massacres against the Muslims was launched. Nevertheless, these killings did not stop Muslims from taking up arms against Chinese rule and Russian pressure. In 1937, another rebellion broke out under the leadership of 'Abd Allāh al-Niyāz, but again failed. In 1940 'Uğümān Batūr led another rebellion, and succeeded in defeating the Russians. It lasted until 1943, but was eventually suppressed by the Chinese Nationalist Government armies.
Despite the failures of previous rebellions, Turkish nationalism and a secession movement continued to grow. In November 1944, another rebellion took place in the Ili Valley region, which led to the establishment of the “East Turkistan Republic” (Şarkı Türkistanı Dünübəriyətti), whose first president was an Uzbek şimn, ‘Alì Khan Tiire. Although this movement was basically conducted by the Kazakhs and Uyghur population, it later gained considerable support from non-Muslims. According to the declaration of 5 January 1945, the main aim of the republic was to create a multi-national democratic state with religious freedom. It seems that Islam was not adopted as the official religion, probably due to the failure of the fundamentalists to Islamise the republic in the course of the movement. The nature of the movement was nevertheless in actuality Turko-Islamic, because Islam provided the basis for unity within the republic’s three-fourths of Muslim population. The East Turkistan Republic lasted only three years and then collapsed due to various factors. Nevertheless, the spirit of Turkish nationalism which it helped to advocate continued and continues at the present time.

In 1949 the Communist party took over from the Nationalist government. The situation of Muslims in Sin-kiang did not become any better. According to eyewitness reports, persecution of Muslim secessionists by the new regime was conducted in the 1950s. In 1966 all religions in China were banned. This was part of the Cultural Revolution’s campaign of destroying the old traditions. There was no exception for Sino-kiang. Muslims suffered a great deal from it; Kurşans and Islamic books were burned, mosques were devastated or closed, and religious leaders were persecuted by the Red Guards. As a result, thousands of Muslims were driven into exile in Muslim countries in Central Asia, Middle East and the Indian Subcontinent.

The Communist government adopted previous Sino-Manchu policy on national minorities. Mass waves of Han settlers were sent to the province from 1953 onwards in order to Sinicise the region and keep firm control of it. Before 1953, the population of the Han Chinese there was only 4.94% (the Uyghurs being 75.42%). However, according to the 1982 census, the Han population had increased to 41% (the Uyghurs down to 45.48%). This indirectly produced an effect of de-Islamisation in Sin-kiang. Possibly due to the central government’s policy on birth control (the Han Chinese being 4.94% (the Uyghurs being 75.42%)), the population of the Han Chinese by 1986 dropped to 39%, and the Uyghurs increased to 46% (Muslims of other races, 14%). In 1955, the Sin-kiang Uyghur Autonomous Region was set up under the direct administration of the central government. The empire of the steppes, which embraced much of the northern Nile-valley Sudan. The early Fūndi kings, like their contemporary Ethiopian counterparts, kept a mobile court to distribute among the provinces the burden of the royal presence. Sinnar entered the historical record in 1323 as the fixed seat of the treasury of the first Fūndi sultan, and the site was later chosen as the permanent capital when kings of the second quarter of the 17th century brought their roving court to rest. Foundations for a mosque were laid by Rubat I (1025-54/1628-1661) and the building was completed by Bādī II (1054-92/1644-81). These kings and their immediate successors Usān II (1092-1137/1681-92) and Bādī III (1103-9/1716) began to sponsor royal caravans that opened a flourishing trade with Egypt and the Red Sea; by 1700 Sinnar had become a large and cosmopolitan city.

Accounts of European visitors during the reign of Bādī III afford an image of Sinnar at its apogee. At the heart of the capital lay a broad plaza or ḥādīya, which served as a bazaar on market days, an occasion for a mosque were laid by Rubat I (1025-54/1628-1661) and the building was completed by Bādī II (1054-92/1644-81). These kings and their immediate successors Usān II (1092-1137/1681-92) and Bādī III (1103-9/1716) began to sponsor royal caravans that opened a flourishing trade with Egypt and the Red Sea; by 1700 Sinnar had become a large and cosmopolitan city.

Accounts of European visitors during the reign of Bādī III afford an image of Sinnar at its apogee. At the heart of the capital lay a broad plaza or ḥādīya, which served as a bazaar on market days, an occasion for a mosque were laid by Rubat I (1025-54/1628-1661) and the building was completed by Bādī II (1054-92/1644-81). These kings and their immediate successors Usān II (1092-1137/1681-92) and Bādī III (1103-9/1716) began to sponsor royal caravans that opened a flourishing trade with Egypt and the Red Sea; by 1700 Sinnar had become a large and cosmopolitan city.


SINNA, SENNA [see SANANDAJI]; SINKIANG, a town in the modern Sudan Republic, often rendered as Sinnar. Modern Sinnar is now a modest Sudanese provincial town on the west bank of the Blue Nile about 170 miles above its confluence with the white Nile. During the 19th century it was a regional centre of commerce and administration under the Turco-Egyptian colonial regime and as such attracted the special wrath of the Mahdist movement [see AL-MARDIYYA], which destroyed the town in 1885 and transformed the demography of the surrounding district. For much of the period 1900-1821 Sinnar served as eponymous capital to the Islamic Nubian kingdom of the Fūndi [q.v.], which embraced much of the northern Nile-valley Sudan.

The early Fūndi kings, like their contemporary Ethiopian counterparts, kept a mobile court to distribute among the provinces the burden of the royal presence. Sinnar entered the historical record in 1323 as the fixed seat of the treasury of the first Fūndi sultan, and the site was later chosen as permanent capital when kings of the second quarter of the 17th century brought their roving court to rest. Foundations for a mosque were laid by Rubat I (1025-54/1628-1661) and the building was completed by Bādī II (1054-92/1644-81). These kings and their immediate successors Usān II (1092-1137/1681-92) and Bādī III (1103-9/1716) began to sponsor royal caravans that opened a flourishing trade with Egypt and the Red Sea; by 1700 Sinnar had become a large and cosmopolitan city.

Accounts of European visitors during the reign of Bādī III afford an image of Sinnar at its apogee. At the heart of the capital lay a broad plaza or ḥādīya, which served as a bazaar on market days, an occasional mustering-ground for soldiers, and a setting for periodic state ceremonies such as the delivery of tribute by the governors of the eight provinces. On one side of the ḥādīya was the mosque of fired brick, graced with bronze window gratings imported from India. On the other stood the royal gate, before it a bench where the king appeared on occasion to render justice to petitioners, and beyond a vast walled palace complex of adobe dominated by two lofty towers.

Those who lived within the palace were surrounded by the finest luxuries known to the age, but were bound by strict regulations, all of which may now be discounted. The palace housed the royal family, construed by Nubian custom in matrilineal
terms. The sons of a king lived there in captivity until their father died; the high courtiers then elected one of his successors and executed the rest. A king throughout his life was answerable to his electors, and if repudiated should be executed by his maternal uncle and entitled id al-kâm. Princesses, the sole transmitters of noble status, were given in marriage to the far-flung Fundj vassal lords; a king, in turn, accepted—normally several hundred—from among the female offspring of his noble subordinates. Male children of vassal lords also lived in the palace, serving as pages and as hostages for the good behaviour of their distant fathers. Each provincial governor was assigned quarters in the palace from which to conduct his affairs while in the capital. The palace also housed many other titled officials, some of them slaves, who supervised the assessment, collection, storage, and disbursement of tax-goods collected in kind, who organised the royal caravans and conducted exchanges with foreign merchants, and who arranged the stockpiling and manufacture of arms and munitions and commanded the royal slave corps of cavalry and infantry. Around the perimeter of the capital lay the homes of lesser courtiers, holy men and craftsmen enjoying royal patronage, and the residential quarters of traders from every province and many foreign lands, each answerable to a patron at court. Beyond the town inland lay cemeteries for Muslims and non-Muslims, and along the river royal gardens for rustic court outings and the cultivation of lemons and other fruits; here the inhabitants of these estates resembled their counterparts in better-documented provincial capitals, in addition to farming they invested much labour in the weaving of long strips of white cotton cloth that provided customary garments and served as market place currency. East of the river the widespread permanent village encampments of slave soldiers and their families; they preserved some of the culture of their native homes in the Nuba Mountains and the Ethiopian borderlands. When travellers of 1700 assessed the population of Sinnar at 100,000 souls, it is probable that the estimate also embraced this wide seminomadic community.

As the 18th century advanced, the opening of Sinnar to influences from the Islamic heartlands eroded institutions vital to Fundj government, notably matrilineal succession and state control over trade. With the collapse of Fundj kinship discipline, the family hierarchy of landed nobility fragmented into bellicose patrilineages, while some twenty new towns arose as a rising middle class of private merchants defied royal prerogative. In 1762 a clique of base-born (Hamadja) warlords seized power, and at the death of their leader Muhammad Abu Likaylik in 1775 the kingdom lapsed into half-a-century of civil strife that brought ruin to the capital. In 1202/1787-8 the Hamadja commander Nasir b. Muhammad Abu Likaylik, having crushed an abortive royalist counter-coup, avenged himself by systematically firing the highly combustible city and its west-bank suburbs. In February 1804 factional fighting left the palace complex for two months in the hands of a provincial governor, who sacked it thoroughly; the capital was then abandoned and all factions fell back upon armed camps in the countryside. Of these, the safe settlements on the east bank were among the most important until they in turn were devastated by campaigns of the decade to follow. At the Turco-Egyptian conquest of 1821 the fugit, surrounded by ruins, witnessed the ceremony of surrender that ended the sultanate of Sinnar.

**Bibliography:**


**SINNARW (A.)** (in rare instances *sunnawr, sunâr*) (pl. *sunanîr*), masculine substantive denoting the cat, and synonym of *hir* (pl. *hirâna, hirâr*) (cf. Latin *caetus*). These three equivalent terms which have the feminine in -a for the female cat make no distinction between wild and domestic species. Among the former, at least four were known in the lands of Islam: (a) Felis silvestris lybica, European wild cat, of the Libyan subspecies, with the names *kitât* al-khald, *kitât* al-bar, *kadi*, in Kabyle *amângish* boudar; (b) Felis margarita, Sand cat, which has become quite rare in Morocco and the western Sahara and is known as *bdâran, mukhit al-khald*; (c) Felis ocreata, Fettered cat, its name, *ayaus*, also applicable to the two preceding species; (d) Felis chaus, Jungle cat, peculiar to Nubia and Egypt where it is known as *tufah, tufâf* and, in Morocco, *sabah, caftâ*. There are many species of Domestic cat (*Felis domestica*) produced by interbreeding; two varieties are typical in the Orient, Felis maniculata or Egyptian cat (*sinnawr miṣr*) and Felis angorensis or Persian cat (*sinnawr ghârâz*). The Arab lexicographers have supplied a copious list of names given to the cat, each evolving a particular feature of the diminutive feline; thus, in alphabetical order: *azram, has, isâb, dam, dimma, haš, haš, hârin, hârin, hâl, kalât, kânîm, kîyâs, khaytal, khizbâz, mâ'îsya, muîsh, mughthûsh, mughthûsh nuwâra, shabrama* and *shânâra*. The kitten is called *dîr* (pl. *adâs*, *durâs*) and *gâhir* (pl. *gâhirâk*). Alongside all these terms, which currently appear somewhat archaic, the cat was further endowed with nicknames with abû or umm prefixed to its sex, such as abû ghaza-wân, abû l-haytâm, abû al-khâlid, abû al-hammer. In addition, the dialects peculiar to each Muslim region have their own names for the cat. Berber-speaking groups call it *mouâdhîk, mukhit* (pl. *mouâdhistîn*), *tamashshîh* (pl. *tamashshitîn*), in Tamahakk *tikkax*. In Tunisia, the only term in use is *kattis/gattis* (pl. *kattisît*), *musâf* (Low Latin catius) with the diminutives *kîyät, kîties* for the kitten, while in Syria it is *bâsân* and, in *irâk, bazzên*, the Turkish *ketti* and Persian *garb* are not related to Arabic. The sounds typically uttered by the cat, meowing, purring, wailing, are represented in Arabic, as in most other languages, by onomatopoeia; such words are derived from artificial verbal roots, usually triliteral. Thus meowing is denoted by the roots *m-ir* (*muâd*), *m-ir* (*muâd*), *m-ir* (*muâd*), *m-ir* (*muâd*), *m-ir* (*muâd*). According to al-Djalil (*Hayâskin*, iv, 22) the cat is capable of modulating its meowing in five different ways to express its moods and its needs (hunger, distress, appeals for attention, etc.). Purring, an utterance peculiar to felines and an expression of contentment, is imitated by the terms *khârîh, khârîh, khârîhâna* and *khatir*. Finally, to drive a cat away, the appropriate cry is *ghîsh* or *ghâshâna*.
It is through Egypt that the Arabs, like the Hebrews, seem to have become acquainted with the domestic cat. It had been venerated there since the Pharaonic period and enjoyed the privilege of being embalmed as a sacred animal (Herodotus, *History*, ii, 60). On the other hand, there is no mention of it either in the Bible or in the Kūr'ān; it is only later that certain Muslim commentators invented the legend according to which a pair of cats was produced, on board Noah’s Ark, by a sneeze of the lion, as a means of destroying rats and mice which swarmed there and were causing considerable damage to the provisions of the Ark. (Hayawān, i, 210, v, 146.)

Al-Djahiz is the first, indeed the only, scholar to have spoken extensively and knowledgeably of the cat, in his valuable *Kitāb al-Hayawān*, and later naturalists such as al-Kazwīnī and al-Damīrī only repeated his statements. This remarkable polygraph mounts a vigorous refutation to the assertion of Zoroaster/Zarathustra (Zarādushth) and of the Mazdaeans, who claimed that the cat is a diabolical animal, while they saw as divine creatures the mouse, the weasel and fishes (*Hayawān*, iv, 298, v, 319-20); a similar idea existed among the ancient Arabs, for whom a fanciful superstition held that the *katrub* (*q.v.*), (pi. *katdrīb*), of demons, took on the form of the female cat (*al-sinnawr wa ‘l-fa‘r*), in which he expresses (metre *khqf*, rhyme *khqf*) his affectionate admiration for the cat. Also denounced is the ancient legend according to which to eat the flesh of a black cat gives protection against spells and enchantments. In fact, Islamic law forbids the consumption of the flesh of the cat, a prohibition applying to every carnivore equipped with canine teeth. Also forbidden were the sale and purchase of cats, in deference to an opinion of the Prophet Muhammad who was fond of these beasts; but some jurists reckoned that this applied only to the wild cat and that the domestic cat, in commercial terms, was of the same status as the ass, the mule and the dog (al-Damīrī, *Hayā‘*, ii, 382). Al-Djahiz (*Hayawān*, v, 339) describes a kind of aversion therapy by means of which cat owners weaned their pets from catching pigeons.

In the 4th/10th century, the “Brothers of Purity” (*Ri‘ūd al-Sa‘īd* [*q.v.*]), as a part of their indictment of the cat, proposed in one of their Epistles (Ri‘ū, ii, 247), a curious, but very logical explanation of the domesticity of the cat and the dog, which attach themselves to mankind as a means of ensuring their subsistence. The phenomenon dates back to the time of the murder of Abel (Hābil) by his brother Cain (Kabīl); this was followed by a fratricidal struggle between the two lines, and the descendents of Cain, gaining the upper hand, set about the systematic slaughter of all the livestock of the vanquished, sheep and cattle as well as camels and horses. For a long time they feasted on these beasts, and this resulted in an accumulation of carcasses which attracted hordes of wild dogs and cats, competing over this abundant and easy source of food; henceforward, they remained close to men, whose discarded material was sufficient to satisfy their daily needs. This interpretation is not devoid of reason, since scholars of prehistoric times have shown that since the Neolithic period, there has been a symbiosis between man and certain species of animal, including the dog, which were soon domesticated, becoming accustomed to a reliable source of sustenance and to protection from their enemies.

Al-Djahiz (*Hayawān*, passim, esp. v) describes the cat in glowing terms, deriding its instinctive cleanliness, its agility, its vigilance, its efficiency in the hunting of rodents, its attachment to the home of its master, its visual acuity in darkness and the affection which the female shows towards its offspring, sometimes inducing it, he says with a degree of exaggeration, to devour them. Furthermore, in spite of its small size, the cat, like other much larger felines, the lion, the tiger, the panther, has the ability, simply by showing itself, to strike fear into camels and elephants (see *Kitāb al-Riyashf*). The latter, on seeing it, are seized by panic and this phenomenon gave rise, according to al-Mas‘ūdī (*Murūd*, iii, 13-16 - §§ 855-6), to a tactical stratagem employed by the kings of Persia, that of releasing cats in the path of the elephants forming the vanguard of an attacking army. The enemy, trusting in the invulnerability of these pachyderms, saw them suddenly turn and flee, charging in the opposite direction and causing panic in the ranks. This stratagem was used successfully by Hārūn b. Mūsā, valiant warrior of Islam and poet, against a king of India who used elephants when attacking him in his fortress of Mūlān, and the victor recounted the episode himself in a score of verses (*Hayawān*, vii, 76-8). This fear which the cat, like the larger felines, is capable of inspiring in the largest mammals, has given certain poets the notion of comparing it to the lion. On this theme there are a number of verses of Muḥammad b. Yaṣīr al-Ri‘īshī, a contemporary of al-Djahiz (*Hayawān*, i, 59, v, 272), and most worthy of note is a fine composition in eight verses by al-Sanawbarī (*q.v.*), (al-Maǧānī, *al-Riyashf*, iii, 222) in which he expresses (metre *khasif*, rhyme -ahī) his affectionate admiration for the cat, declaring “It is a veritable lion of the thicket both in body and in temperament!” He concludes with this magisterial declaration “What an agreeable companion, for, when in good mood, it is more loyal than all other friends!” In addition, al-Djahiz relates that cats were the object of attentive care and petting on the part of women of the harems; they painted their paws with henna, adorned them with collars and jewels and were in the habit of kissing their muzzles. The atavistic hostility of the cat in relation to the rats and mice on which it preys has, among all peoples, been a theme much exploited in fables and moralising tales; the “game of cat and mouse” has served as a metaphor for denouncing the law of the strongest and for opposing oppression and tyranny exercised over the weak, while drawing attention to the caution, the ingenuity and the guile which, often, the latter demonstrates in escaping and even getting the better of his persecutor. This is the theme of nights 900 and 901 in The Thousand and One Nights with the story of “the cat and the mouse” (*al-sinnawr wa ‘l-fa‘r*); the mistrustful mouse, beseged in his refuge by a cat, invokes the Most High and is saved by the unexpected arrival of a hunter whose dog loses no time in settling accounts with the feline. Similarly, in the Book of *Kalila wa-Dimna* (*q.v.*), the philosopher Bidpāy illustrates for the king Dābhāhlīm the theme of true and false friendship with the fable of “the rat and the cat” (*al-djūnrul wa ‘l-sinnawr*) in which the cat, trapped in the meshes of the hunter’s net, provokes the rat to free him by gnawing through the threads, with a thousand oaths and promises. The rat, very wisely, sets about the task, but without haste, and waits until the arrival of the hunter before severing the last thread; on seeing the man, the cat has no option other than rapid flight and the rat, rid of this false friend, disappears safe and unharmed into his burrow.
The predatory nature of the cat has given rise to a number of metaphorical adages; by comparison with the wild cat, it is said adab al min daywan, “a more skilled stalker than a wild cat”, and asyad, anza min daywan, “more predatory than a wild cat.”

Among expressions relating to the domestic cat are aṭḥāf al min sawwar “more lively than the cat” and aḥbar min hirra “more gentle to its little ones than a female cat”. On the other hand, the origin of the expression ka-anna-hu sawwar “Abd Allāh” “he is like the cat of ‘Abd Allāh”, used to say of somebody that, the older he becomes the less he is worth, is unknown; in this context, al-Dhahīqy indicates (Hayawdn, v, 315) that in the illegal trade in cats, kittens commanded a much higher price than adults, respectively a dirham and a kirdt.

Finally, a fairly widespread contemporary image defines the role of cats in terms of the brain of a wild cat blended into a hot infusion of rocket (jīdīdir, Eruca sativa) drunk on an empty stomach in the public baths, is beneficial for testicular ailments and the retention of urine. The two eyes of the cat, dried and burned for purposes of fumigation, ensure the success of any enterprise. To carry on one’s person a cat’s tooth suppresses all nocturnal fears, and carrying the heart of a cat in a bag made from the skin of this feline guarantees victory over any enemy. The gall of a cat mixed with an eye-wash induces nyctalopia and, blended with half a dirham of oil of jasmine, cures buccal paralysis. The gall of a cat mixed with an eye-wash induces nyctalopia and, blended with half a dirham of oil of jasmine, cures buccal paralysis. The gall of a cat mixed with an eye-wash induces nyctalopia and, blended with half a dirham of oil of jasmine, cures buccal paralysis. To carry on one’s person a cat’s tooth suppresses all nocturnal fears, and carrying the heart of a cat in a bag made from the skin of this feline guarantees victory over any enemy. The gall of a cat mixed with an eye-wash induces nyctalopia and, blended with half a dirham of oil of jasmine, cures buccal paralysis. The gall of a cat mixed with an eye-wash induces nyctalopia and, blended with half a dirham of oil of jasmine, cures buccal paralysis.
terminal port for continental trade (cf. Sir W. Ramsay, *Historical topography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 27). The town however retained its importance; in the 2nd century B.C., it was the capital of Mithridates of Pontus and after its capture by Lucullus in 76 B.C., it knew several centuries of prosperity as a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Julia Felix. When, under the Byzantine empire, the interior of Asia Minor gradually lost its Hellenism, Sinope remained a commercial city of the first rank. The invasion of Asia Minor by the Saracens in 217/832 had as one result that Theophobos, commander of the “Persian” auxiliary troops of the emperor, was killed in the town. A port for the merchants of the Seljuk empire, who embarked there for the Crimea (Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, i, 298). At the beginning of the 13th century, this town passed into the hands of the empire of the Comneni of Trebizond. The Seljuk sultan Tzz al-Dm Kay Kubadh took the town from them. Ibn Bibi, who gives a detailed account of its capture (in *Recueil des historiens des Seljoucides*, ed. Houtsma, iv, 54 ff.) gives as the date of this event the year 862/1458. After the restoration of the Genoese by Timur in 805/1402-3, Sinop again passed under their rule; it was the seaport by which the rebels against the Ottomans, like Shaikh Badr al-Dn (*op. cit.*), were able to escape under the protection of the Isfendiyr Oghlu. It was, however, only in the year 862/1458 that Mehmed II definitely incorporated the town in his territory by a treaty with the Isfendiyr Oghlu Ismril Beg, who received in exchange fiefs in Rm III. This event is recorded by all the Turkish historians and by the Byzantine Ducas and Chalcondylas; the latter mention the formidable defences that had been erected in the town.


2. The Ottoman and modern periods. Sinop’s importance in the reign of the Seljuk sultan Isfendiyar ogullari, as well as in the Ottoman period, lay in its two harbours. In addition, the forests of northwestern Anatolia provided the timber needed for shipbuilding. In Kdmil’s Suleymân’s time, peasants from the surrounding countryside supplied the Ottoman navy’s shipyard, which could build at least fifteen ships in a year, with timber in exchange for a tax rebate. At this period, activity in the shipyard appears to have been seasonal, and moreover, linked to the probability or otherwise of naval warfare. The high point of construction activity was apparently reached in 979/1571, when 25 galleys were built for the Cyprus war.

The first surviving Ottoman tax register dates from 892/1487. At this time, the town had a tax-paying population of 773 adult males, of whom 176 were Christians; the latter were excused from the payment of the *sipnede* [*g.s.*] and paid a standard sum of 34 *akses* as *kharadj*. This means that with 5 people to a household, the town should have contained over 3,500 inhabitants. At the end of the 9th/15th century, Sinop was divided up into 13 Muslim and 6 Christian quarters; there was a single Friday mosque, probably the Ulu Djami (*Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu Tahrir* 23 m, pp. 335-47. A tax register from 937/1530 records Sinop as a *kadâ centre* in the *sandjak* of Kastamönî. This source records a total of 21 town quarters, with two Friday mosques and a *medrese*, inhabited by 611 taxpaying households; 376 were Muslims and 233 Christians. A further register dated 980/1570-1, which records 1,005 taxpayers, gives a more detailed overview of the Sinop population (*Tapu Tahrir* 327, 454 ff.). Among the

after this event that Ibn Baštûta visited the town (ca. 740/1340). During the 14th century, the town retained its importance as a commercial port, connected with the interior by a road to İmîk and Bursa (*Taeschner, Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i, 196). Trade was mainly in the hands of the Genoese, who probably had a consulate there since 1351; there was also a Genoese colony (Heyd, *op. cit.* i, 550). Sinop was the last refuge of the Isfendiyr Oghlu when the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I had attacked them, and in the end, they abandoned the town to him in 797/1394-5, according to the old Ottoman chronicles (*Aşik Pasha-zade*, 72; Anon. Giese, 34). After the restoration of the Genoese by Timur in 805/1402-3, Sinop again passed under their rule; it was the seaport by which the rebels against the Ottomans, like Shaikh Badr al-Dn (*op. cit.*), were able to escape under the protection of the Isfendiyr Oghlu.

...
fourteen Muslim town quarters, the most populous was that surrounding the mosque of Sultan al-Din. Another mosque still in existence today, the Meşджид-i Ulu Beg, also formed the center of a small quarter (inscription dated 760/1358-9). The Christian population lived in seven quarters; all except the Tenâne (naval dockyards) and the Arabpinarâ quarters had a church for a center. The "Biiyuk kâfie" may have been the sanctuary of St. Phocas; but few churches had a church for a center. The "Biiyuk kâfie" seems to have been a notable increase in the number of pious foundations, possibly in connection with the strengthening of the town's defenses after the Cossack raid. The madras of 'Ali al-Din (today the Sinop Museum) was functioning at the time, in addition to numerous Qur'an schools.

Paul of Aleppo, who accompanied Patriarch Macarius on his travels to Russia, gives another fairly full description of Sinop in 1669/1658. This writer claims that the paşa of Kaştanoum, in whose district Sinop was located, was not permitted entry into the town, and even kapâdös from the sultan's palace, bringing an order from the ruler, were only allowed in three to four at a time. The Christians, whose giyâsê served to pay the soldiers, still lived outside the walls, where they possessed seven churches. In the event of Cossack attacks they were allowed to seek shelter within the walls. As slaves were still being imported in large numbers, even the Christian inhabitants of the town owned them.

Later visitors paint a less optimistic picture. Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Sinop in 1112-13/1701, describes a much neglected fortress manned by a few Janissaries, while the Greek quarter extra muros was unprotected. Bernard Rottiers, who visited Sinop before 1829, noted that the naval shipyard at Sinop was small, but the ships turned out were of excellent quality, so that merchants sometimes purchased permission to have their own vessels constructed there. At this time, Sinop exported rice, fruit, skins and hides as well as timber.

According to the count of taxpayers undertaken in 1831, the district of Sinop, still a kâdî in the wilayet of Kaştanöö, was inhabited by 7,137 Muslim males. Since it was the aim of this count to assess military potential, Christians, women and presumably small children were not counted. Von Moltke passed by Sinop on his way to Samsun, and was favourably impressed by the durability of the houses and the activity of the naval arsenal. Collas and Texier, whose books were published in 1864 and 1862 respectively, mention the recently-instituted steamship connection to Istanbul; but both felt that Sinop was declining. According to Collas, this was due to the successful competition of Inebolu for the exportation of the region's principal products, namely nuts, skins and hides. However, the unwalled parts of Sinop had suffered severe damage in the Ottoman-Russian naval engagement 1853, which began the Crimean War.

Reconstruction must have followed fairly soon, for Guinet, whose data concern the years around 1890, paints a much more hopeful picture. Sinop at this time contained a mere 1,790 houses, that is, only about 100 more than the number of households registered in 990/1582; this figure corresponded to a total population of 9,749, of which 5,041 were Muslims. However, he gained the impression that Sinop was small but active, growing not only by virtue of its expanding trade, but also because the summer season attracted holiday makers to the seashore. As to the agricultural hinterland, it produced mainly wheat, maize and tobacco.

Due to the relative isolation of Sinop, the town was first used as a place of banishment during the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamîd II, a tradition which was continued under the following governments. As a result, the town is frequently mentioned in short stories and memoirs dealing with the late Ottoman and Republican periods. Refik Kâlidî (Karay [q.v.]) wrote a story (Kâlidî) set in this town in 1913, while the journalist Zekerya Sertel describes the atmosphere of
the middle 1920s in his Hatirladiklanm (Istanbul 1968).

After the Republican government had transformed the inner fortress into a prison, the novelist and short story writer Sabahattin Ali [q.v.] spent several months there, reflected in the tragic short story Duvar.

Up to the present time, the district of Sinop has remained agricultural (82.5% of all economically active persons in 1980). Apart from grain agriculture, forestry is significant, while fishing is much less so. Some agricultural growth was achieved after 1950, when roads were constructed and Sinop became accessible not only by sea but also from the Anatolian mainland as well. The road connection to Samsun has come to be of economic importance, but the port of Sinop has not been able to keep up with that of its larger competitor only a short distance away.

Sinop is now the chef-lieu of an il or province of the same name. The population of the town in 1970 was 45,800, and that of the il 265,000.


(Suraiya Faroqhi)

SIPAHI (p.), from the Persian sipah, sipah "army", hence basically meaning soldier. It has given such European words as English sepoys (see below, 2) and Frensd sipahi (see below, 3).

1. In the Ottoman empire.

Here, sipahi had the more specific meaning of "cavalryman" in the feudal forces of the empire, in contrast to the infantrymen of the professional corps of the Janissaries [see yeri Čečer]. Such feudal cavalrymen were supported by land grants (dirtik "living, means of livelihood") at different levels of income yield. Below the kâhîs [q.v.] lands granted to members of the higher echelons of the administrations and army, the mass of the sipahis were supported by timârs [q.v.] or, giving a superior income, zîrâmâ [q.v.], the revenues from such land grants being known in general as mât-i muşâkatele "fighting money". As an encouragement to sipahis to perform their military duties properly, as well as the inducement of promotion from holder of a timár to one of a zûrâm, bonuses might be granted (erakkî flattvemente). The sipahis of a province were under the supreme command of the provincial governor (beýlerbeği [see BÜLGELERBEK]), who called them to the colours when need for a campaign arose, although in later times, at least, it was possible to compound for absence by a financial payment. Conditions of service varied; some were always obliged to turn out (the ekgânîs "those who ride out to war"), whilst others turned out in rotation (birnebešet). The lowest category of timâr-holding sipahis merely served personally, with their mount, but those with higher incomes had to bring with them at least one fully-equipped and mounted man-at-arms (zîrâmä dressed in a mailed coat), up to a maximum of five; zîrâmâ-holding sipahis might have as many as eighteen men-at-arms in their train.

There was no formal system of training, as had been the case e.g. amongst the Mamluks of Egypt [see TÜRK HAYÂT-ı MEYDÂN], but since the land grants could only descend hereditarily to the sons or descendants of sipahis or djebeles, who had normally been brought up to the profession of arms and were capable of performing military service, a level of competence could be maintained. On a sipahi's death, his land grant usually passed to his son, although if the latter was still a minor, his required military service had to be performed by a zîrâmâ substitute. If there was no heir at all or no capable heir, the grant reverted to the state, with its revenues collected ad interim by the masukhâbîl [q.v.], and it could then be granted out subsequently to some other deserving warrior.

There are no reliable figures for the total number of sipahis and their zîrâmâs in the empire during its heyday, and neither the sultans nor the administration probably ever knew the exact number anyway; a possible figure is ca. 150,000, spread over both Anatolia and Rumelia. Before the Ottomans came up against trained, professional armies of the European powers, the feudal forces probably formed the most numerous and formidable part of the Ottoman army, since the elite force of the Janissaries was a numerically restricted one. But as with their mediäeval European counterparts, the feudal knights, there was always the disadvantage that land-grant holders might be reluctant to leave their sources of income and local power and go to fight on distant frontiers. To counter this, at a general call to arms, the Ottoman state allowed one in ten sipahis to remain at home, and if a summer campaign turned into a prolonged one requiring winter quarters in the field, some sipahis were allowed to return home and collect the revenues from the estates which supported the fighting forces.

When in later times the Ottomans had to face the European professional armies, their feudal forces were at an obvious disadvantage compared to troops paid to remain in the field as long as money could be found to support them. Hence by the early 19th century, the sipahis had become an obsolete element in the Ottoman forces, which were themselves from the times of Selîm III and Mağrûd II [q.v. and see ZAM-ı GEDA] beginning to evolve into a more modern, uniformed and professionally-trained army. Hence during the Tanẓîmat [q.v.] period, in 1263/1847, all timârs and zîrâmâ holders were required to exchange them for a monetary payment equivalent to half the income from the land grant.

The term sipahi was also applied to one of the six cavalry divisions of the Ottoman standing army, whose creation may date back as far as the reigns of Murâd I (761-91/1360-89 [q.v.]) or even Orkhan (724/611-1324/60 [q.v.]), and which took up the favoured position in battle on the sultan's right; the term was, indeed, applied in a general sense to the whole of the cavalry in the standing army.

Bibliography: A.H. Lybyer, The government of the Ottoman empire in the time of Selim the Magnificent,
2. In North Africa.

The term was used in late, pre-modern North Africa, in which, from the time of the Ottoman conquest (or, from the very beginning of the 17th century for Tunis), Şabtiyya (sing. Şebti), denoted a corps of mounted gendarmerie. It was then used in the 19th and early 20th centuries for troopers of the corps of locally-raised cavalry organised by the French army there, with the term passing into French as Sipahi.

In 1789, Venture de Paradis was struck by the same role and the same duties as the Sipahis in Algiers. In Tripolitania, Sipahis oğaks were already recorded at Tunis in 1614. Hammād Bey (1631-59) is said to have created three other corps (oajaks) of Sipahis in the interior of the country, at Kayrawān, al-Kāf and Bādja. At the side of these oğaks of “Arab” Sipahis, recruited from the local people, there existed an oğak of Turkish Sipahis, recruited from amongst the Janissaries. Each Sipahi oğak was commanded by an Ağha. The Tunis oğak was the most important in the Regency, being commanded by a Bash Ağha, recruited from the leading commanders of the army, assisted by a lieutenant (kışiyə) and a secretary (kəhrəbiə). This number of oğaks remained constant up to the 19th century, when under the government of Ahmad Bey, three new corps were raised in the Sāhil, the Dārī and the A'rād (Kābis, Gabē). If, at the outset, the number of Sipahis was 600, ca. 1788 there were as many as 2,000 (Arab) ones, comprising one-tenth of the Beylical forces. From 1830 onwards, after the creation of a regular army, the Sipahi oğaks lost some of their importance; ca. 1840 the oğak of the Turks disappeared, being incorporated into the regiment of cavalry.

Within the Regency of Tunis, the Sipahi’s task included accompanying the Bey on his progresses and the maintenance of order in the interior of the country; some were permanently stationed at the Bardō (the Bey’s palace), the rest resided in their own tribes. The Sipahis acted as escorts for the tax collectors, and in time of war, were required to mobilise and participate in the movements of the army encampments. They levied an annual honorarium, received their mount, allotments of fodder and forage, and benefited by exemptions from taxes and duties.

In the Regency of Algiers, the Sipahi oğaks appeared at around the same time as in Tunis; there were likewise Turkish ones recruited from the Janissaries, and indigenous ones from the local population. At the end of the 18th century, the Ağha of Algiers could count on 700 Sipahis, not counting those of the Bey. Their duties were similar to those of their colleagues at Tunis.

In 1789, Venture de Paradis was struck by the importance of this corps in the social hierarchy at Algiers. The position of a Sipahi was especially sought by rich persons; in order to have a chance of entering their ranks, the Bāk Ağha of the Sipahis who, as at Tunis, was recruited from amongst the Janissary officers, had to be bought over. The Sipahis in the Algiers Regency received neither honoraria nor salaries, and the cost of mounts and of fodder and forage was at their own charge. But in both Regencies, they could profit from handsome windfalls, pots of wine and allowances.

In Tripolitania, Sipahi oğaks are recorded from 1580 onwards; on the occasion of their interference in the political affairs of that Regency, at a time when they were commanded by Ḥāḍir Pasha (see Bayrakçet Arşıvi, Istanbul, Mūhimme defteri no. 62, dated 12 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 990/8 December 1580). These troops had the same role and the same duties as the Sipahis in the other Regencies.

Bibliography: Capt. J. Williams, A historical account of the rise and progress of the Bengal Native Infantry, Lon
SIPAHI — SIR BANI YAS

In 1957 Sipihri made his first trip abroad, mainly to London and Paris, participating in a lithography course at the École des Beaux Arts. To subsequent trips to Tokyo, India, Europe, the United States, Greece and Egypt, he can be credited as an influence. In the mid-1960s began a period of many Sipihri exhibitions in Iran and abroad, which brought him to the forefront of Iranian painting. From that period also, Sipihri's productivity as a poet established him as a leading modernist. Sipihri never married and was a retiring, private and gentle person, much liked and loved by people who knew him well. He died of leukemia in April 1980 and was buried at a Muslim religious shrine in his village near Tehran.

Simplicity is a quality of Sipihri's art. His paintings, mostly inspired by nature, mainly landscape and some village scenes, exhibit splashes of hopeful colour in scenes of brown and other earth colours. The same simplicity in Sipihri's poetry communicates appreciation of life's individual moments. Sipihri is the Iranian nature poet par excellence. His work recalls that of European Romantics in its love of nature and often child-like wonder, while its communication of belief in the unity of existence and the presence of divine creativity in nature seem rooted in Eastern gnosticism. Unlike other modernist Iranian poets, who are mostly secular-minded, anti-clerical with respect to Iran's Twelver Shi'i heritage, and not inclined to find inspiration in Islamic imagery, Sipihri uses images from religion, including allusions to the Qur'an. Some readers consequently find his poetry neo-Sufi. But these lines from his most famous poem, Sidi yd-päy-i dä (1964), suggest a personal and individual poetic outlook and philosophy other than Sufi religiosity: 'I am a Muslim. My Mecca is a rose. My mosque is a spring... My Kaaba lies by the water.'


(M.C. HILLMANN)

SIR BANI YAS, Dzajrat ("the ultimate place of destination of the Banu Yass") [see Baniyass], the name of an off-shore island in the western half of the embayment of the Gulf, between the Abu Zaby coast and Kašar [q.v.], belonging to Abu Zaby. The island is mentioned in 1580 as "Sirbieniast" by the Venetian traveller Gasparo Balbi (Slot, The Arabs of the Gulf, 37-9, 50). Some of the islands in this part of the Gulf, including Sir Bani Yás, Ghâgha, al-Yasát and particularly Dalâm, were inhabited during the winter months by groups of the Banu Yás, while during the summer they became overcrowded by the influx of pearl fishermen coming usually from the ports of the United Arab Emirates [see AL-MIRÂT AL-ARABIYAH AL-MMUTAHIDA IN SUPPL.], Kašar and Bahrayn, the majority of the inhabitants being acknowledged as belonging to Abu Zaby. The oil con-

SIPAHISĂR [see SIPAHISĂR]

SIPÎHR, "celestial sphere," nom-de-plume (abqâhala) of the Persian historian and man of letters, Mirzâ Muhammad Ta'kî of Kâshân (d. Râbi' II 1297/1838). After a studious youth spent in his native town, he settled definitely in Tehran, where he found a patron in the poet-laureate (mâlîk al-shâ'arâ') of Fath 'Ali Shâh. On his accession (1250/1834), Muhammad Shâh appointed him his private peanegest (mâdâdh-i khaqâs) and secretary and accountant in the treasury (munkâ'î wa-mustawfi-i diwârâ). The same Shâh entrusted him with the composition of a universal history. Nâsîr al-Dîn Shâh also encouraged him in this enterprise and in 1272/1853 conferred on him the title of Lisdn al-Mulk ("Glorious of the Persian historian and man of let-

INDEX. (V. MORDERKAY)

SIPÎHRÌ, SUBRUB (1928-80), Iran's most famous 20th-century painter and a leading modernist Persian poet. Born in Kâshân, where he finished elementary and high school, Sipihri received a college degree from the College of Fine Arts at Tehran University in 1953. His first exhibition of paintings took place that same year. His first book of poems had appeared in 1951. Other volumes of poetry followed, with his collected poems appearing in 1977 in Haqiq kiliak ("Eight Books").


(T.W. HAOG)
cessions of the 1930s necessitated the precise demarcation of the frontiers, the ownership of some of the islands becoming a matter of dispute between Karat and Abū Zaby. A decision was reached in 1961 and again in 1969. The islands of Ḥallāl, al-ʿAshāt and Shīr Darya were considered as belonging to Karat, and those of Dayyūna and Sir Banī Yās to Abū Zaby.


SIR DARYĀ, conventional form Sir Darya, a river of Central Asia and the largest in that region. The Turkish element in the name, sav, is not actually found before the 10th/16th century; in the following century, the Khwān ruler and historian Abu Ḥasār Bahādur Khān [q.v.] calls the Aral Sea “the Sea of Sir” (Sir Tehizī).

1. In the early and mediaeval periods.

The Sir Darya flows through the present republics of Kirgizia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan down to the northwestern slopes of the Tien Shan Mountains to the Aral Sea [q.v.]. It is formed by the confluence in the eastern part of the Farghāna [q.v.] valley of the Narin/Naryn and Tar or Kara Darya rivers and has a length of 2,200 km/1,370 miles from that confluence and one of 2,900 km/1,800 miles from the source of the Naryn. Its water capacity is fed by melting snow in the Tien Shan and, to a lesser extent, by glaciers there and by rain. The lower reaches are frozen over from December to March/April. In the high-water period March/April to August/September it carries down vast quantities of silt, which used to push out its delta at the Aral Sea (before the present disastrous shrinkage and salinisation of that Sea) by a considerable amount each year (see 2. below). The river has numerous tributaries into its upper and middle reaches before it starts to skirt the northeastern fringe of the Kızıl Kum desert, the last significant one being a right-bank affluent, the Arys.

The Sir Darya thus has its origin in that region of modern Kirgizia known in mediaeval Islamic times by the Turkish name Yeti Şu (“land of the seven rivers”), Russian Semirečy. The indigenous population in mediaeval times always regarded the Kara Darya as the upper source of the Sir Darya. The district between the Narin and the Kara Darya has for long been known in Persian as Miyan rūdān and in Turkish as İki şu arasi. Whether there were any significant irrigation canals led out from it in mediaeval times, as was certainly the case from the lower Amū Darya [q.v.], or Oxus, is unclear; al-Muḥammad b. Ḥadīthi’s mention of a khidr or canal 140 farshaks long between Khudjand in Farghāna and Usūrgha [q.v.] (22 n. m., only in the Istanbul ms.) is unconfirmed by other sources.

In Western Europe, the Sir Darya is still frequently called by its old Greek name of Jaxartes; a Pahlavi form Yakhštārt is assumed and explained by J. Marquart (*Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, 6) as yakhštārt arta “true, genuine pearl”. Against this explanation is the fact that in the numerous personal and geographical names compounded with arta, this component is always found at the beginning of the word. Yet the word yakhštārt “pearl” seems actually to be contained in the name; the Chinese (*Čin-ho*) and Old Turkish (* Yüksek*) names of the river have the same meaning. The Chinese transcription of the native name is given as Yau-qia (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1888, i, 75; Yau-qia (F. Hirth. Nachweise zur Inschrift des Tongulak, 81, in W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolen*, 2nd series, St. Petersburg 1899) or Yau-qi (E. Bretschneider, *Documents archéologiques*, St. Petersburg 1903). In the Muslim period the initial y seems to have disappeared in the land itself; the Arabic (al-Bīrūnī, al-Kunārī al-Masʿūdī, in A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reisereisen*, etc., Leipzig 1864, 32) and Persian (Hudud al-ʿālam, tr. Minorsky, 118) manuscripts have Ḩāyḵart: this form and not as Marquart assumes (*Die Chronologie, etc.*, 5), Yakhḵart was probably in Ibn Khurraḍal-dībūhī, 178, 1, 2; Ibn Khurraḍal-dībūhī, 178, 1, 4, mentions the name Kānkī which also appears in Chinese transcription (Kánkēi) and was used probably on the central part of the river only: cf. Dārāy-i Fandūz from Firdawzī, in *Or. Ph.* i, 445. The Arabs introduced the name Sayḥān for the Sir Darya like Ḩayḵān for the Amū Darya (cf. the names Dayḥān and Sayḥān in the southeastern frontiers of Asia Minor). In the *Nachtal al-šulub* of Hamd Allāh Kazwīnī (ed. Le Strange, 217, 16, tr. and n., *ibid.*, ii, 210) appears the Ghul Sayān which seems to occur nowhere else. Blochet explains this word (in *Le Strange, loc. cit.*) as the Mongol gūl serīkān – “cold river”, probably wrongly, as the order of words should be reversed. The river is usually called in Arabic and Persian sources after towns and districts on its banks, most frequently “river of Khudjand” (Khudjand is now the only town situated immediately on the bank of the Sir Darya). This name also was adopted by the Mongols (Bretschneider, *loc. cit.*, in Chinese transcriptions Ho-yaxun-mu-len, for Mongol name “river”). Also occasionally found, since the Kara Darya flowed past the mediaeval town, important under the Karakhanids [see ʿILK KHANS], of Ŭzkend [q.v.] or Ŭzkend, is the name “river of Ŭzkend” (e.g. in *Hudud al-ʿālam*, tr. 72). Other names include: river of Banāḵāt, or Fanāḵāt (in Ūkūt, Muʿījan, i, 740: Banāḵījī, after the town on the right bank near the mouth of the Angren said to have been destroyed by Cingiz Khān (this destruction is not recorded by contemporaries); river of Ŭshkhanikhīya after the town built by Tūnīr in 794/1392 on the site of the destroyed Banāḵāt (*Zafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1888, ii, 636); river of Aḥkṣafāt (*ibid.*, i, 441) or Aḥḵṣāḵāt [q.v.]; and river of Ŭṣ or Ūshā, after the great oasis of Ćirīkī. There were many towns along the course of the Sir Darya, especially numerous in the fertile Farghāna valley. On the middle course lay such provinces as Usūrgha and Iblq [q.v. in Suppl.], and the frontier towns of Urūr [q.v.] and Jandīǰāb [q.v. in Suppl.], for it was here that the river valley entered the lands of the pagan Turks. At the mouth of the river three towns are mentioned in the geographers of the 4th/10th century, including the Oghuz foundation of Yangi-kant (Ar. al-Karyā al-ḥadīth, Pers. Dīh-i Naw; see C.E.L. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh 1963, 212-13), Jandīǰāb and Khwāwar [see these, *BAND*, in Suppl.]

In the 4th/10th century the Sir Darya is mentioned as a navigable river along with the Amū Darya (al-Muṣkaddāš, 323, l); in “times of peace or of truce”, food supplies were brought to Karyat al-Ḥadīth by water (Ibn Hawškal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 489). Navigation is now interrupted by the rapids of Begovat which begin at the village of Kosh-Tegermen, 15 miles below Khudjand. These rapids seem to be nowhere mentioned in Muslim sources; Djiawayn’s story (Ṭavāq-i Ḩawškal, tr. Boyle, i, 92-4) of the siege of Khudjand by the Mongols in 1220, and the
adventurous flight of the commander Timūr Malik, presupposes an uninterrupted passage by water from Khujand to the towns on the lower course of the Sir Daryā (cf., e.g. d’Ohsson, Histoire des Mongols, i, 215-6). After the foundation of Russian rule on the lower course of the Sir Daryā (since 1847) an attempt was made to introduce steam navigation on the river; the steamers of the Aral fleet went up the Sir Daryā also and had their most important anchorage at the town of Kazalinsk founded by the Russians. After this service ceased in 1882, no further such attempts were made, although several times proposed; traffic on the Sir Daryā was maintained solely by boats of native construction (kayak).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): W. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion 1914, repr. in St. Petersburg, i, iii, Moscow 1965, 210-33; Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 433-4, 476-89.

(W. Barthold [C.E. Bosworth])

2. The colonial and modern periods.

With the submission of the Kazakh steppes in the 1830s, at a time when Anglo-Russian rivalry was becoming strong, the Tsarist armies formed a fortified line along the Sir Daryā which allowed them to occupy without difficulty in 1864 the towns of Çimkent, Turkestan and Aulie Ata, and then Tashkent in 1865. The Russian government thus inherited the system of water distribution according to Kur'ānic law, to which was added the question of agricultural lands for the colonial interests. Despite some innovations, in 1925-9 its course watered a part of the Aral Sea, whose decrease, already noted in 1872, has led to a present-day ecological disaster

The Sir Daryā, like other great rivers of the world, ran through various states which, during the Russian and Soviet periods formed part of the same political unit. During 1924-9 its course watered a part of the autonomous Tajik republic (transformed into a federated republic in 1929), the Uzbek federated republic and the autonomous Kirghiz republic, which became the federated Kazakh republic in 1925. Today, these republics have, since the winter of 1991, become independent, but the economic and ecological crisis ravaging the region places the river in the position of a hostage in the fragile inter-ethnic and political equilibrium which is emerging there. The Farghāna valley, where the Islamic revival seems most marked, is at the intersection of a bundle of economic and social problems in which a strong hand on the utilisation of the river and the canals running off it will be decisive. The possible deflection of the river’s waters in favour of some republic, region or population group is a weapon often used in history.


SIRA (a.), a genre of early Islamic literature: Sīra means “way of going”, “way of acting”, “conduct”, “way of life” (in these meanings it is almost synonymous with sunna [q.v.]; also “memorable action” and “record of such an action”. In hadith collections and books on Islamic law, the plural sīra is also used for “rules of war and of dealings with non-Muslims” (which are sometimes headed elsewhere under qiyas). Furthermore sīra means “epistle”, “pamphlet”, “manifesto”, and last but not least, “biography”, “the life and times of...”. Ibn al-Mukaffa’ (102-39/720-56 [q.v.]) translated a Pahlavi history of the Persian kings under the title Sīrā malik al-‘ūlamā’. Awa’āna b. al-Hakam (d. 1477/764 [q.v.]) wrote a Stratī Ma‘ṣūra wa-bam Anbār mubāraka, Abān b. ‘Abd al-Hamid al-Lahikī (d. ca. 200/815 [q.v.]) wrote Stratī Anbārīs and Stratī Anbārīs. For later popularised biographies of kings and heroes, see Sīra Shabīrīya.

“The sīra”, stratī rasīl allah oe al-sīra al-naṣabīyya, have been the most widely used names for the traditional account of Muhammad’s life and background. Martin Hinds (Maghāzī and Sīra, in La vie du Prophète Mahomat, 57-66; see also maghāzī) has argued that the biographical material on the Prophet was transmitted during the first two centuries of Islam exclusively under the name of maghāzī, whereas sīra was applied only since Ibn Hāšim (d. 218/833 or 213/828 [q.v.]). This view has been challenged by Mahir Jarrar (Prophetbiographie, 1-59), who claims that maghāzī is only part of the sīra, the designation being used occasionally as a pars pro toto, and that the biography was already called sīra by al-Zuhārī (d. 124/742 [q.v.]), a central figure in the transmission of materials on the Prophet.

History of the sīra. In maghāzī, Hinds discussed not only the designation of the prophetic biography but wrote also its early history. For that stage
the present contribution has little to add. However, the most archaic layer of the biography, that of the stories of the *kiyâsa* [see *kisâ; *kisa*. 1], deserves a little more emphasis. An early 3rd/9th century papyrus, whose *kisas* go back to Wahb b. Munabbih (34-1107 [654-728 *q.v.*]), contains a large *sira* fragment of the early *kiyâsa* type. Its narrative is lengthy, no less entertaining than edifying, more often interrupted by poetry than by *imâds*; it has an outspoken pro-‘Alî ring, and it contains a wealth of miracle stories (e.g. the Prophet practicing sorcery: Wahb 142, 20; Ibn Išâk, no. 426).

A detailed study of Ibn Išâk has been stimulated by the publication of part of Ibn Išâk’s *maggâhît* in the *nâyâ* of Yûnûs b. Bukayr (d. 199/815; *Gâs*, i, 289), which has been preserved in ms. Fâs Karawiyûn 202, in the *nâyâ* of Muḥammad b. Salama al-Ḥarrâni (d. 191/870; Ibn Ḥâḍâr, *Tādhîl* ix, 296) (Damascus Zâhiriyya madj. 110, fols. 158-174). These texts, which contain many fragmentary passages which were hitherto unknown or deviate from the familiar versions, shed new light on the transmission of Ibn Išâk’s works.

Comparisons of Yûnûs’ versions with those of al-Bakkârî (as preserved by Ibn Ḥîjân) Muḥammad b. Salâmâ and several others have led Sellheim, Samuk and Muruny to the conclusion that there has hardly been any written standard text by Ibn Išâk himself and that we depend on his transmitters, whose texts should be studied synoptically, in all their variants.

Furthermore, Muruny has pointed out that Yûnûs b. Bukayr transmitted materials which do not go back to Ibn Išâk at all. Yûnûs was a *sîra* compiler in his own right, whose *ziyâdât al-maggâhît* was quoted by al-Ḥaybâlî, Ibn Katheîr and several others.

After Ibn Išâk, a limited, but interesting *maggâhît* collection was composed by Ma’mar b. Râshîd (d. 154/770; *Gâs*, i, 290-1), which is preserved in the *Mussanqîf* by ‘Abd al-Razzâk b. Hammâm (d. 211/826; see *al-Ṣânî*). Several other *ḥaddîh* collections have a *maggâhît* section, e.g. Ibn Abî Ṣayyâba’s *Mussanqîf* and al-Ḥukhîrî’s *Ṣâhir*.

The fame of Ibn Ḥîjân, whose *sîra* is considered the most prominent, rests mainly on his *Mubâhâ*’ section. The latter, by means of his *Mubâha*’ section, had placed Muḥammad in the tradition of the earlier prophets, and had indeed made him the pivot of world history by adding a history of the caliphs. Ibn Ḥîjân, however, narrows the perspective down to Ancient Arabia. A chain of works with a limited focus on prehistory are al-Wâqî’dî’s (130-207/174-822 [*q.v.*]) *K al-Maggâhît*, which concentrates on the life and times of the Prophet only and displays a great interest in the chronology; the *Tabâkit* of Ibn Sa’d (d. 230/845), in which the *sîra* section is preceded only by a brief survey of the prophets, and al-Baladurî’s (3rd/9th cent.) *Ansûb al-ḥarîf*, which outlines Muḥammad’s ancient Arabian origins. Al-Ṭabarî (d. 310/922 [*q.v.*]) *Tādhîl* puts Muḥammad once again in the perspective of the history of the prophets and even the kings of Persia.

The numerous later *sîra* works are mainly commentaries or compilations, although they contain important material from early sources. Of the late authors, the most interesting are al-Suḥaylî (d. 581/1185), who wrote a commentary on the *sîra* of Ibn Ḥîjân, and his critic Mughâlîfî (d. 689/1290). Other compilers are Ibn Sa’dîyâd al-‘Nâs (734/1333); Ibn Katheîr (d. 774/1373; in *al-Bîyâda* see *l-nîhâya*; Muḥammad b. Ṣâîf al-Ṣâîhî (d. 942/1536; Brockelmann, ii, 304-3); and Nûr al-Dîn al-Ḥalâbî (975-1044/1567-1635; see *al-Ḥalâbî*). For a survey of early *sîra* works, see *Gâs*, i, 275-302; for late works see Kister, *The sirah literature*, 366-7.

**Characteristics of *sîra* texts.** Be it under the heading *maggâhît* or *sîra*, in the prophetic biography, the present contribution is in no way exhaustive:

1. *Stories about the military expeditions of Muḥammad and his companions* (*maggâhît* in the strictest sense). They form a continuation of the profane accounts of *ayyâm al-ʿarâb*, with raids, battles, challenges, examples of bravery, exchanges of poetry and single combats. Islamic elements are, e.g., the interpretation of angels in battle and the (often merely ornamental) addition of *Kurânic* passages. In later centuries, the *maggâhît* were continued in their turn by what would be historical popular stories in which Muḥammad is venerated, while ‘Abî b. Ṭâlîb develops into a military hero of supernatural stature.

2. *Accounts of *fâdîl* and *maǧâlhîb*,* which form the record of the merits and faults of clans and individual Companions of the Prophet, as well as their genealogies. Various lists are incorporated in the *sîra* of the first converts, of the Emigrants, the fighters in various battles, representatives of the Anṣâr, etc. A specific type of text, to which also monographs were dedicated, is that of the *maqûl* [*q.v.*], in which is recorded who did something for the first time, e.g. Sa’d b. Abî Wakkâs was the first to shed blood in Islam (Ibn Išâk, no. 194). The deeds of the Companions also became recorded in separate works, such as the *Tabâkit* by Ibn Sa’d; *al-Īstâf* fi *mârifat al-asbâb* by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (368-463/978-1070), *Usd al-ghâba* by Ibn al-ʿAthîr (555-630/1160-1233) and *al-Īsâbâ fi tamâjû al-asbâb* by Ibn Ḥâḍâr al-ʾAskâlânî (773-852/1372-1449) [*q.v.*]. These works show many overlaps with *sîra* texts and should be read in combination with them.

3. *Pieces of *Kurânic* inspiration: *taṣfîr, asbâb al-nuqūl* and Midrash. Large parts of the *sîra* are inspired by the *Kurân*. They have been recently studied by J. Wansbrough.

Some texts merely paraphrase a *Kurânic* passage, e.g. *sûra* XCVIII in Ibn Išâk, no. 166.

Typical for the *sîra* are the accounts of the occasion for the revelation of certain *Kurânic* passages (*asbâb al-nuqûl*). When the Prophet was mocked, for example, the verse “Apostles have been mocked before you...” (VI, 10) was revealed (Ibn Ḥîjân, 262; cf. ibid., 272, and Ibn Išâk, no. 418).

Many *sîra* texts elaborate on a *Kurânic* passage, in the manner of a Jewish midrash. The episode of the Satanic verses (*al-Ṭabarî*, i, 1192-4), for example, was evoked and foreshadowed by XXII, 52: Satan casts something on the tongue of a prophet; God abrogates it and establishes His verses. In one version, this episode is presented as a *sabab al-nuqûl*.

The relationship between a *Kurânic* passage and the story which pivots upon it may be quite loose.
The long narrative of how Quraysh conspired at the eve of Muhammad’s hajj, and how Allah outwitted them by making them unable to see him, is built on VII, 30; “and when the unbelievers were plotting... but God plots also, and God is the best of plotters”, and elegantly incorporates XXXVII, 8: “... and We covered them, so that they could not see” (Ibn Hisham, 323-6; see also Wahb, 132-6). This story does not give the occasion for the revelation of the verses, but playfully talks about them together.

The verse which forms the inspiration of a story need not even be quoted. The story about the reception of Muslim emigrants by the Negus of Abyssinia is built on Ibn Khaldūn, 191, without any literal correspondence (cf. W. Raven in JSS, xxxiii (1988), 201).

(4) Prophetic legend. As the Kur'an had done before, the sīra aims at establishing the place of Muḥammad among the prophets, and that of Islam among the other religions. The numerous stories which dwell upon the characteristics of prophethood react on the narrative repertoire of Judaism [see ISRA'ILĪYAT], Christianity and Manichaeism.

Some examples: The twelve “leaders” (nukābā’) appointed by Muḥammad from the Anṣār al-‘Akaba [q.v.] are put on a par with the disciples of Jesus or the representatives of the tribes of Israel during the Exodus (Ibn Hisham, 299; Wahb, 130).

In the Ascension story, the rank attributed to the prophets is reflected by their places in one of the seven heavens: Muḥammad finds Ibrāhīm in the highest heaven, but Mūsā and Iṣā in the lower ones (Ibn Hisham, 370).

Even the physiognomies of the various prophets were subjected to comparative descriptions (Ibn Hisham, 266, Ibn Sa‘d, i/2, 125).

The sīra sometimes recapitulates prophetic characteristics in general statements, which are exemplified by Muḥammad: there is no prophet but has shepherded a flock (Ibn Hisham, 106); a prophet does not die but being given the choice (ibid., 1008); no prophet dies but he is buried where he died (ibid., 1013); the eyes of prophets sleep while their hearts are awake (ibid., 266; Ibn Sa‘d i/1, 113). In ḥadīths this generalising tendency becomes more frequent; cf. Wensinck, Handbuch, 196-7.

The sīra contains stories about numerous miracles wrought by God through His Prophet, or by the Prophet himself, which served as the proofs of his prophethood, often with the intention of comparing him to the other prophets. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, these stories developed into the independent genre of dālī‘l or dā‘ām or amārī‘a al-nubuwwa. Well-known authors in this field are ‘Abd al-‘Ijlabbār al-Ḥamādānī (d. 415/1025), Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), and al-Māwīrī (d. 450/1058) [q.v.]. For a longer enumeration of such works, see Kister, The sīra literature, 355.

(3) Written documents, including:

- letters from the Prophet to foreign rulers, governors and to the Arabian tribes (e.g. Ibn Abī Shayba, Musannaf, xiv, 336-46);
- treaties, as for instance that of al-Hudaybiya [q.v.] (Ibn Hisham, 747-8);
- the “Document (šī‘ah; wrongly called ‘Constitution’) of Medina” (Ibn Hisham, 341-4; Abū ‘Ubayd al-‘Āṣim b. Ṣallām, K. al-‘Amārā, ed. M. ‘Amārā, Beirut 1989, 291-4) is a category in itself. It is an agreement between “Muḥammad the Prophet” and “the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who follow them, join them, and strive along-side them”, including Jewish groups (see MUḤAMMAD, at vol. VII, 367b, and the updated bibliography here below);
- the lists which were mentioned above under fadā‘il and magāhā should in some cases be classified as documents. Lists of the first Emigrants, or of participants in certain battles, may have been taken over by the story-tellers from government registers.

(6) Speeches and sermons by the Prophet, e.g. his first addresses in Medina (Ibn Hisham, 340-1); his speech at the Farewell Pilgrimage (ibid., 968-9).

(7) Poetry. Story-tellers often interspersed their magāhā narratives with poetry. This has a function similar to that of speeches; it underlines a point or emphasises a dramatic moment by changing to another mode. Battling heroes exchange improvised poetry, as was the case in ayām al-‘arab. This poetry is generally of poor quality. Serious poetry occurs as well, e.g. by Kā‘b b. Zuhayr (his Ḥādīth Su‘ūd is the only lā‘īdī‘ in the sīra) and Ḥassān b. Ṭāḥītī [q.v.]. A new kind of panegyric praises the Prophet, emphasising his mission, his spiritual qualities and those of his new religion. Occasionally not all poetry ascribed to Ḥassān was composed by him, as Arafat has pointed out.

Ibn Hishām tends to place all occasional poetry on a certain event together, e.g. after his accounts of the battles of Badr, Uhud and Ḥunayn, possibly because he took the narratives which he transmitted too seriously to contaminate them with doubtful verse.

The simple, sometimes banal character of the poetry in the sīra, as well as the often unlikely ascriptions may have led early critics to the verdict that much of it is “inauthentic”, i.e. not composed by the poets it is ascribed to. Ibn Hishām expresses his doubts about authorship in many places. Ibn Sallām al-Qūmashī [q.v.] censures Ibn Iṣāk’s unfamiliarity with poetry and his uncritically taking over of whatever poetry he found, be it ascribed to men who had never said a line of verse, to women or even to ‘Ad and ʿUmmūd (Ṭabakāt fihūl al-‘ulamā‘), ed. M.M. Ṣhākir, Cairo 1974, 7-8, 11). Ibn al-Nadīm accuses Ibn Iṣīk of having inserted poetry on request (Fihrist 92).

Authenticity. The question of the authenticity of the poetry has also been discussed by modern scholars (Kister, Monroes, Arafat), although it seems less urgent if one does not start from the assumption that the surrounding prose texts date back to the time of the Prophet. There is indeed no reason why some kāsāy would not have included pieces of verse in his narrative, in order to comment on the events or to make propaganda for certain factions of his own days. The poetry turns out to be easily interchangeable in different versions of a story.

The sīra materials as a whole are so heterogeneous that a coherent image of the Prophet cannot be obtained from it. Can any of them be used at all for a historically reliable biography of Muḥammad, or for the historiography of early Islam? Several arguments plead against it:

(1) Hardly any sīra text can be dated back to the first century of Islam.

(2) The various versions of a text often show discrepancies, both in chronology and in contents.

(3) The later the sources are, the more they claim to know about the time of the Prophet.

(4) Non-Islamic sources are often at variance with Islamic sources (see P. Crone and M. Cook, Hagarism).

(5) Most sīra fragments can be classed with one of the genres mentioned above. Pieces of salvation history and elaborations on Kur‘ānic texts are unfit as sources for scientific historiography—except, of course,
for the historiography of the image of the Prophet in the belief and doctrine of his community.

The “Document of Medina” is generally considered authentic, i.e. dating back to the Prophet, but there is disagreement about the unity of the text and its attitude towards certain groups of Jews, because the well-known Jewish tribes of Medina are not mentioned.

Scholars, driven perhaps by a horror vacui, continue deriving historical facts from late sources. The last scholarly biography of Muhammad is that by W. Montgomery Watt (Muhammad at Mecca and Muhammad at Medina, Oxford 1953, 1956), and a new one is unlikely well-known Jewish tribes of Medina are not mentioned.

is disagreement about the unity of the text and its authenticity, i.e. dating back to the Prophet, but there

the historiography of the image of the Prophet in the belief and doctrine of his community.

The “Document of Medina” is generally considered authentic, i.e. dating back to the Prophet, but there is disagreement about the unity of the text and its attitude towards (certain groups of) Jews, because the well-known Jewish tribes of Medina are not mentioned.

Scholars, driven perhaps by a horror vacui, continue deriving historical facts from late sources. The last scholarly biography of Muhammad is that by W. Montgomery Watt (Muhammad at Mecca and Muhammad at Medina, Oxford 1953, 1956), and a new one is unlikely well-known Jewish tribes of Medina are not mentioned.

is disagreement about the unity of the text and its authenticity, i.e. dating back to the Prophet, but there

the historiography of the image of the Prophet in the belief and doctrine of his community.

The “Document of Medina” is generally considered authentic, i.e. dating back to the Prophet, but there is disagreement about the unity of the text and its attitude towards (certain groups of) Jews, because the well-known Jewish tribes of Medina are not mentioned.

Scholars, driven perhaps by a horror vacui, continue deriving historical facts from late sources. The last scholarly biography of Muhammad is that by W. Montgomery Watt (Muhammad at Mecca and Muhammad at Medina, Oxford 1953, 1956), and a new one is unlikely well-known Jewish tribes of Medina are not mentioned.

is disagreement about the unity of the text and its authenticity, i.e. dating back to the Prophet, but there
SIRA SHA'BIYYA (or "popular siras"), the modern Arabic designation (coined by Arab folklorists in the 1950s) for a genre of lengthy Arabic heroic narratives that in western languages are called either "popular epics" or "popular romances" (Volkroman). These narratives, which in their manuscript corpus refer to themselves equally as either siras or kisas [q.v.], are works of adventure and romance primarily concerned with depicting the personal prowess and military exploits of their heroes. Pseudo-historical in tone and setting, they base many of their central characters on actual historical figures or events. Nevertheless, details of history are soon transcended by the imaginative improvements that fiction provides, with the result that history is usually reflected only along general levels of setting, atmosphere and tone.

The written versions of popular siras are composed in rhymed prose (saghi [q.v.]) frequently interspersed with poetry, and they tend to be exceedingly long, often taking a year to narrate fully in oral form and with the longest manuscript and printed versions running to between two and six thousand pages, depending upon page and script size. Arabic literature produced a rich harvest of these popular epics that, taken together, cover almost the whole of recorded pre-Islamic and Islamic history. Early Persian history is represented by Strat Firuz-Shah, whose protagonist is the son of the Achaemenid King Darius II; the Sassanid dynasty figures in the Story of Balram Gür [see BAHRAM GÚR], and in between falls Strat Iskandar [see ISKANDAR], the geste of Alexander the Great. Pre-Islamic South Arabian history forms the backdrop for Strat al-Malik Sayf ibn Ò Ò Yaza'n [see SAYF B. Ò Ò YAZAN] while pre-Islamic North Arabian history is dealt with in Strat 'Antar [see 'ANTAR, STRAT], as well as in the story of al-Zir Sûîm and other accounts of the War of Basîs [q.v.] between the tribes of Bakr and Taglibh.

Early Islamic history is broached with Strat Amir Hamza, which narrates the adventures of Islam b. 'Abdi al-Mutallib [q.v.], uncle to the Prophet Muhammad. Dhkí al-Himma [q.v.], Qaza'at al-Arak, and al-Badr-Nír deal with the tribal feuds and holy wars (al-qâhirah) of the Umayyad and 'Abbásid caliphates; while Fajnim and Mamlîk history are treated in Strat al-Hákím bi-Amr Allâh [see AL-QÁ'IM] and Strat al-Malik al-Zâhir Baybars [see BAYBARS]. The protagonists of the cycles of Ahmad al-Da'âf and 'Ali Zabak are not martial heroes but rather  alwár (rogues [q.v.]), who rely on craft and guile to achieve their aims. Finally, there is Strat Bani Hîlîl, along with Strat 'Antar the most famous and beloved cycle of this genre, which gives a legendary account of the history of the tribe of the Bani Hîlîl [q.v.] from their pre-Islamic days until their conquest of much of North Africa in the 5th/11th century.

Although the genre of Arabic popular epic probably began to develop in the early period of the Islamic empire, references to specific works occur only in the early 6th/12th century. The formulaic character of their rhymed prose, the episodic structure of their story-lines, their continual repetition of a limited number of narrative patterns and motifs, the lack of any identifiable authors and their great length all indicate that these narratives originated and developed within a flourishing tradition of oral compositional public storytelling. This tradition of oral composition (either with or without musical accompaniment) has diminished significantly in the last century in the face of competition from modern entertainment technology, although some transfer has been made and these stories now occasionally appear in the Arab world as radio dramas, television series, films, and in modernised book and storybook form. Despite their primary existence as an oral popular art form, siras also have a substantial manuscript and print tradition. The earliest manuscripts date from the early 9th/15th century, whilst in the last century printed versions of these manuscripts have been continually reproduced in various Arab countries.

There are significant differences in style, content, and historical origin among members of the genre. Strat Firuz-Shah, for example, is Persian in origin, while Strat al-Zir Sûîm is based on pre-Islamic Ayyâm al-'Arâb [q.v.] sources. Strat al-Malik Sayf ibn Ò Ò Yaza'n is full of sorcery and demons, while Strat 'Antar is practically devoid of magic. Strat al-Malik al-Zâhir Baybars is cast mainly in unadorned prose, while other siras use rhymed prose (saghi) and poetry.

Nevertheless, these works form a cohesive genre by reason of their shared emphasis on heroes and heroic deeds of battle, their pseudo-historical tone and setting, and their indefatigable drive towards cyclic expansion; one event leads to another, one battle to another, one war to another, and so on for hundreds and thousands of pages.

Viewed from a wider cultural perspective, these popular epics are Arabic examples of a larger body of vibrant popular literature that existed in most parts of the Islamic world. Pre-modern Persian and Turkish literatures also developed strong traditions of popular epic, and there is convincing evidence that, despite their linguistic differences, neighbouring traditions of popular storytelling borrowed and translated from and mutually influenced one another. Strat 'Antar, for example, exists in an Ottoman Turkish translation, and many of these epics exist in multiple versions across disparate linguistic borders. Renditions of Strat Amir Hamza, for instance, exist in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Georgian, Urdu and Malay, while versions of Strat Iskandar are even more widely disseminated.

Furthermore, Arabic and other Islamic popular epics constitute only one portion of a vast tradition of multilingual Islamic popular literatures that also encompasses non-epic pseudo-historical narratives (maghâzî [q.v.] and futûhî), religious literature of various types (popular biographies of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions, saints' legends, accounts of miracles, etc.), numerous genres of popular poetry, song, proverb and humour, and tales of wonder and fantasy, the best known being Al' layla wa-layla [q.v.]. The history and nature of this large corpus of literature is still largely uncharted, as are the ways in which different genres, whether within single linguistic traditions or across them, influenced or impacted one another. Nevertheless, no single example of these popular literatures should be considered without at least an awareness of the existence of this larger literary and social context.

The use of lamps in Arabian Islamic society was perhaps not widespread. Among the earliest references to lamps in the domestic life of Islamic society, we learn from a tradition narrated by 'Abd al-Malik b. Anas, Musa'id, that there was no lamp in the Prophet's household in the early years of his life at Medina (cf. Malik b. Anas, Musa'id, i, 106). In early Islamic society, there are indications that Abu Bakr and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam, among their contemporaries, owned lamps. In the social life of Medina, the introduction of a lamp (kindil) in the life of the community was associated with the Prophet's Mosque, which was adjacent to Muhammad's own house. The lighting of a lamp (kindil) at the Prophet's mosque is said to have been the work of one of his disciples, namely, Tamim al-Dārī (q.v.). According to records, Tamim, a wine merchant before his conversion to Islam, brought a kindil with lamp oil and a wick from his native Syria to Medina. His lighting of a lamp in the mosque was an important social event which was not only approved but also commended by the Prophet who, allegedly, gave him the nickname of sirādī. Prior to the use of lamps, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, palm leaves (ṣa‘īf al-nādil) were burnt for lighting the interior of the mosque. In the event of a mosque fire, the use of lamps at night in mosques became a universal practice among Muslims.

The growing popularity of lamps in Islamic society is reflected in the records of trade in lamps. By the time 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb assumed the caliphate and the Islamic conquests of older seats of civilisation such as Syria, Iraq and Egypt were accomplished, the use of lamps became widespread among the Arabs. 'Umar is portrayed as a frugal and scrupulous head of state, who, it is said, once extinguished a state-owned lamp at the time of his supper, and said, "I do not eat in the lighting of a lamp owned by the public (ṣirādī al-‘āmmā)." (al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, Muhadārat al-adabāb, Beirut 1961, iv, 412).

During the 'Abbasid reign (86-970-155), the Umayyad mosque was built in Damascus and the Prophet's mosque was enlarged at Medina. Chandeliers were hung from chains to illuminate these mosques. Among their contemporaries, owned lamps. In the social and religious significance such as mosques, markets and tombs of holy personages. "Nāsh-i Khusraw (ca. 1045) reported a widespread use of lamps, made of brass and silver, in the holy places of Hebron, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. He further noted that the lamp oil, called żuy kārā, was derived from turpentine.
seed and radish seed. He also wrote that in the mosque of Fustat there was a huge silver lamp holder or chandelier with sixteen branches, which could hold as many as seven hundred odd lamps on holy occasions. More than a hundred lamps were kindled in the Fustat mosque every night. In Cairo, according to Nāṣir-i Khusrāw again, there was also a Market of Glass Lamps (Suk al-Kanādīl) which was on the north side of the mosque. Yākūt also mentions a Zākāt al-Kanādīl ("Lamps' lane") in Cairo. There are some rare instances of people who had the surname of al-Misbah in Islamic society of the Abbasid and Fatimid periods. Yākūt mentions that all places of worship, Zoroastrian temples, Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, had a means of burning fire or lamps for interior lighting (cf. al-Thā'ālibī, Dhīrām al-kulūb, 459-60). Although Ibn al-Ukhwūsāwā speaks of an Islamic prohibition of the use of vessels like lamps, and of candlesticks made of gold or silver, al-Samhūdī records the existence of lamps made of lamps made of silver and gold given as gifts by Muslim kings and potentates to the Prophet's sacred house (al-buṣra al-dafṣa) (cf. Wafq al-muṣalīl, ii, 584-7).

In Córdova during the Arab period, according to some sources, there were not only household lamps but also street lamps. In his travels to the eastern Islamic lands, the Andalusian traveller Ibn Dschubayr witnessed, among other things, candle-bearing chandeliers of different styles. He saw lamps, torches, kindled and candles lit and censers burning fragrant aloes wood in the sacred mosque in Mecca in the blessed night of the middle of Sha'āb in 579/1183. He also found the use of torches, glass lamps and thick candles in brass candlesticks burning near the tomb (makām) of Muhammad in the Prophet's Mosque of Medina on the blessed night of 27 Ramadan 579/1184. Ibn Batūta makes some brief references to night lighting during his time. He once stayed as a guest in a Sūfi lodge (dhīnākāh [q.v.]) in Cairo where the residents were given rations of soap, sugar, the cost of bathing in the hamām, and oil for their lamps. During his visit to Antalya in Asia Minor, he was invited to dine with a cobbler, who was also the Sherf of the local futuwwa (aqtī) movement in a hospice, which was handsomely decorated with Turkish rugs and an 'Irāqī glass lamp which radiated light at the hospice's dinner (Ribāh, i, 72, ii, 263, tr. Gibb, i, 44, ii, 420).

The use of lamps was more widespread than that of expensive candles, but both were used during feasts and festivals, depending on the user's economic circumstances. The relative merits of these two sources of light inspired Tadj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Maqdīd (d. 744/ 1343) to write a literary debate or munāzara [q.v.] between the chandelier and the lamp, see Zahr al-qinān fi 'l-mufakhar bayn al-kindil wa 'l-shamādān, atqūd al-Nuwayryṯī, Nayāṣa, i, 124-9.

In Islamic lore, knowledge was described as light (al-mīr) and the scholars as lamps. Scholars used lamps for studies at night, as it is illustrated in the biography of Ibn Sīnā and others, and al-Tanūkhī mentions that there were some Baghdādī residents who played chess for hours at night in a room lighted by a lamp (sirād), see Nafsūḏ al-mubādara, Beirut 1971, ii, 270. In the literary world of Arabic folk lore, fiction and imagination, the Arabian Nights (Alī Layla wa Layla) refer to lamps and candles incidentally, including the surreal story of a "wonder lamp" (or, Aladdin's lamp), with its genie.

The mūlūd, as a municipal official [see ṭuḥfa], had amongst his functions supervision of the town's major mosques to see that the mūlūdhāms called the faithful to prayer on time, that mosque employees like attendants swept the floor of the mosque on Fridays, and that the lamps were thoroughly washed and cleaned at least twice a month and the wicks of the lamps were snuffed and cleaned every night.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(M.AJ. Bzö)

SIRĀDJ AL-DAWLA, Mirzā Mahmūd b. Zayn al-Dīn Ahmad, Nāwāb of Bengal, d. 1170/1757.

The Nāwāb Nāzīm of Bengal arose, like local ruling families of this time in Ḥaydarābād and Awadh (Oudh) [q.v.], from provincial governorships of the declining Mughal empire of the first half of the 12th/18th century. Siradj al-Dawla was the grandson and heir of 'Alliwīrī Khān Mahātab Dīng, sīhdārī of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for the Mughal emperor. On 'Alliwīrī Khān's death in 1169/1756, he himself became governor of Bengal and Bihar, Orissa having fallen into the hand of the Marāthās [q.v.], against the opposition of his cousin Shāhwāt Dīng.

At this same time, relations between Siradj al-Dawla and the British East India Company in Bengal became strained, but these relations of the Company with the rulers in Bengal had been unstable for some thirty years; the Company sought long-term advantageous conditions for trading, but found the Nāwāb's behaviour unpredictable. The Company's representative in Calcutta, Drake, refused to dismantle the defences of Fort William and to surrender an offender against Siradj al-Dawla. In spring 1756 the Nāwāb marched with his army, captured the Kāsim Bāzār factory and besieged Calcutta against stiff resistance from the small British garrison. Fort William and the town were occupied, and it was the prisoners taken there who were incarcerated in the notorious "Black Hole of Calcutta".

Siradj al-Dawla's army had meanwhile fought off and killed Shāhwāt Khān, who had secured from the Mughal emperor a faumān for the governorship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But Robert Clive and Admiral Charles Watson arrived from Madras with troop reinforcements, and their forces easily seized Hūṣī (Hooghly). The Nāwāb opened negotiations, and a treaty of February 1757 confirmed for the Company all its trading privileges in the Mughal emperor's grant of 1717 plus the right to mint coins at Calcutta. Clive, however, plotted against Siradj al-Dawla with the latter's ambitious commander Mīr Dżafar [q.v.], and warfare broke out. At the Battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757, Clive, with some 3,000 men and eight cannons, defeated a vastly superior but less trustworthy force of infantry, cavalry and an artillery battery under the French officer Saint-Frais. Siradj al-Dawla fled the field, but was captured by the partisans of Mīr Dżafar and killed on 2 July 1757; he had made the mistake of taking on the British before assuring himself of the loyalty of his own subjects, alienating such elements as the Hindu bankers of Bengal. Mīr Dżafar now became Nāwāb of Bengal [see further Dżafar, Mīr], and British involvement in North Indian politics henceforth became large-scale.


2. Studies. S.C. Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, a selection of public and private papers ..., Calcutta 1905;

I.H. Snaquin, shortened by the Editors.

SIRADJ AL-KUTRUB (A.), lit. "the wolf's lamb", a name for the mandrake, i.e. the plant species of Mandrago officinarum L. (family Solanaceae) indigenous to the whole Mediterranean area.

Mandragora, a name for the mandrake, i.e. the plant species which bear a clump of large, sinuate, egg-shaped parts which are used as medicine. The root of Mandragora officinarum L. is known in ancient Egypt, it seems to occur in the Old Testament (Gen. xxx, 14) under the name of מדרון lit. "the two lovers", and Dioscorides [see Dysiskorides] gives a detailed account of it. For the Arabs, it is the queen of the seven (!) mandragoras, the herb which Alexander the Great [see AL-ISKANDAR] held in his hand during his expeditions, and which according to Hermes [see HIRMIS] gave Solomon [see SULAYMANS] power over the ginn [ginn: a disease caused by evil spirits, like paralysis, spasms, epilepsy, loss of memory, etc.].

The healing powers of Mandragora were considered to be the result of its forked root which resembles the human form; synonyms include mandraghr (A.), lit. "the werewolf's lamb", yaruh (Aramaic < yaruh, lit. "frighten", "suck"), azabu (< Azabu, "pain"), and kal. The turnip-shaped root is thickly covered with fibres and often consists of two parts which bear a clamp of large, sinuate, egg-shaped leaves between which grow the axillary petiolated, bell-shaped, strong-smelling, whitish or purple flowers; the globular yellow fruits are about the size of cherries. The anthropomorphism of the root about the digging of which curious stories are told even by classical authors (Plinius, Flavius Josephus), gave rise to many superstitions. Thus the mandrake has been used from ancient times for medicinal, and in particular, for magical purposes, i.e. as an analgesic, anesthetic, hypnotic, cathartic and, most importantly, aphrodisiac.

The mandrake was known in ancient Egypt, it seems to occur in the Old Testament (Gen. xxx, 14) under the name of מדרון lit. "the two lovers", and Dioscorides [see Dysiskorides] gives a detailed account of it. For the Arabs, it is the queen of the seven (!) mandragoras, the herb which Alexander the Great [see AL-ISKANDAR] held in his hand during his expeditions, and which according to Hermes [see HIRMIS] gave Solomon [see SULAYMANS] power over the ginn [ginn: a disease caused by evil spirits, like paralysis, spasms, epilepsy, loss of memory, etc.].

The healing powers of Mandragora were considered to be the result of its forked root which resembles the human form; synonyms include mandraghr (A.), lit. "the werewolf's lamb", yaruh (Aramaic < yaruh, lit. "frighten", "suck"), azabu (< Azabu, "pain"), and kal. The turnip-shaped root is thickly covered with fibres and often consists of two parts which bear a clamp of large, sinuate, egg-shaped leaves between which grow the axillary petiolated, bell-shaped, strong-smelling, whitish or purple flowers; the globular yellow fruits are about the size of cherries. The anthropomorphism of the root about the digging of which curious stories are told even by classical authors (Plinius, Flavius Josephus), gave rise to many superstitions. Thus the mandrake has been used from ancient times for medicinal, and in particular, for magical purposes, i.e. as an analgesic, anesthetic, hypnotic, cathartic and, most importantly, aphrodisiac.

The mandrake was known in ancient Egypt, it seems to occur in the Old Testament (Gen. xxx, 14) under the name of מדרון lit. "the two lovers", and Dioscorides [see Dysiskorides] gives a detailed account of it. For the Arabs, it is the queen of the seven (!) mandragoras, the herb which Alexander the Great [see AL-ISKANDAR] held in his hand during his expeditions, and which according to Hermes [see HIRMIS] gave Solomon [see SULAYMANS] power over the ginn [ginn: a disease caused by evil spirits, like paralysis, spasms, epilepsy, loss of memory, etc.].

The healing powers of Mandragora were considered to be the result of its forked root which resembles the human form; synonyms include mandraghr (A.), lit. "the werewolf's lamb", yaruh (Aramaic < yaruh, lit. "frighten", "suck"), azabu (< Azabu, "pain"), and kal. The turnip-shaped root is thickly covered with fibres and often consists of two parts which bear a clamp of large, sinuate, egg-shaped leaves between which grow the axillary petiolated, bell-shaped, strong-smelling, whitish or purple flowers; the globular yellow fruits are about the size of cherries. The anthropomorphism of the root about the digging of which curious stories are told even by classical authors (Plinius, Flavius Josephus), gave rise to many superstitions. Thus the mandrake has been used from ancient times for medicinal, and in particular, for magical purposes, i.e. as an analgesic, anesthetic, hypnotic, cathartic and, most importantly, aphrodisiac.

The mandrake was known in ancient Egypt, it seems to occur in the Old Testament (Gen. xxx, 14) under the name of מדרון lit. "the two lovers", and Dioscorides [see Dysiskorides] gives a detailed account of it. For the Arabs, it is the queen of the seven (!) mandragoras, the herb which Alexander the Great [see AL-ISKANDAR] held in his hand during his expeditions, and which according to Hermes [see HIRMIS] gave Solomon [see SULAYMANS] power over the ginn [ginn: a disease caused by evil spirits, like paralysis, spasms, epilepsy, loss of memory, etc.].

The healing powers of Mandragora were considered to be the result of its forked root which resembles the human form; synonyms include mandraghr (A.), lit. "the werewolf's lamb", yaruh (Aramaic < yaruh, lit. "frighten", "suck"), azabu (< Azabu, "pain"), and kal. The turnip-shaped root is thickly covered with fibres and often consists of two parts which bear a clamp of large, sinuate, egg-shaped leaves between which grow the axillary petiolated, bell-shaped, strong-smelling, whitish or purple flowers; the globular yellow fruits are about the size of cherries. The anthropomorphism of the root about the digging of which curious stories are told even by classical authors (Plinius, Flavius Josephus), gave rise to many superstitions. Thus the mandrake has been used from ancient times for medicinal, and in particular, for magical purposes, i.e. as an analgesic, anesthetic, hypnotic, cathartic and, most importantly, aphrodisiac.
of Bushire (Bu Şahr [q.v.], in the garm-sîr or hot region of the sîf or coastland.

Excavations carried out at the site of Şiraf 1966-73 by a team sponsored by the British Institute of Persian Studies have shown that there was a Sâsânîd port there, probably serving the inland centre of Ardâshîr Khûrra, the latter Islamic Gûr or Djûr [see FrûZbân], to which it was connected by road, and protected by a massive fort which may have been built ca. 360 by Şahrûr II [see Şahrûr].

The early Islamic geographers expatiate on the prosperity of Şiraf, “the merchants’ haunt and the emporium of Fars” (Muhammad al-‘Ism, tr. Minorz, 127) and its pre-eminence of the buildings. The Friday mosque was begun, according to archaeological investigation, in the 3rd/9th century. There were richly-decorated, multi-storey houses built from teak (sa’d [q.v.]) imported from East Africa and from fired brick, although the town’s situation suffered from earthquakes, with a particularly devastating one lasting seven days in 366 or 367/707-8. Provisions for the town had to be brought in from outside, as had also water, apart from one small tank of sweet water (al-Mukaddasf, 326-7). The sources state that Şiraf began to decline after the earthquake, and with the political enfeeblement of the Buỳd dynasty in Fars and the ascendancy there of the rapacious and violent Schânîkûrab Khûrds [q.v.], whilst pirates based on the island of Khîs (q.v.) and Kûsî further down the Gulf caused ships to bypass Şiraf and the other Sîf ports and go directly to Bâsra. But this decline can only have been relative, since we know that Şiraf was in the early 6th/12th century the centre of operations, with ramifications stretching as far as China, of a great tycoon, the ndkhudd (q.v.) or gradh (bulayd).

Later sources describe how Şiraf’s international reputation during his own lifetime, and that prominent persons frequently sent queries to him for answer (mâzû), and with a chain of authors and significations closely linked to the words and the only informative here being Abu Hayyan al-Tawhofî, who in his own lifetime, and that prominent persons frequently sent queries to him for answer (mâzû), addressing him with prestigious titles (cf. Krenkow, Epit., 92, art.; Brockelmann, S I, 175). He also mentions (iii, 105) that certain wârîkhîn claimed that al-Shiraf falsely gave his name to manuscripts he had not really copied personally, these being sold for higher prices than would otherwise have obtained. Finally, Şirat is the sole biographer to mention (iii, 105-25) the story given by al-Tawhofî in his Mâzûsâsi, differ. He also mentions (ii, 68-86, cf. Imrât, 1, 107-33, about a controversy on logic and grammar, taking place in 320/932 when al-Shiraf was some forty years old, which has become famous in this discussion between Abu Bishr Matta and Abu Saîd al-Shrid [q.v.]. He notes that al-Shiraf’s international reputation during his own lifetime, and that prominent persons frequently sent queries to him for answer (mâzû), addressing him with prestigious titles (cf. Krenkow, Epit., art.; Brockelmann, S I, 175). He also mentions (iii, 105) that certain warîkhân claimed that al-Shiraf falsely gave his name to manuscripts he had not really copied personally, these being sold for higher prices than would otherwise have obtained. Finally, Şirat is the sole biographer to mention (iii, 105-25) the story given by al-Tawhofî in his Mâzûsâsi, differ. He also mentions (ii, 68-86, cf. Imrât, 1, 107-33, about a controversy on logic and grammar, taking place in 320/932 when al-Shiraf was some forty years old, which has become famous in the West since Margoliouth translated this in his The discussion between Abu Bishr Matta and Abu Saîd al-Shrid on the merits of logic and grammar, in JRAS (1905), 79-129. It took place in the presence of many leading figures, and was convoked by the vizier Abu ’l-Fath Ibn al-Furât [q.v.], and was a response to Matta’s claims on the superiority of Aristotelian logic. The debate, as Versteegh has clearly shown, revolved essentially round two questions: are meanings and significations the same for all nations, the words alone differing according to languages, or are the meanings and significations closely linked to the words and the...
language, hence different for each nation? Hence is a grammarian competent or not to pronounce on meanings and significations? The other question was that of the capacity of logic to judge between the true and the false, especially in regard to correct or incorrect speech. For Matta, logic was independent of language, and the true and the false were universals; hence only the logician was competent to judge on meanings and significations, whilst the grammarian’s task was simply to study the words and their function in a given language. Thus the logician has no need of grammar, but logic is indispensable for the grammarian. For al-Širāfi, however, meaning was intimately linked with words, and these differ for all languages, thus falling within the domain of grammar. Also, grammarians have rules for recognising correct (Arabic) language. In his view, there was no place for an independent discipline of logic. In combatting Matta’s position, he claimed that the latter could not comprehend all the subtleties of Arabic since he was of Syriac-speaking origin; moreover, Greek was a dead language, hence it was impossible to learn it correctly. The grammarian seems to have participated in further controversies, according to Yākūṭ, including with regard to the theses of the philosopher Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-‘Arīfī [q.v. in Suppl.].

For specialists on Arabic grammar, al-Širāfi shares his contemporary Abū ‘Alī al-Ŷafī the fame and originality of work on Sibawayhi’s Kitāb during the 4th/10th century.

1. His most famous work is his commentary on the Kitāb (ed. in progress at Cairo since 1986), a lengthy text in 6 vols., of which 5 are extant in a Cairo ms. According to Yākūṭ, al-Širāfi made the first copy himself in 3,000 leaves. Extracts from the commentary have often appeared previously in print, such as in the margins of early editions of the Kitāb, from the Calcutta 1887 one onwards, and Jahin, in his translation, studied and commented on these extracts. These may have come through the intermediary of Abū ‘Alī al-Ŷafī and the glosses of his personal copy of the Kitāb (see G. Humbert, Les voies de la transmission du Kitāb de Sibawayhi, 72-7). Yākūṭ says that al-Ŷafī and his friends long tried to get a complete text of al-Širāfi’s work in order to denounce and expose its alleged deficiencies. The commentary is certainly of prime interest for studying the history of Arabic grammar, showing amongst other things that the Kitāb was in actual use during the commentator’s time.

2. A little work on the Basran school of grammarians, Akhbār al-nahwiyin (al-basriyyin), first ed. in Cairo, 1936, also Cairo 1955, one of the oldest works extant on the biographies of grammarians. Al-Širāfi, as noted above, a direct informant for the section of Ibn al-Nadim’s Fihrist on grammar.

The other works attributed to al-Širāfi are not extant:

3. A Sharḥ al-‘ābiyāt al-sahih Sibawayhi, possibly recast by his son, from whom a work of this name has come down to us.

4. K. al-‘Inda fi ‘l-nahw, not mentioned in all mss. of the Fihrist, but whose existence is confirmed by Ibn Khayr’s Fihrist (312).

5. Yākūṭ (ii, 86-8) also mentions several times, in the field of grammar, the Mudkhal ilā Kitāb Sibawayhi.

6. In Kur’ānic philology, a K. Al-Ŷafī al-walī wa ‘l-ka‘f is mentioned in the sources.


Other titles also lost but only rarely mentioned are:


The biographers do not mention the commentaries on the verses in Ibn Dunayr’s Qamārāh fi ‘l-lughāh, signed “al-Širāfi” in the 2nd and 3rd vols. of the Leiden ms. (discovered by Krenkow and edited by him in the margins of the Haydarābād edition of the Qamārāh, 1925-32). For other titles or anonymous texts possibly attributable to al-Širāfi, see Sezgin, GAŚ, ix, 99-100.


**Bibliography**: Biographical notices in Ibn al-Dijwas, Munṣamag, vii, 187; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ‘Abdūs, vii, 82-4. Other more recent sources (e.g. al-Suyūtī, Būga‘ya, ii, 355), given in the ed. of the Šarḥ al-ŷaṣīt Sībawayhi, 11. (GENEVIEVE HUMBERT)

**SIRAKÜSA** [see LAHENA; SIND. LANGUAGE].

SIRAKÜSA, the mediaeval Arabic form of the name of the city of Syracuse in Sicily.

Founded by men of Corinth in 734 B.C., it was the most powerful of the Greek colonies until the Roman conquest. Belsarius captured it for Byzantium, and in 663 Constans II fixed his seat there. In Byzantine times, it was frequently raided by Arabs from Ifrīkiya. The name of the city also appears in Arabic sources as Sarakūs, with var. Sarkūs, Surkūs, etc. According to Amari, the Arabic transcription may be from an older form than the Greek Σώρακουσα used before Yākūṭ’s time.

The most exact geographical description is that of al-Ŷafī in his Nāṣṣat al-muṣawwarāt, in which he stresses the city’s reputation as a resort of merchants and travellers, and he describes the islet of Ortigia, linked to the mainland by an isthmus, in mediaeval times the exclusively inhabited part of the city, mentioning its two ports, its buildings, gardens and fertility. This was the main source for al-Ŷamīrī’s Rāyd al-muṣawwar, with a passage also from al-Bakrī and other items of unknown provenance.

The story of the Arab conquest of Syracuse is essentially given by Yākūṭ, Ibn al-Ŷaḥīf, Ibn ‘Inda, al-Nuwayri and Ibn Khallikān. In 827/1229, Asad Ibn al-Ŷurār, sent by the Aghlabīd Ziyādāt Allah to con-
querc Syracuse, marched from Mazara del Vallo, on the northern coast of the island, as far as Syracuse and concluded a treaty with the city, in exchange for payment of the garrison. According to Ibn al-Atîb, Asad expected resistance and besieged the city. But the besieged were supplied by sea from Venice, and Asad died of plague in 213/828. His successor Muhammad b. Abî l-Dâjwârî was driven away with severe losses. Raids on the suburbs of Syracuse resumed in 248/862 and the following years, and there was a siege by Khaṭîb b. Sufyân b. Sâwâdana in 259/872-3. In 263/877 the governor of Sicily Dâjwâr b. Muhammad deviated the environs of the city, destroyed the port fortifications and besieged the inhabitants for 30 days. In the absence of aid from Byzantium, the city was about to surrender when the Arabs raised the siege. But they returned in the spring, and conquered it on 27 Ramadân 264/21 May 878. All the Christian soldiers were massacred, and the population carried off to Palermo as slaves, with an enormous plunder of precious metal weighing over 5,000 pounds. It was not till seven years later that the Byzantine Emperor was able to ransom the Syracuse captives.

Under Arab rule, Syracuse was the capital of the Val di Noto, one of the great territorial divisions of Sicily. In the 10th century, the Byzantines managed to recapture the city for three years, but lost it again. After the end of the Kalbids in 442/1050, local lords disputed power in Sicily. In 452/1060 one contender, Ibn al-Thumma, lord of Catania and Syracuse, called in the Normans to his aid, opening the way for the Norman conquest. After a naval battle, the Normans captured Syracuse in 479/1086, and the city became a county governed by Roger I's son, Jordan. Arabs and Jews continued to be able to practise their faiths and regulate their community affairs, in return for annual tribute, whence the survival of bi- or tri-lingual documents in the languages of the various communities, Latin, Greek and Arabic. After the death of Prince Tancred, Syracuse became a crown possession. There were serious earthquakes and a raid from Siracusa occupation of Resurrection and the intercession of the Prophet, regarding the vision of God on the Day of Judgement and the intercession of the Prophet, wherein God is the subject. Of the 45 Kur'ânic instances, strâf is 33 times qualified by the word mustâkam "to guide" or by its massâd massâd "guidance", where God is the subject. Of the 45 Kur'ânic instances, strâf is 33 times qualified by the word mustâkam "the/a right way", meaning the religion, or the Book, of Islam. Only once does strâf denote an evil way, i.e. one which leads away from the will of God (XXXVII, 23). The word has a neutral and concrete meaning in VII, 86 (and XXXVI, 66 ?). The substantive strâf derives ultimately from the Latin strata, via Greek and Aramaic, then Syriac (Jeffery, Foreign vocabulary, 195-6). This foreign origin was recognised at an early stage by scholars, including Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Nakkâsh (cf. al-Suyûtî, al-Iślâm fi 'l-idrîs, muṣârât, 19, 28, Beirut 1407/1987, 215-6). This foreign origin was recognised at an early stage by scholars, including Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Nakkâsh (cf. al-Suyûtî, al-Iślâm fi 'l-idrîs, nuṣûr, 19, 28, Beirut 1407/1987, 437). On the other hand, the word is derived from the root y-y-r according to some philologists, and this conclusion is accepted by Ibn Manzûr (Li, vii, 313b, 340a).

The other meaning is the proper name of a bridge which dominates Hell, al-Strâf, always with the definite article. The Kur'ân makes not the slightest allusion to it, and has nothing to say about this or any other bridge. On the other hand, this conception is attested in Prophetic traditions, whence the important hadîth regarding the vision of God on the Day of Resurrection and the intercession of the Prophet, going back to Abû Hurayra-âlî b. Yazîd-Ibn Shîhâb-Ibn âl-Sâd (al-Bûhârî, adhân, bâb 5, 29, and Tawâtîb, bâb 24/4; Muslim, Imân, no. 299).
According to this tradition, when God makes himself known to men as their Lord, they will follow him; even the angels will keep silent (Sura 34:28). The latter, bristling with hooks and thorns, is "narrower than a hair and sharper than a sword" (Muslim, no. 302, Ibn Shihab and Ibrahim, Tawhid, bdb 24/5; Muslim, Imán, no. 302). The key-phrase here is: "Then they will bring (or, will erect) the bridge (al-dāhīṣ)."

The bridge of Cinwad, Cinwad puhl (in the "Book of the remembrance of death and of the Hereafter", II, 66, and XXXVII, 23, has no justification and is disregarded by the major Muslim commentators).

Other traditions are attributed to different Companions and supplement the fundamental data: thus e.g. Muslim, Tawhid, nos. 316, 320, 329. They support the theses developed by authors such as al-Ghazālī (in the "Book of the remembrance of death and of that which follows it"), towards the end of the İḥyā' (1122).

This bridge of Muslim eschatology closely resembles that of Iranian religion, to such an extent that the two are definitely related. The bridge of Činwād, "traditionally thought to mean 'the bridge of the separator' but recently shown to be 'the bridge of the accumulator/collector' ... is mentioned already in the Gathas", then in a number of Middle Persian texts (Tafazzoli). For the virtuous, it is enlarged considerably. For the wicked, it becomes like the blade of a razor or the cutting-edge of a sword, and they fall into Hell. In its name, written as Cinwāt in Pahlavi, the Arabs recognised their word šīrāt (but the utilisation to this effect of Kur'ān, XXXVI, 66, and XXXVII, 23, has no justification and is disregarded by the major Muslim commentators).


(Γ. Μοννού)
its first president (L.F. Edwards (ed.), The Memoirs of Prota Matija Nenadovic, Oxford 1969). In January 1811 Karageorge swore that he would rule in accord with the council, and in turn was recognised as the Supreme Leader. The formerly semi-autonomous districts were reduced in size and placed under increased centralised control, while leading opposition figures were exiled. When, because of the danger from Napoleon, Russia, the Serbs' main ally, concluded the Peace of Bucharest in 1812, the Treaty's provisions (§ 8) for an amnesty, for limited Serb autonomy under Ottoman rule and for the stationing of Ottoman forces in the country's fortresses (clauses the sultan was only reluctantly prepared to ratify), the Serbian leadership decided to continue fighting without Russian help, with disastrous consequences. By mid-October 1813 Serbia was under Ottoman control once again, and Karageorge had become an exile in Austria. It was left to Miloš Obrenovíc (1780-1860), military leader and rival of Karageorge (and the founder of the Obrenovíc dynasty of Serbian rulers) to proclaim the beginning of the Second Serbian Uprising (on Palm Sunday 1815). On 6 November 1815 he reached a (verbal) agreement with Mars'âlî 'Ali Pašâ (confirmed by the Porte in the internal administration of the pašalik of Belgrade, under his leadership. His murder of Karageorge (25 July 1817) soon made Milosh the Serbian Supreme Leader (elected Hereditary Prince on 6 November 1817, but not finally confirmed by the Porte until 1830). In the convention of Ak Kermân (7 October 1826) between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the Porte promised (§ 6) fulfilment of clause 8 of the Treaty of Bucharest; at the same time, the limited rights of autonomy enjoyed by the Serbs were specified in greater detail (additional Note to § 5 of the Convention). The peace treaty of Edirne (14 September 1829) demanded that the Ottoman government immediately implement the measures required by the Convention and hand back to Serbia all six districts outside the pašalik of Belgrade which had been liberated in the course of the First Uprising (provisions put into practice by the khâtti-i şerîf of 30 September 1829). Negotiations with the Porte about Serbian autonomy commenced early in 1830, resulting in the khâtti-i şerîf of August 1830 in which the autonomy rights for Serbia were laid down one by one, and in which Miloš Obrenovíc was officially confirmed as Hereditary Prince. Serbia had now developed into a principality under Ottoman suzerainty. Disturbances in Serbia during the spring of 1833 necessitated new comprehensive legislation. In November of the same year, a khâtti-i şerîf defined the new borders of the country which now included the Six Districts (ca. 38,000 km² as opposed to ca. 24,000 previously), the amount of the annual tribute as a pay-off for all remaining fiscal and feudal obligations towards the Ottoman state and Muslim landowners (2.3 million piastres per annum), the modalities concerning the resettlement of Muslims from Serbia, and the stationing of Ottoman troops in the country. The khâtti-i şerîf was read out in the National Assembly in Kragujevac on 13 February 1834. It marked the end of the Ottoman land régime in Serbia. The new constitution of 10 December 1838, which was to replace the liberal “Sretenjski ustav” of 1835 (which was modelled along French and Belgian lines), was worked out in Istanbul by a Serbian delegation and was promulgated in the shape of another khâtti-i şerîf (hence “Turski ustav”). In 1862, after clashes between Serbs and Ottoman soldiers had led to the firing of Ottoman cannon into Belgrade, the Ottoman garrisons were restricted to fortifications along the Danube and Sava rivers (Belgrade, Sabac, Semendire and Glădova: Protocol of Istanbul of 8 September 1862). In April 1867 the sultan was forced to withdraw all troops from Serbian soil. Belgrade was handed over to the Serbs by ‘Ali Rıdâ Pašâ, its last mukâfiz, on 18 April. The final end of Ottoman suzerainty over Serbia and the proclamation of Serbian independence was one of the results of the Congress of Berlin (13 June-13 July 1878).

In 1815 Serbia was divided into twelve nahiyes: (1) Belgrade, (2) Cuprija, (3) Jagodina, (4) Kragujevac, (5) Požarevac, (6) Požega, (7) Rudnik, (8) Sabac, (9) Smедерева, (10) Soka, (11) Účice and (12) Valjevo. The six additional districts added in 1833 were Kraljina (Negotin), Crna Reka (Zaječar), Gornji Timok (Gurgosovac), Aleksinac with Krusevac, part of Stari Vlah (Ivanjica) and the Loznica region (only the italicised district capitals had town (grad) status before 1833). Population in 1804: ca. 478,000; in 1815: ca. 473,000 (war losses estimated at ca. 133,000; in 1834: ca. 678,192; in 1874: 1,353,890 (these and the following figures are from H. Sundhaussen, Historische Statistik Serbiens, Munich 1989). The first population census, still largely fiscal in character, was carried out in 1834 (in the Ottoman Empire, in 1830-1); for detailed figures see Sundhaussen, Tabelle 2a). The population of Serbia, although in its vast majority consisting of Serbs (86.85% in 1866), was largely immigrant (ca. 75,000 arrived 1820-34; ca. 150,000 1834-74). Only a small minority was autochthonous: ca. 2% in Vojvodina district, less than 1% in Tokov and Shumadja. Literacy (1866): 2.4%. Characteristic of Serbian agriculture during most of the 19th century was the clearance of arable land by fire, extensive cultivation of corn (and from the late 1830s) wheat, large flocks of sheep being driven by Vlach herdsmen, and, for (former) Ottoman possession, exceptionally large numbers of pigs (165 pigs per 100 inhabitants in 1859; main export article). The agricultural unit continued to be the “house” (hutâ or kâme) with ca. 10-30 (in the earlier period), later (1863) ca. 5.5-8.3 inhabitants. The first survey of all agricultural lands (details in Sundhaussen, Tabelle 51) was carried out in 1834 (in the Ottoman Empire proper, the first tahtî-i andâš was begun in 1838). The woodlands of Serbia remained an important economic factor; the first decrees for their protection date from the 1820s. Urban crafts were initially largely restricted to Muslims and foreigners; their “Serbianisation” had long been under way by 1830, when there were 18 recognised esnâf in Belgrade. This figure rose to 40 in 1838 (detailed lists of esnâf in Branko Peruničić, Uprava vanši Beograda 1820-1912, Belgrade 1970, 133-4, 142-3, 428-68, 693-7). The Muslim pious foundations (erêkî) outside Belgrade were sold or transferred into property of the Orthodox Church within five years of the Law of 28 July 1839 which regulated the return of non-Serb held lands into Serbian possession, in accordance with the khâtti-i şerîfs of 1850 and 1853 (for sâhab property supporting several Belgrade mosques as late as 1802, see Peruničić, op. cit., 480-1). What immovables remained in Belgrade in the hands of individual Muslims until 1863 is shown in an official survey published by Peruničić (op. cit., 540-59). The Ottoman tax régime remained in force for about 20 years until the comprehensive tax reform of 1835 ended the system of division into (1) payments to the Ottoman state or the sultan, (2) rents and services due to the Muslim landowners and (3) taxes for the benefit of the Serbian state. The reform introduced a single monetary tax
amounting to ca. 12 "Taler" (5 gold ducats) per taxpayer per annum. But as in the Ottoman period (see the account in Edwards, Memoirs, 26 ff.), the community leaders continued to fix each taxpayer's contribution by taking into account his ability to pay. The metric system of measurement was introduced in 1873, coinciding with similar Ottoman attempts under Midhat Pasha [q.v.].


Sirb — Siroz 673

SIRB — Siroz

amounting to ca. 12 "Taler" (5 gold ducats) per taxpayer per annum. But as in the Ottoman period (see the account in Edwards, Memoirs, 26 ff.), the community leaders continued to fix each taxpayer's contribution by taking into account his ability to pay. The metric system of measurement was introduced in 1873, coinciding with similar Ottoman attempts under Midhat Pasha [q.v.].

Turks in 1371 and definitively in 1383. Ewliya Celebi alone of the Ottoman sources describes this definitive conquest by Ghazi Ewenos and Djandarli Kara Khalifl Khayr al-Din Pasha, although this is unmentioned by the Byzantine chroniclers. According to oral sources, the surrender terms allowed the Turks to install themselves outside the Byzantine enceinte and guaranteed to the Greeks their quarters and churches. The enceinte’s walls must have been demolished at this time as a precaution against revolts. The town soon regained its old importance. Even before the arrival of the Ottomans, it had spread beyond the enceinte, to the west of the Phoros Gate, as the presence of some Byzantine churches shows. The Ottomans established new quarters, bearing the names of their military chiefs, for themselves further to the west and to the south. Nomads (Turtiks) were planted in the adjacent countryside, whilst the town received immigrants from Anatolia. At the end of the 15th century there arrived the first Jewish families from Sicily and Spain.

Notable events included Murad I’s using it as a base for campaigns against the Serbs (1385). In 1412 the revolt of Sheikh Bedr al-Din [see BADR AL-DIN] ended at Serres with his defeat and hanging there. In 1571 there was a Greek revolt there after the Ottoman naval defeat at Lepanto. At Serres was the tomb of the town’s kadi, 'Abd al-Rahman “Hibri” (d. 1676), author of a work, the Ems ul-musdmirin, important for the history of Adrianople. The consolidation of Ottoman power was marked by the building of the Eski Camii, with a foundation inscription, now destroyed, by Djandarli Khayr al-Din Pasha in 787/1385, who also built the Eski Hammam; and Bayezid II’s vizier Koğa Muşafatª Pasha built further public and charitable buildings. The Bezesten seems to date from 859/1454-5.

According to the 15th and 16th century registers, Serres had a population estimated at 6,200 in 859/1454-5 (see Table for later figures). The Muslim proportion grew steadily, doubtless through conversions. In the 15th century, according to the Chronicle of Synadinos, there were 25 Muslim quarters and 45 Christian ones, whose names indicate the various commercial and industrial activities carried on in this important town of the Empire’s European provinces, as the presence of a Bezesten and of a mint show (earliest known coins from 816/1413-14).

Of numerous 17th century descriptions of the town, the most important are those of Hadjjidi Khalifa, Ewliya, Robert of Dreux and the rich cloth merchant Papa Synadinos, after 1642 a priest and author of a Chronicle of Serres covering the years 1598-1642. Ewliya describes a flourishing town, with 10 Christian quarters with 2,000 fine houses in the old town, and 30 Muslim quarters in the new town, totalling 4,000 houses, 12 Friday mosques, 91 other mosques, 26 medresas, 2 tekkes and 5 hammans. Its market was, with those of Salonica and Skopje, among the greatest of

### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total (hous. Ewliya)</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1454/55</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>2,750</td>
<td>3,450</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1478/79</td>
<td>4,896</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>1,706</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1494/1503*</td>
<td>8,599</td>
<td>4,830</td>
<td>3,489</td>
<td>280</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1519</td>
<td>7,034</td>
<td>3,420</td>
<td>3,149</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>195 Gypsies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1528/30</td>
<td>5,755</td>
<td>3,560</td>
<td>2,065</td>
<td>330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1569/70</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>4,165</td>
<td>1,555</td>
<td>280</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1660</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>30,000 (Beaujour)</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>25,000 (Boué)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>30,000 (Reclus)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>28,000 (Schinas)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>42,000 (Hilmi Pasha)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>18,668 (Greek administration)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>20,700 (Loukatos)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>14,564 (ESYE)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>29,640 (ESYE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>34,630 (ESYE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>36,769 (ESYE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>39,897 (ESYE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>45,213 (ESYE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaza (after Karpat, 1985, 136-7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-82-93</td>
<td>83,499</td>
<td>31,000</td>
<td>31,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>19,500 Bulgarians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>650 various</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ESYE = Greek National Statistical Office.

Sources:
Karanastasis, 1991, 220-3*
Barkan, 1977, AISEE
Sokoloski, 1977, AISEE
the region, with 2,000 shops and 17 khans. The area
of the town increased vastly under the Ottomans,
while at the same time, 31 churches remained by
the region, with 2,000 shops and 17
khans (see Table), 26 churches, 22 mosques, 2 Greek schools
and 6 Turkish ones, 24 spacious khanas and a fine
market separate from the residential areas and closed
by gates. At the same period (1881-93), Ottoman cen-
suses give a figure of 83,499 for the kadi of Serres,
including 31,000 Muslims, 31,000 Greek Christians,
19,500 Bulgarian Christians, 1,000 Jews, etc. In the
First Balkan War, the town was occupied first by the
Bulgarians, who fired the ancient Byzantine town and
the Muslim quarters as far as the market when the
Greeks advanced and took it (July 1913). It was deﬁni-
tively incorporated in Greece in 1918 and entirely
reconstructed. By 1991 it had a population of 45,213,
having received a large number of refugees in 1922
and after. Amongst the monuments still preserved, the
Bezesten is now an Archaeological Museum, but the
Ottoman monuments are reduced to a fine double
hammam and three mosques, that of Mehmend Bey
being the oldest (898/1492-3) and also one of the largest
in the Balkans, that of Mustafa Bey (925/1519)
and the Zinciri Camii (estimated date, 905/1577-8).

Bibliography: Ch. E. Guys, Guide de la Macedoine,
Paris 1857; N. Moschopoulos, Greece according to Ethisa Chedei [in Greek], in Etipos Epaisia Byzantinon Spudon,
Athens 1938-40; T. Gokbilgin, XV-XVI asidh Edime ve Pasos lovisi, Istanbul 1952; O. Grossgorsky, La prise de Serres par les Turcs, in Byzantion, xxxv (1965); P. Pennas, History of Serres [in Greek], Athens 1966;
P. irène Beldiceanu-Stehmerr, Recherches sur les actes du
règne des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I, in Soc. Acad. DACban, Acta Historica, vii (Munich 1967); M. Kiel, Observations on the history of northern Greece
during the Turkish rule. Historical and architectural descrip-
tion of the Turkish monuments of Komotini and Serres ..., in
Balkan Studies, xii (Thessaloniki 1971), 415-62; N. Beldiceanu, Recherche sur la ville ottomane au XVe siècle. Etude et actes, Paris 1973; M. Sokolowski, Aperçu sur l'évolution de certaines villes plus importantes de la pari-
tière méridionale des balkans aux XVé XVIIe siècles, in Istanbul à la jonction des cultures Balkaniques, Méditerranéennes,
1977; Kemal H. Karpat, Ottoman population 1830-
1914. Demographic and social characteristics, Madison,
Wisc. 1983. See also the Bibli. to EI art. Serres.

SIRR [see Suppl.]
SIROZ — SIRWAH

SIRWAH, the name of two pre-Islamic archaeological sites in northern Yemen.

1. Sirwah Khawlan, an important Sabaean site 90 km/50 miles west of Mārib [q.v.], at lat. 15°
27' N., long. 45° 01' E., on a small plain at altitude
just under 1,500 m/4,900 feet. The site preserves
the name of the ancient town of the inscriptions, Snkh,
and near its ruins is now a modest little town, with
a stēkh and small number of inhabitants, the modern Sirwāh.

The site was discovered in 1843 by the French
scholar Joseph Arnaud, and again explored in 1870
by Joseph Hālevy and Hayyim Habshū, E. Glaser
had some inscriptions copied for him. Since the 1962
revolution in Yemen the site has become more acces-
sible, and excavations have been undertaken since
1990 by the German Archaeological Institute in San'a'.
Though not a large site, it does not possess a systematic description of the ruins, the qual-
ity of its monuments show that it was an important Sabaean centre. The main monument is the great
temple, built, according to its inscription, to the
main god of the Sabaean pantheon, Almaqāh, with the
premule apparently having the title of uā'il, sc. Awā'l
(or Awā'ān) Sirwāh. There is also the monument of
the Dar Bīlā, probably the palace of the bayy of the
Banū Dūh-Hābāb, with one inscription mention-
ing a decree in their favour by the Sabaean king
Nagha'ār (third quarter of the 3rd century A.D.).

But there are large numbers of inscriptions from the
whole site. The origins of this Sirwāh are certainly
old, but the oldest inscriptions seem to date from the
second half of the 8th century B.C. It ceased to play
any notable role after Hīmyar annexed Saba in
ca. A.D. 275. It was clearly a royal site under the
mukarrīb, and probably directly under a king.

It subsequently became the centre of an homon-
ymous tribal group, the sīr (the same process
which we ﬁnd in Nadjrān and several towns of the
Dawf of Yemen), though the extent of the group's
power is unknown. It was enlarged in the 3rd century
A.D. by other groups such as the Khawlān [q.v.], known
in Islamic times as Khawlah al-‘Aliya, and the Haymān,
the ensemble under the yāy of the Dūh-Hābāb. The
inscriptions last mention the Sirwāh in the period 4th-
6th centuries A.D., when, like other Sabaean tribes,
it must have been supplanted by the Hīmyar.

The town of Sirwāh seems, on onomastic evidence,
to have early contained speakers of Arabic. Adminis-
tratively, a kābih is mentioned who was presumably
the representative there of royal power. The region
had in antiquity palm trees, now totally absent, prob-
ably from the decay of irrigation works.

The town played no role in Islamic times, but its
site became a great mythic one for Islamic historians
(cf. Grohmann, EI art.), and al-Handānī mentions it
regularly (Kull, viii, Art. text 24, 45, 49, 75), also
with frequent citations of poetry mentioning it. The
historians regarded Dūh-Sirwāh (all knowledge of Dūh-
Hābāb having been lost) as one of the eight most
noble lineages of ancient Yemen, the Maḥāṁīna [q.v.]
the adḥwas (aka the landed aristocracy of the great
noble lineages of ancient Yemen, the Mathamina 
(wardh being the landed aristocracy of the
futa was worn in place of trousers (e.g. in India). The word
SIRWAL
Juta is of Indian origin, and means a simple cloth
"wearing") being comparatively recent. The former author
visited the site, and describes fourteen palaces there,
ruinous, some still inhabited (ṣabī, vii, 95, Eng.
tr. 61); but it is hardly ever mentioned in poetry.
A third Sīrāwāh, amongst the Banū Bahlīl, to the
south-east of Sana'a, is mentioned by the modern author
al-Hādżīr, but this has now disappeared.

Bibliography: 1. Arabic sources. Hamdānī,
Ṣiya, ed. Müller, idem, Ḳātīl, ed. Muḥ. al-Akwā' al-
Hiwāli, Cairo 1833/1835, Eng. tr. of vol. vii, N.A.
Fāris, Princeton 1938, Ar. text of vol. viii, ed. idem,
Princeton 1940; Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Hāḍżīr, Maḍjamū'
balāṭl al-ṣanām wa-kaḥlīṭāhī, ed. Ismā'īl al-Akwā',
Ṣanā'a 1404/1984.

Studies and works in Western
languages. M. Arne, in JA, 4ª sér., v (Jan.-June
1845), 208-45, 309-45; vi (July-Dec. 1845), 169-81;
J. Halévy, Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le
Yémen, in JA, 6ª sér., xix (Jan.-June 1872), 5-98,
129-266, 489-547; Jacqueline Pirenne, A la découverte
de l'Arabie, cinquante siècles de science et d'aventure,
Paris 1958; M. Höfler, Inschriften aus Sirwāh Ḥa'lān
(I. Teil), in SB Öster. Akad. phil.-hist. Kl., cxvii,
Abb. 5 (1976); Ch. Robin, Les études sudarabiques en langue
française, 1902, in Raydān, iii (1900), 189-98; idem,
Les Haute-Terres du Nord-Yémen avant l'Islam, Istanbul
1982; idem, L'Arabie antique de Karīlīt à Mahometh.
Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscrip-
ions, in RMMM, lx (1991-3); idem, Inaba', Ḩaram,
sudarabiques I, Paris-Rome 1992; idem, Ṣubāh. II. Dans
les inscriptions d'Arabie du Sud, in Suppl. au Dict.
de la Bible, fse. 70, Paris 1996, cols. 1047-1254;
J. Schmidt, Die Runen von Sirwāh-Arhab und der Tempel
des ʿAlāʾī da-dābān, in Archäol. Berichte aus dem
Yemen, iv (1987), 195-201 (wrongful attribution of this
temple; more probably to Ṭabāb Riyām**, master of Marbaḍān). (CH. ROBIN)

SIRWĀL (a.), trousers. Trousers are not origin-
ally an Arab garment but were introduced, proba-
ably from Persia. From quite early times, other people
have copied the thing and the name from the Persians
and it almost looks as if Persia were the original home
of trousers (cf. Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber
zur Zeit der Sassaniden, 136, n. 3). The Greek σαρδώνας
or σαρδέλλας, Latin sarabala (perhaps also Aramaic sarbēl),
Daniel, iii, 21; cf. Syriac šarbālān) and the Arabic
sirwāl are all derived from old Persian žarwurūn,
the modern Persian žallur (which is explained as from
ğall "thigh", with a suffix -sərd); to sirwāl in turn
may be traced the corresponding word among the
Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Tartars, Siberian peoples
and Kalmarks in the east and the Spanish and Portu-
guese in the west. The form sirwāl has probably been
influenced by the word sirbāl meaning garment in
general (explained as a development of the root s-b-l
and an originally Semitic word). This occurs in some
early Arabic poetry and in the Kur'an, but not sirwāl.

The Arab grammarians retained a memory of the
Persian origin of the word. As frequently with loan-
words, sirwāl shows several formations in Arabic, sing.
sirwāla, sirwāla, sirwāl, dialectic qirwāl, modern also
qirwāl, and the question is continually discussed
whether it is tripitote or dipitote; pl. sarīwāl and
double pl. sarwīwāl both also with ǧīn and dialectic
sārān, dipitote only but usually (like the word for
trousers in some other languages) used with singular
meaning and varying in sex between masc. and fem.;
dimin. surąyyl, plur. surąyylāt; (ta)ṣarwāla has been formed as a
denominative verb.

When the word entered Arabic and the garment was
adopted by Muslims is not exactly known, but the
Muslims must have become acquainted with
trousers in the very early days of Islam, at the latest
during the conquest of Persia. Tradition usually traces
them to the Prophet Muhammad, and even attributes
pre-Islamic prophets with wearing them. A ḥadīth says,
"the first to wear trousers was the prophet Abraham,
wherefore he will be the first to be clothed on the
day of judgment". Another ḥadīth tells us that Moses
was wearing trousers of wool on the day on which
God spoke with him. It is related in one tradition of
the Prophet Muhammad that he bought trousers from
the clothiers, but it is uncertain whether he actually
wore them; on one occasion he replied to the ques-
tion whether he wore them, "Yes, when travelling
and at home, by day and night; I was commanded
to cover myself and I know no covering really bet-
ter than these". According to another ḥadīth, he rec-
ommends the wearing of trousers in the words, "be
different from the people of the book, who wear nei-
ther trousers nor ṣarāt". But other stories deny posi-
tively that he wore them, and it is also contested
whether the caliph 'Uthmān wore them. The inter-
mediate view is that it is permitted to wear trousers,
ṣaḥāba, ṭā ba's biḥi.

In contrast to men, to whom all that has been said
so far applies, the wearing of trousers is recommended for
women in all ḥadīths. It is said, for example, "Put
on trousers, for they are the garments that cover one
best, and protect your women with them when they
are going out"; or "God has mercy upon the women
who wear trousers" (yāḥamu lāṭa'ī l-muṣawarudātī min al-ninā); or "a woman came past riding one day and fell off.
The Prophet turned aside in order not to see her,
and was only put at his ease when he was told that
she was muṣawarudātī". Other ḥadīths fix the length of
the trousers as being to the ankles, not longer; as a
concession, as a protection against insects, they may
be a little longer but must not trail on the ground.

The pilgrim who is muḥrīm is forbidden to wear
trousers (along with certain other garments). But even
the ṣubāl in trousers was maṭrāk according to the
strictest view, and must be repeated; trousers are also
considered unfitting for the muʿaḍḍahin.

In actual practice, little attention has been paid to
all such restrictions, and numerous passages in his-
torical and geographical literature, in books of travel
and in adab literature, show that trousers have proba-
bly been worn in most Muslim lands since the early
centuries of the Hāḍira. It is quite exceptional to find
the statement that in one region a so-called ṣubāl was
worn in place of trousers (e.g. in India). The word
ṣubāl is of Indian origin, and means a simple cloth
which is worn in place of trousers (e.g. in India). The word
ṣubāl is of Indian origin, and means a simple cloth
which is worn in place of trousers (e.g. in India). The word
ṣubāl is of Indian origin, and means a simple cloth
which is worn in place of trousers (e.g. in India). The word

with a seam, which was fastened in front and behind the girdle. A *futa* of this kind—those from the regions, where trousers were usually worn, by women in negligee in the house instead of trousers (cf. Ibn al-Hajj, *Kitāb al-Mudkhāl*, Cairo 1320, i, 118).

Oriental trousers differ very much in different countries. They are of all possible widths, from wide pantaloons, which are only drawn together at the bottom over the feet, to close-fitting shapes which look more like drawers and indeed are so-called by European travellers. They are also of very different lengths, from knee-breeches, especially for soldiers, to long trousers coming to below the feet. Colours were dependent not only on fashion (at times, only natural colours were considered chic, and artificial colours not at all) but also on political considerations; the 'Abbasid colour, for example, was black and that of the Fāṭimids white. As regards material, a famous Persian speciality was silken trousers; in Egypt and the adjoining lands, the white Egyptian linen was popular, trousers of red leather are mentioned as the dress of the women in the market of lights at Cairo, and so on.

In contrast to the European fashion, trousers in the East are worn next to the bare body under the other garments (cf. al-Dāhīzī, *Kitāb al-Tādīq*, ed. Zeki Pacha, 154 below; the shirt and the trousers are *ghīrār*, the other garments, *dīhrār*, are worn above) and are supported not by braces but by a special girdle tied round the body, called the *tikka* (modern *dikka*). Although the *tiqāk* were covered by the other garments and could not be seen, they were the objects of a particular extravagance, being adorned with inscriptions, usually of an erotic nature; the most famous and valuable were the *tiqāk* made in Armenia of Persian silk. The prohibition against wearing them issued by the *fakhr al-Dīn* had scarcely any effect. A thousand pairs of trousers of brocade with a thousand trouser bands of silk from Armenia (cf. *sārwal* daybāhīya bi-alī *tikka barī marmu*), were, according to al-Mahrajī, al-Khālidī, ed. Bulāk, ii, 4, part of the estate of an Egyptian noble (cf. Ibn Khalīkān, Bulāk 1299, i, 110; a thousand jewelled *tikkas* were given to the daughter of Khūmārāwāy b. Ahmad b. Tūlūn *q.v.* on her wedding; the *tikka* was also used as a love-token sent by a lady to her admirer.

For practical reasons, trousers formed part of a soldier’s dress. Al-Tabarī records that even the Umayyad soldiers already wore *sārwal* made of a coarse cloth called *muḥ*. Under the latter, they wore very short drawers called *tubbān*, which were made of hair. When Islam adopted the old Oriental custom of granting robes of honour (*khīda*; see *guīr*), trousers were included among them; indeed, they were sometimes regarded as the most valuable part of the gift. Originally the garments of honour given were not new, but had been worn by the donor; he ought to have worn them at least once.

As a kind of uniform and a garment of honour, the trousers play a very special part in the Muslim *futuwwa* (*q.v.*) organisations. In the ceremonial reception of a new member into the guild, an essential feature of the initiation ceremony (*ṣāwaṭ* [*q.v.*]) is the putting on of the *sārwal* al-*futuwwa*, often briefly called *futuwwa*. Here also stress is laid on the point that the *kaḥbīr* or *ṣāwād* must have either previously worn them himself or at least gone into far enough to touch them with his knees. The *sārwal* had occasionally a similar importance for the *fāwī* as had the *kīrka* [*q.v.*] for the *Sūfīs*. An oath was taken on the *sārwal* (this oath is, however, invalid according to Ibn Tamiyya); they could also be put on a coat of arms [*see RANK*] with a cup, *ka*).

The putting on of the *sārwal al-futuwwa* acquired a certain political significance under the "reformer of the futuwwa", the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir (575-6227/ 1170-1225 [g.e.]), about whose grants of *sārwal* a few stories have been preserved by the historians. He sent embassies to the petty dynasts of Syria, Persia and India with the demand that they and their nobles should put on the *sārwal al-futuwwa* for the caliph. This was done with solemn ceremonial and they thereby placed themselves under the protection of the caliph as overlord of the *futuwwa*. The same Nāṣir seems to have limited the right of investiture to a very few, and his successors also claimed the right for themselves. But others did it, for example the Mamlūk sultan al-Aṣghar Nāṣir al-Dīn (764-78/1363- 76) of Egypt two centuries after al-Nāṣir.

When the *futuwwa* guilds declined, other organisations with political or other aims adopted their external ceremonies, and laid special stress on the putting on of trousers in the guild of this name, for example, under the caliph al-Muktaṣf, and a secret Sunnī association in Damascus called the Nabāwiyya with anti-Shī‘a tendencies, mentioned by Ibn Dhubayr. But with the disappearance of the *futuwwa*, the original significance of the *sārwal* as a badge of chivalry was no longer understood, and they became combined with the *kīrka* of the *Sūfīs* into the *kīrkas* al-*futuwwa*.

For the expression *sārwal al-futuwwa* we also find *lihās al-futuwwa* with the same meaning "trousers" and in Egyptian Arabic, *lihās* (see Lane) acquired the general meaning of "drawers" (i.e. for men; for those of women there is a new foreign word, *ṣintiyūn*, for which see Dozy, *Suppl.*). This circumstance is a criterion for ascertaining the Egyptian texts in the 1001 Nights; they replace the word *sārwal* of the non-Egyptian texts without exception by *lihās*.

In many expressions *sīrwal* is used metaphorically. Thus muṣnūm is a pigeon with feathered legs, a horse with white legs or a tree with branches down on the trunk. *Shawsh al-dīr* ‘rogue’s trousers’ and *sārwal al-taḥāk* (cuckoo-trousers) (*inariya elatina*) are the names of plants (on the other hand, *sārwal* or *ṣawdīl* or *sawdīl* for “cypress” is formed from the well-known word *sawdīl* with the article after it and has nothing to do with *sīrwal*).

century Egypt: Lane, Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, 1860, 28-9.—Mecca: Snouck Hurgronje, Ablekansche Sprichwörter, no. 57 (also Vererz. Gesch. v. 84-5).—Morocco: L. Brunot, Noms des vêtements masculins à Rabat, in Mélanges René Basset, Paris 1923, i, 87 ff.; esp. 95, 107.——Illustrations: A. Rosenberg, Geschichte des Kostüms, table 296, 374 ff.; Tilke, Orientalische Kostüme in Schnitt und Farbe, Berlin 1923; see also idem, Studien zur Entwicklungs geschichte des orientalischen Kostüms, Berlin 1923, 25, 32. See also LIBAS. (W. BJORKMAN)

SÎS, a town of Cilicia in southern Anatolia, a capital city Sis and Sis in Yâkût, Al-Baladhuri, Ber-Sisin, ii, 297-8), mediaeval Latin Sis and Sis; in mediaeval French sources the forms Assis and Oussais are also found. In later mediaeval times it became also the capital of the Christian kingdom of Cilician Armenia, and subsequently, the Turkish town of Kozan, modern Kozan. It lies in lat. 37° 27' N. and long. 35° 47' E. at an altitude of 290 m/950 feet against an out lying mountain of the Taurus range, on a river which eventually flows into the Euphrates (Eshyya). Before the Middle Ages, nothing is known about this town; the attempted identifications with antique localities (some have thought of Flavias, others of Fûn deniussis) are very doubtful.

In the Byzantine period we hear of the Arabs besieging in vain the Σίσιον ήπερον in Cilicia, in the sixth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius III Apsimarus = 703 (Theophanes, loc. cit., he. cit.; cf. Yaküt, local cit., where the years erroneously are given as 94 or 93). A further mention of Sis is found during the wars of the Hamdanid crusaders. The kings of Cilicia, moreover, had a summer residence in the Taurus, to the north of Sis, Barjirberd, which was also their treasure-house. Likewise, in modern times, the inhabitants of Sis to the towns which suffered from the earthquake of 194/808-10, which event may be connected with the taking of Jerusalem by Salah al-Dîn, written by the Catholicos Grigor IV (d. 1189; in this poem the form Sisian is to be noted: Rec. des hist. des Cruzades. Doc. arm., i, 301). In the year 1212 it was at Sis that the coronation of Leo’s grand-nephew and co-regent Ruben took place. This ceremony was witnessed by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who in his Peregrinatio gives a short account of the town.

It is surprising that, according to this traveller, the town had no wall; it seems that the stronghold was deemed sufficient for defence. Still in 1375, when Sis was taken by the Mamlûks, there was no town wall. The royal palace, together with some other buildings, were enclosed with a wall; it seems to be this complex which is called by Jehan Dardel the bourg, and it must be distinguished from the castle on the mountain.

The kings of Cilicia, moreover, had a summer-residence in the Taurus, to the north of Sis, Barjirberd, which was also their treasure-house. Likewise, in modern times, the inhabitants of Sis, during the summer, have tended to leave the unhealthy town, to take summer habitations (yaylak) in the mountains.

The political history of Sis is, of course, intimately connected with the general history of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom. The chief feature of that history consists in the struggle for existence which that kingdom had to carry on against the Mamlûk sultanate of Egypt; it is therefore not surprising that the chief events connected with the town are attacks of the Mamlûk armies and ravages wrought by them. Other foes were of minor consequence; an attack of a Turkoman chief in the year of the accession of Leo II (1187) was repelled by that prince, but the Turkomans, during the reign of the following kings, remained a menace to the Cilician kingdom. These nomads, whenever a strong government was lacking, availed themselves of the opportunity to seize pasture-grounds; we shall find them, under the Kozaan-oqghullar (see below) in the actual possession of the territory of Sis in the first half of the 19th century. On the occasion of the Egyptian attack of 1266, the town of Sis, with its cathedral, was burnt down and the royal tombs were desecrated. Other Egyptian incursions in the district of Sis occurred in the years 1275, 1276, 1298 and 1303; in the last-named year, the city itself was plundered by the enemy. In 1321 the environs again suffered from hostile attack; this time it was the Il Khânid Mongol governor of Rûm, Timûrînshâ, who, on the instigation, as it seems, of the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Nâşir, carried out his ravages in the district of Sis. A similar incursion was made by the then officiating governor of Aleppo, by order of the same sultan in the year 1340; the incursions from the amîr of Aleppo were repeated in 1359 and 1369; both times the town was taken. In the meantime, Sis had suffered from the great epidemic, which in Europe, during that same time, is known under the name of the “Black Death” (1348).
However, the end of the Cilician kingdom was imminent. The last king, Leo VI (de Lusignan), was reduced to his capital, Sis; after the retreat of the Egyptians, the Turkomans fell upon the land; then, in the years 1374 and 1375 came the catastrophe. The siege of Sis during these years by the Mamlûk army of al-Ashraf Sha'bân II, and the final taking of the town, wherein the enemy was assisted by the treason of some nobles and of the Catholics, are described in detail in the chronicle of Jehan Dardel, who had been chaplain to King Leo VI since 1377, Leo being then a prisoner at Cairo.

From the ecclesiastical history of Sis during the time of the Cilician kingdom, only the following facts may be mentioned.

The patriarchs of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom fixed their seat at Sis in 1292. On 29 June of that year, Rûm Kal'esi [q.v.], which was the former seat of Akdamar, was taken by the Mamlûks, and the throne of the Cilician patriarchs was established. On 30 June, the see of Sis was placed under the suzerainty of the Patriarch of Echmiadzin. The last Cilician patriarch was Grigor VII. His sepulcher was a small house, a veranda, and some rooms in which he resided, and where he received the Armenians. The see of Sis was ceded to the Porte, and the council of Sis was dissolved. The capital and main port city was Sis, which, in 1292, was redeemed, with other relics, from the hand of St. Grigor, the apostle of the Armenians, for the infidels by king Hethum II. After the Mamlûk conquest, the patriarchs, at first, had no fixed residence; they came only to the town of Sis to perform some ecclesiastical duties, e.g. the benediction of the sacred oil (myron). Under the rule of the Rubenids and Lusignans, the habitation of the patriarchs had been within the circumvallation of the royal dwellings. After the period of their wandering, the patriarchs obtained from the Mamlûk authorities permission to reside in the town. First, this residence of the patriarch was an ordinary house; in 1374, long after the Turkish conquest, a monastery was founded by the patriarch Lucas, which seems to have been the seat of the patriarchate until 1810, when the patriarch Kirakos founded another monastery, in which the patriarchate was established when V. Langlois visited Sis (1833). A little before 1874, the patriarchate was expelled from Sis and migrated to 'Ayn Tâb, the present Gaziantepe.

But if the ecclesiastical history of the town continued until modern times, politically Sis soon became insignificant. Immediately after the Egyptian conquest, Sis remained the capital of a new province, which included Ayâs, Tarsus, Adana, Maşşasîa and Ramaşdînya, the whole being dependent on Aleppo. In 893/1488 Sis was taken by the Ottomans, during the war between Bâyezîd II and the Mamlûks. Afterwards, the town belonged to the realm of the Turkoman dynasty of the Ramaşdîn Oghulları [q.v.], whose members, however, since the time of the fifth prince, Khalîl b. Maḥmûd, were vassals to the Porte. Hâşikî Khalîfâ, in his Dîvân-nâmâ contrasts the once flourishing condition of the district of Sis with its unprofitable state in his time. Under Ottoman administration, Sis belonged to the vilâyet of Adana and the sanjak of Kozan. When Langlois visited the locality, he found it to be a village, consisting of ca. 200 houses, inhabited by Turks and Armenians. There was a mosquî and a bazaar, the Turkoman beg of the Kozanoglu tribe was virtually the ruler, for the selîd of Adana had no authority whatever in Sis. The village, moreover, paid no tribute to the Porte. The mountain-stronghold of Sis, built by Leo II (Sîs Kal'esi) was in a tolerable state of preservation. According to a statement of 1894 (Sâmî Bey Frağî) Sis then had ca. 3,500 inhabitants, 2 mosques, 3 churches and 3 medreses. Its territory, though fertile, was insufficiently cultivated, but in its neighbourhood there were many gardens.

For further details on Sis/Kozan in Ottoman and recent times, see the arts. KÖZAN and KÖZAN-OGULLARı.


SISAM (V.F. BOCHNER*)

SISAM, the Turkish name for Samos, an island in the south-eastern Aegean alongside the Turkish coast, from which only 1.8 km/1.2 miles separate it at the narrowest point of the Dar Boghaz/Stenon Samou.

With an area of 468 km², Samos is one of the larger islands in the Aegean, and today forms, with Ikaria and a few other islands, one of Greece's 52 nomoi. The capital and main port city is situated on the north-eastern coast inside the bay of Vathy, and was known by this name until ougrowned by a suburb called Samos. The nearest important port on the Turkish coast is Kuşadası [see AYA SOLÜK], and there is frequent boat service between the two.

Samos was a Byzantine possession in the early Middle Ages. There were two raids by the Arabs of Crete in 889 and 911, and in 1090 it was incorporated in the short-lived maritime principality of the Seldjuk prince Çâka or Çâkân (1089-92). In the first half of the 14th century, Aydin-oghlu Umûr Bey raided it, but in 1420 Börklijije Mustafa, the leader of a popular revolt with proto-socialist overtones on Urla peninsula, established friendly contacts with Orthodox prelates on Samos. Subsequently the Genoese of Chios gained control of the island, but soon abandoned it after having transferred some of its population to their chief possession. The first Ottoman occupation occurred under Mehemmed II Faîû in 884/1479, and an effort was made to repopulate the island; a fort was erected on the site of the ancient port of Tiganî on the southern coast, but was abandoned under Bâyezîd II, and the island was left to its own devices. It was in that period that the Turkish mariner and corsair Piri Re'îs [q.v.] recorded certain salient features of Samos: the sparsely populated island had splendid growths of tall trees which the Hospitals of Rhodes [see RODOS] used to harvest as timber for their shipbuilding and for export; there were large herds of gazelles (âkâ; perhaps deer) and boars, both of which the visitors hunted for consumption and sale.
By the time Pir' Re'îs wrote the 1526 version of his portolan, Rhodes had fallen to the Ottomans, and the anchorage on Samos's southern coast served as a convenient stopover for Turkish warships sailing from Istanbul, providing shelter and drinking water for 200 ships.

In 1695/1562 Kâlidî 'Ali Paşa [see 'âthîq 'Ali] re-established the Ottoman presence on Samos while holding it as his own revenue-bringing fief, and increasing its population through transfers from other places (chiefly from other islands and mainland Greece, but also from Albania; Turks or other Anatolians were seemingly excluded); upon his death in 1587, it became a kâdî's property of the sultan, yielding 400,000 kurush annually; out of this amount, 101,000 kurush remained reserved as aâkhîf income supporting a mosque which the Paşa had built at Tophane in Istanbul. From then on, and until the 1820s, the only visible tie with Istanbul was a civil servant called agha residing in Khora; he was seconded by a deputy called na'dîb who also supervised judicial matters as kâdîî, a metropolitian, was the head of the Greek Orthodox population. There was no Turkish military presence, but the practice of taking  ❝aâkhîf solution of G. Hoffmann, the name of the town of Sinna or Senna [see SANANDAJ] might be a contraction of the old form Şâdkhînîya. There is not sufficient evidence, however, to show that the site of the modern Sinna/Sanandaj is identical with that of the town of Sîsâr. In the district of Sîr (al-Bâlûdharî, 130), there were at first only the grazing-grounds of the caliph al-Mahdi (158-69/775-85). This intermediate zone between three great provinces soon became a refuge for outlaws (al-wâlîk wa-'l-dhârâ) and the caliph ordered his superintendents to build a town. These lands formed a separate district (kûra) which was extended by the addition of the following cantons (rûstûk): 1. Maypâhradj, detached from Dinawar; 2. Dîljûhama (?), detached from the kûra of Barza in Adharbaydân; and 3. Khândîdar (?), Hârûn al-Râshid stationed a garrison of 1,000 men at Sîsâr. Sîsâr was later the scene of battles between a certain Murra al-Rudâvîn al-Mâ'jîyâ and rebels and perhaps outlaws under 'Uthmân al-Awdî (Yâkût, iii, 216). The caliph al-Ma'mûn made Humâm b. Hâni' al-'Abdî govern Sîsâr, which became a crown domain. In the 7th/13th century Yâkût was able to add very little to the information given by al-Bâlûdharî. In the 8th/14th century Hamd Allah Mustawfi no longer mentions Sîsâr. On the other hand, he talks of the "mountain of Sinna" forming the boundary of Adharbaydân and the "pass of Sinna" in the mountains of Kurdistân in which was the source of the Taghût. The Dîshân-nâmû of Hâdîjî Khâlîfî, while marking correctly on the map the exact site and correct name of Taghût, gives in the text the wrong reading n-f-t-aw which Norberg in his translation (Lund 1818, i, 547) rendered by Neftu. Quatremére introduced the reading Nağhâtî found in an edition of Mir'âhî and G. Hoffmann admitted the identity of this river with the Khorkhûra (a right bank tributary of the Djaghatu). But there is no proof of the actual existence of the name Nağhâtî, and the text of Mustawfi may simply indicate that in his day the frontier between Adharbaydân and Sînâ was marked by the watershed between the Taghût [see SAXW SULK] and Bâna. This last district had long been a dependency of Sinna. So in this way the 8th/14th century, the name Sinâ (Sînâ, Sînâ) has become substituted for that of Sîsâr and its later history will be found in the article SANANDAJ. As to the date of origin of this town, it may be noted that in 1039/1630 place Sîsâr on the Dinawar-Marâqeh road 20-22 far-sâhû (3 stages) north of Dinawar [Ibn Khuradadhbeh, 119-21; Kudama, 212; al-Mukaddasî, 382]. According to al-Bâlûdharî, Fadlî, 311, Sîsâr occupied a depression (înhâdâ) which was flooded by a Turkish expeditionary force, emerged from the only recourse). The uneventfulness of this period was broken by Venetian invasions during the Habsburg-Ottoman war (1683-99) and by Russian occupation (1711-4) during the Russo-Turkish war. A unique sequence of events occurred as a result of the Greek War of Independence (1821-9). The Samioti, who possessed a small merchant marine, not only joined the cause but sent an expedition to Chios exhorting that important island to rebel (for the consequences there, see SAKIZ). Samos, although invaded by a Turkish expeditionary force, emerged from the turbulence unharmed and thanks to the intervention of Britain, France and Russia, obtained an autonomy that surpassed that of Chios. From 1833 until 1913, it was governed by an Orthodox wali (begemîn in Greek; "prince" in western renditions) and an assembly of 37 deputies, from among whom a committee of four was chosen as the island's government; the laws were those of mainland Greece, and Greece was seemingly excluded); upon his death in 1587, it became a kâdî's property of the sultan, yielding 400,000 kurush annually; out of this amount, 101,000 kurush remained reserved as aâkhîf income supporting a mosque which the Paşa had built at Tophane in Istanbul. From then on, and until the 1820s, the only visible tie with Istanbul was a civil servant called agha residing in Khora; he was seconded by a deputy called na'dîb who also supervised judicial matters as kâdîî, a metropolitian, was the head of the Greek Orthodox population. There was no Turkish military presence, but the practice of taking aâkhîf

In the district of Sîr (al-Bâlûdharî, 130), there were at first only the grazing-grounds of the caliph al-Mahdi (158-69/775-85). This intermediate zone between three great provinces soon became a refuge for outlaws (al-wâlîk wa-'l-dhârâ) and the caliph ordered his superintendents to build a town. These lands formed a separate district (kûra) which was extended by the addition of the following cantons (rûstûk): 1. Maypâhradj, detached from Dinawar; 2. Dîljûhama (?), detached from the kûra of Barza in Adharbaydân; and 3. Khândîdar (?), Hârûn al-Râshid stationed a garrison of 1,000 men at Sîsâr. Sîsâr was later the scene of battles between a certain Murra al-Rudâvîn al-Mâ'jîyâ and rebels and perhaps outlaws under 'Uthmân al-Awdî (Yâkût, iii, 216). The caliph al-Ma'mûn made Humâm b. Hâni' al-'Abdî govern Sîsâr, which became a crown domain.

In the 7th/13th century Yâkût was able to add very little to the information given by al-Bâlûdharî. In the 8th/14th century Hamd Allah Mustawfi no longer mentions Sîsâr. On the other hand, he talks of the "mountain of Sinna" forming the boundary of Adharbaydân and the "pass of Sinna" in the mountains of Kurdistân in which was the source of the Taghût. The Dîshân-nâmû of Hâdîjî Khâlîfî, while marking correctly on the map the exact site and correct name of Taghût, gives in the text the wrong reading n-f-t-aw which Norberg in his translation (Lund 1818, i, 547) rendered by Neftu. Quatremére introduced the reading Nağhâtî found in an edition of Mir'âhî and G. Hoffmann admitted the identity of this river with the Khorkhûra (a right bank tributary of the Djaghatu). But there is no proof of the actual existence of the name Nağhâtî, and the text of Mustawfi may simply indicate that in his day the frontier between Adharbaydân and Sînâ was marked by the watershed between the Taghût [see SAXW SULK] and Bâna. This last district had long been a dependency of Sinna. So in this way the 8th/14th century, the name Sinâ (Sînâ, Sînâ) has become substituted for that of Sîsâr and its later history will be found in the article SANANDAJ. As to the date of origin of this town, it may be noted that in 1039/1630
Khosrew Pasha [q. v.] destroyed Hasanabad which was the capital of the princes of Ardalân (von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 87). Only forty years later, Tavernier (*Les six voyages*, Paris 1692, i, 197) speaks of his visits to Sulaymân Khâşâ in *SARAS*.


**SISKA,** the Ottoman Turkish form for the Croatian town of *Sisak* (lat. 45° 30’ N., long. 16° 22’ E.). It is situated in a wide plain at the confluence of the Odra, Kupa and Save (River) rivers some 50 km/30 miles southeast of Zagreb, hence in the 16th-18th centuries on the edge of Krajina, the "military frontier" of Austria, facing the Ottoman empire.

Sisak was founded in the 4th century B.C. by the Scordisci, a people of Celtic origin established on the Save and Danube, where they mingled with the Illyrians, then passed under Roman domination (as Segestica, and then Sciscia), then under that of the Avars, Croats, Hungarians (as Siszek), Austrians and Austro-Hungarians before being included (with Croatia as a whole) in 1918 in the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, then becoming the kingdom of Yugoslavia. During the Second World War, Sisak came within the fascist Croat state of Ante Pavelic, then the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and finally, in the Croatian Republic. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Sisak has been best known as an important river port and an industrial centre (blast furnaces, heavy metal industries and petroleum refining).

In fact, the history of Sisak is only relevant for us during a brief period of four years, 1591-4. At the time of the Ottoman campaigned of the 10th/11th century, Sisak was a strategic point in the last line of defences for Zagreb, which is on the Kupa. Between 1544 and 1550, a solid, triangular fortress, comprising three fortified towers, was built, using the remains of the old Roman town, and this played a great role towards the end of the century, especially when the town was successively attacked by Hasan Pasha ("Predojevic"), beylerbeyi of Bosnia, who first besieged it, in vain, in 1591. In the next year, Hasan conquered northwestern Bosnia, with the town of Bihać, after having taken the fortress of Petrinja (Yeni Hisar) in Croatia, not far from Sisak, which he rebuilt. He again besieged Sisak, unsuccessfully in July 1592, devastated the vicinity and carried off many slaves. A year later, he came back for a third time, with an army which certain sources number at 25,000 men, and on 15 June 1593 began the siege once more. This event unleashed the "Long War" between Turkey and Austria, which lasted until 1606 and the peace treaty of Zsitvatorok. Since the battle involved the Ottomans in this part of Europe, it was hailed with great joy in the West (cf. the main references to pamphlets, articles and archival documents, in K.M. Setton, *Venezia, Austria and the Turks in the seventeenth century*, Philadelphia 1991, 6-7), and also gave rise to a popular Croatian poetry celebrating the victory. Nevertheless, hardly two months later, on 24 August 1593, Sisak was taken by assault by the beylerbeyi of Greece and Thrace, Hasan, who installed a garrison in the fortress (where naturally, a mosque was now built) commanded by a certain Ibrahim Beg. But this conquest was in turn of brief duration, since in autumn 1594, faced by the advance of Christian troops, the Ottomans evacuated Sisak and its fortress definitely, so that it never subsequently came within the Dâr al-Islâm.


**SISTÂN,** the form usually found in Persian sources, early Arabic form Sîstân, a region of eastern Persia lying to the south of Khurasân and to the north of Balûcistan, now administratively divided between Persia and Afghanistan. In early Arabic historical and literary texts one finds as nisbas both Sidjîstân and Sidjî, in Persian, Sistân.

1. Etymology.

The early Arabic form reflects the origin of the region's name in MP Sâsâkât "land of the Sakas", the Indo-European Scythian people who had dominated what is now Afghanistan and northwestern India towards the end of the first millennium B.C. and the first century or so A.D. Earlier designations of the region had been the Avestan one "land of the Haētu-man"; i.e. land of the Helmand river, appearing in the early Greek geographical sources as Érymânus; and the OP Zara(n)ka or Zra(n)ka of the Behistun inscription of Darius I and the Persepolis one of Xerxes, appearing in Herodotus as the land of the Sarangai, the Drangiana of the time of Alexander the Great and the Zarangânâh of Isidore of Charax (probably 1st century A.D.). This latter form survived into early Islamic times as the name of the capital, Zarang [q.v.], current up to Saltûk times. The oldest MP text with the form *Sastân* is the Nakhchî Rustam inscription of Shâpur I (239 or 241 to 270 or 273 [see Sîstân], Sîkân, indicating Sastân or Sagastân.

But already in the Sîstân-nâmâ of Firdawsi one finds the region also called Nirmûz, lit. "midday", i.e. the land to the south of Khurâsân, "the eastern land", and this appears in the Ghaznavid sources (5th/11th century) detailing the component provinces of the empire of Sultan Mas’tûd b. Mahmûd. From Saltûk times, it becomes frequent for the region, at the side of Sîstân, and the local rulers there were, from the 5th/11th century onwards, known as the Malik of Nirmûz; the geographical term Nirmûz has been revived in Afghanistan during the 20th century (see below, 3. History). See on these topics C.E. Bosworth,

2. Topography and climate.

Geographically, Sistan forms a shallow basin at an average altitude of 482 m/1,580 feet above sea level, with its lowest point in the southernmost depression of the Gawd-i Zirih, some 12 m/40 feet below sea level. The highest elevation is the Kūh-i Khīshdājī, so-called after a local saint, which rises 120 m/400 feet above the level of the region between the Hāmūn-i Puzāk and the Gawd-i Zirih (see below), and in times of inundation rises out of the water as an island. There is a large, central sheet of water, fringed with marshes which is only filled in May when rivers like the Helmand (gāhār) and the northern feeders like the Khīshd Rūd and the Farāh Rūd bring in water from the melted snows of the mountains of Ghūr (gāhār) in central Afghanistan; the feeders from the west are insignificant. The lake may then cover over 140 sq. miles, and it straddles both of the modern countries of Persia and Afgānāstān. The rising summer temperatures and the "wind of 120 days" (see below) reduce this sheet of water in summer to three separate, permanent sheets, the Hāmūn-i Sīburī and the Hāmūn-i Puzāk in the north and the Hāmūn-i Helmand in the south. Only the last is completely within Persian territory, and forms the largest sheet of permanent water on the Persian plateau. When the water level is particularly high, the Hāmūn-i Helmand discharges its surplus water into a channel, the Sharīa or modern Shibāl Rūd, leading to the depression of the Gawd-i Zirih (the Arīa palus of the classical geographers; it is also mentioned in the Shooter, in which Kay Khurraw sails across the Abī Zirih when pursuing Afrāsīyāb, the Helmand appearing there as the Hirmandi). Natural drainage into the Gawd-i Zirih helps to keep the waters of the central lake clear and fresh. Feeder waters like the Helmand bring down with their spring flooding vast quantities of silt, which seem to be redistributed around the basin by action of the winds, since the general level of the basin does not rise. Western travellers have noted one of the features of the climate of Sīstān, described by the Arabic geographers of a thousand years before, the notorious bād-i sad u bist rāz "wind of 120 days", which blows from the northwest from May to October and may reach 120 k.p.h./75 m.p.h. The wind carries dust and sand particles, which have a powerful abrasive effect on the terrain, stripping vegetation and light soil covering away, eroding buildings and causing intense evaporation from the stretches of water. Hence whilst the winters can be cold, they are usually healthy, whereas the summers are hot, humid and febrile, with a host of noxious insects and snakes (in mediaeval Islamic times, Sīstān was known for its poisonous vipers, gātī). The alluvial soil of Sīstān allows the cultivation of crops, the greater part of them being winter ones like wheat, barley and beans, with legumes, melons and fodder crops as summer ones. There are few trees—C.E. Yate noted only the decayed remains of date palms—except tamarisks along the banks of the water-courses and canals; Sir Percy Sykes described them as forming one of the few jungles he had seen in Persia.

The effects of climate and water-supply have meant that the topography of Sīstān has been constantly changing all through history. River channels have regularly changed their course, making the restoration of the historical geography of mediaeval Sīstān extremely difficult. Conservatism in building techniques and the almost universal use of sun-dried brick (see Lābd) as a construction material have meant that very few ancient buildings have survived the effects of the eroding winds; there are few inscriptions and there have been few coin finds, so that the buildings that remain are accordingly difficult to date. These processes of weathering have been aggravated by earthquakes; thus the Mīl-i Kāsimābād, an imposing, free-standing minaret or tower with Kūfic inscriptions describing its construction by a 6th/12th-century Malik of Nīmarz Tādḵ al-Dīn Ḥurb b. Muḥammad (v. 564/610-1169-1213) was 23'm/75 feet high when the Sīstān Boundary Commission was at work in the first decade of this century, but collapsed totally ca. 1555 in an earthquake. The effects of wind and of moving sands have meant that whole villages and tracts of agricultural land may disappear or, conversely, be revealed. All these factors have made the interpretation of the region's history, when written sources fail, arduous.

The population of Sīstān is substantially Tadjik, with some Balūc and other outside peoples settled there by Persia rulers, such as some Kurdish nomads brought thither by Nādir Shāh Aḏānā (gāhār), and some Balūc and Arab nomads who appear there from Kūhstān in the summer. An indigenous element noted by all the travellers in Sīstān is that of the gāpūds or hunters and fishers of the lakes and marshes, on which they travel in tūmans, cigar-shaped rafts of reeds, making a living by fishing and shooting waterfowl; it has been speculated that they may represent the aboriginal inhabitants of the region. A class of cattle-raisers, gīdārs, has also been noted. See on these topics, EP art. Sīstān (V.F. Büchner); Admiralty Handbooks, Persia, London 1945, 116-18; Camb. hist. of Iran, i, 78-81.

3. History.

Sīstān had formed part of the Sāsānīd empire after the disappearance of the Sakas and some earlier conquerors in the region. Under Shāpūr I, it became a province (gāhār), with its full name given in the inscriptions as "Sakastan, Tūrāstān (sc. Turan) (gāhār)". As in what is now northern Balūcstān and Hind, to the edges of the sea", and was often given as an appanage to the emperors of Persia. See on these topics, Camb. hist. Iran, iii/2, 729-30, and map at 748-9. In the "quadrant" (katust) of the east, it comprised both the Achaemenid Zrāna/Drāgāna and Harāzvat/Arachosia, with Zārang as its administrative capital (C.J. Brunner, in ibid., 773-4). The state church of Zoroastrianism was, naturally, firmly established there, as appears from what we know of the arrival of the Arabs in Sīstān in the 1st/7th century, when the incomers encountered a Mōbdāgh Mōbdāghān (see Mōbdī) and a chief Hērbāgh, whilst the important fire-temple of Kārkīyā remained intact after the Muslims came (see Bosworth). In the Islamic period, Sīstān became an Arab province, the Islamic conquest reaching the Saffarids (30-250/651-864), and the state of Zoroastrianism in the region, when written sources fail, arduous.

The Arabs first appeared in Sīstān in Uṯmayn's caliphate, pushing eastwards from Kūmān during the governorship of Khurāsān of 'Abd Allāh b. ʿAmr (gāhār). Hence in 631/632-3 Zārang surrendered peacefully, although Bust resisted fiercely, and immediately after this, coins of Arab-Sāsānīd pattern begin to be minted at Zārang. From a base in Sīstān, governors like Muʿawīya's appointee 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samara
undertook campaigns eastwards into al-Rukhkhadj (sc. the earlier Arachosia) and Zammdawar [q.v.] against the local rulers, the Zunibs, and towards Kābul against the Kābul Shāhs. Zoroastrianism was of course toppled from its position of primacy, and the levels of the official hierarchy collapsed, but the sacred fires apparently remained; an item in a late 4th/10th-century survey of the revenues of Sīstān mentions the māl-i ādhārās, which may refer to some rent paid for fire-temple premises or land (see ibid., 13 ff.; Bosworth, The history of the Saffarids of Sīstān, 56, 294-5).

Arab governors were sent out during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid periods, and continued to be involved in raiding into eastern Afghanistan, with the object of gathering plunder in the form of slaves and herds. But the Zunibs and the Kābul Shāhs proved tenacious foes, and were not subdued till the Saffārid period, after some two centuries' strenuous resistance (for a detailed account of one particular Arab débâcle, see Bosworth, Abūlālah b. Abī Bakr and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābūšān [79/698], in Isl., 1 [1973], 268-83). The Arab settlers in Sīstān were rent internally by tribal feuds as Tamfīr and Bakr b. Wa'il, Carr 'Ubaidallah b. Abi Bakra and the "Army of the fire-temple premises or land (see involved in raiding into eastern Afghanistan, with the mdl-i ddharuy, local rulers, the Zunblls, and towards Kabul against apparently remained; an item in a late 4th/10th-century survey of the revenues of Sīstān mentions the māl-i ādhārās, which may refer to some rent paid for fire-temple premises or land (see ibid., 13 ff.; Bosworth, The history of the Saffarids of Sīstān, 56, 294-5).

Arab governors were sent out during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid periods, and continued to be involved in raiding into eastern Afghanistan, with the object of gathering plunder in the form of slaves and herds. But the Zunibs and the Kābul Shāhs proved tenacious foes, and were not subdued till the Saffārid period, after some two centuries' strenuous resistance (for a detailed account of one particular Arab débâcle, see Bosworth, Abūlālah b. Abī Bakr and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābūšān [79/698], in Isl., 1 [1973], 268-83). The Arab settlers in Sīstān were rent internally by tribal feuds as Tamfīr and Bakr b. Wa'il, Carr 'Ubaidallah b. Abi Bakra and the "Army of
nas and their component, but distinct, group of the Negiiders or Nfkudarfs. The land was devastated also by the modern Kal'at-i Bist, had to be abandoned), and the Band-i Rustam, the weir or barrage across the Helmand river behind which water was stored for diversification into irrigation channels, destroyed. In the later 9th/15th century, internal disorder in Sistan compelled the Maliks to withdraw for several years into the Sarhad [q.v.] or mountainous borderland of Sistan and Makran. After the Ozbeg Muhammad Shahr-i Khan had secured Harat from the last Tumurids (913/1507), a Shahbandi expedition against Sistan followed, but three years later the Safavid Shah Isma'il I [q.v.] crushed the Ozbegs at Marw. The Mihraband Maliks rallied to Isma'il's side, but Sistan now acquired a permanent Safavid military presence through the administrative oversight there (has Ministério of Kirkizahe amirs, and under Shah Tahmasp I [q.v.] it came under the governorship of Khurasan exercised by his younger brothers such as Sām Mirzā. The last Mihrabandis were increasingly drawn into the Safavid administrative and military defence system of the east, as warfare with the Ozbegs continued, and the last semi-independent Malik, Sultān Mahdī b. Nizām al-Dīn Yahyā, had to introduce the Shī'ī aḏḏān or call to prayer amongst his Sūnnī subjects. After his death, the Safavid state took over in Sistan, although scions of the Mihrabandīs (including the local historian Malik Shah Husayn, from the 11th/17th century) lived on there after his time. See on the Mihrabandīs, Bosworth, The history of the Safavīds of Sistan, 411-77, to whose references should be added, Barbara Finster, Sistan zur Zeit timuridischer Herrschaft, in Archiv. Mitteilungen aus Iran, N.F., ix (1976), 207-15.

Without the Ḣādān al-mulūk, the history of Sistan towards modern times becomes even more obscure than before. G.P. Tate included a narrative of the events of these three centuries or so in his Sistan, a memoir on the history, topography, races, and people of the country, 3 parts, Calcutta 1910-12, 71-99, based on such sources as Iskandar Munshi's Ta'rīḥ ʿAlam-ār-yi ʿAbbāsī, Malīkh Dāhī Astārabādī's Ta'rīkh-i Dhāhan-guzzākhi-ī Nādirī, and a Ṣadjārat al-mulūk (?), but with very few hard dates. Local Maliks continued in Sistan, but closely under Safavid control, and Sistan served, for instance, as the Safavid base for the struggles with the Mughals over possession of Kandahār [q.v.]. The names of various 17th and 18th century Maliks are known, and in the early 18th century, when the Safavid dynasty was in its death throes, Malik Mahmūd b. Fath ʿAli Khan seems to have made himself a semi-independent power in Sistan and Kuhistān, with a substantial military force at his disposal. In the complex fighting in Khurasan involving the Ghazzat Afghān invaders, Nādir Beg Kūf Aghār and the last Safavid, Tāhmasp II, Mahmūd in 1155/1743 had himself crowned and secured such towns of Khurasan as Mashhad and Neyshābūr, until Nādir procured his death in ca. 1193/1727.

After the death in 1160/1747 of Nādir Shah [q.v.], Sistan came under the suzerainty of the Afghān chief Ahmad Shāh Durrān [q.v.], who married the daughter of the then Malik, Sulaymān b. Husayn Khan. Sistan fell into an anarchic state, with the last Malik to exercise any effective power being Djalāl al-Dīn b. Bahram Khan, deposed in the later 1830s by local Sarbandī and Shahraki chiefs. Both the ruling powers in Persia and Afghānistan, endeavoured to draw Sistan into their orbits, until the Sarbandī chief ʿAli Khan definitely acceded to the side of Persia, marrying a Kāḏūr princess in Tehran, until he was killed in 1156. Many of the Maliks of Sistan acceded to the side of Afghānistan, but the struggles for power within the ruling family of Bārakzays meant that the amir Shīr ʿAli Khan could give no direct help in Sistan from Kābul. In 1865 a Persian army invaded Sistan and a Persian governor, with the title of Ḥaẓmat al-Mulk, and dependent on Kātīn in Kuhistān, was placed over the province. It was this ʿHaẓmat al-Mulk whom Lt. Col. C.E. Yate met when he was travelling in Sistan in 1894. Yate also gives information on the state of the province at this time. He found it dire: "What with their debts to the cattle-owners for hire of bullocks, and their debt to the Kāddhūdas who advanced them grain, the cultivators and people of Sistan generally were in a wretched state of poverty. I do not think I ever saw a more miserable-looking lot." All the land belonged to the state, and there were no private landowners. There was not regular trade, merely an annual caravan with skins and wool to Quetta in Balucistan or to Bandar Abbās on the Makran coast which brought back items for consumption like tea and sugar. The revenue of the province amounted to 24,000 ḵānvarūs, each of 649 lbs. of grain, per annum; from this, 6,850 ḵānvarūs were retained for the salaries of officials and troops, and the rest was paid by Ḫaẓmat al-Mulk, as a fixed sum of 12,000 tumans, to the central government. In addition, there was a tax of 2,600 tumans levied in cash on sheep and cattle. (See Yate, Kherasan and Sistan, Edinburgh and London 1900, 75-113.)

Border disputes between Persia and Afghānistan had caused a fear of an outbreak of war between the two states, leading therefore to the Seistan Boundary Mission of 1872 presided over by General Sir Frederick J. Goldsmid. It awarded much of Sistan proper to Persia, but required the Persian forces' evacuation of the right bank of the Helmand, naturally, neither side was satisfied. The boundary was not, however, definitively delimited till the second Seistan Boundary Commission of 1903-5 under Col. (later Sir) Arthur McMahon. The absence of clear natural dividing features, beyond that of the Helmand river, made the tasks of these Commissions difficult (see the Hon. G.N. Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, London 1892, i, 229 ff.; G.P. Tate, The frontiers of Baluchistan. Travels on the borders of Persia and Afghanistan, London 1909).

Persian Sistan today falls within the province (ūstūn) of Bālūstān and Sistan, with its administrative centre at Zāhīdān [q.v.] (Zahedān); whilst Afghān Sistan has, since the administrative re-organisation of 1964, formed the province (wusūyat) of Nimruz, thus reviving the old name, with its chef-lieu at Zarang, again reviving an old name, adjacent to Nād-i ʿAlī.
SITT AL-MULK, or SAYYIDAT AL-MULK, Fatimids (849-908)

SITI BINTI SAAD (ca. 1880-1950), a singer famed throughout East Africa. Born at Fumba, Zanzibar, her father was an Mnyamwezi subsistence farmer and her mother an Mzigua potter. As a child she was known as Mutumwa (slave), in accord with the Swahili custom of giving children pejorative names. Brought up in the village, she had no formal education, and was illiterate. She disapproved her parents in failing to learn the skill of pot-making. She had an unsuccessful marriage, and occupied herself in carrying pots made by her mother to the town. Eventually she moved to the town, where she fell in with a lute-player, who taught her to sing and also Arabic. When she was about thirty-one she fell in with a band of professional musicians, who played the lute, the mandoline and the tambourine. She adopted the name Siti, ambiguously meaning "lady", or fife or whistle. The band added other instruments to their repertoire, but her skill as a singer gave them wide popularity, and she was praised for the sweetness and delicacy of her singing. She was spoken of as if she were some incarnation of a spirit from the tales of the Thousand and one nights.

Itti'dz al-hunaf'd, ii, ed. M.H.M. Ahmad, 30, 3

SITRA "veil", a curtain behind which the Fatimid caliph al-'Aziz [q.v.] and half-sister of al-Hākim [q.v.]. She was born in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 359/September-October 970 at al-Manṣūrīyya near al-Kāraywān to the prince Nizār (the future al-'Azīz) by an anonymous umm waqā'id [q.v.], who is referred to in the sources as al-Sayyida as-ṣāhib al-sitr wa 'l-sayf, Ibhâr Mīr, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1978, 94, 111; al-Makrīzī, Ittâz al-hanāfī, ed. Dj. al-Shayyā'ī et alii, Cairo 1967 ff., i, 271, 292; Ibn Muyassar, Ibhâr Mīr, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1981, 175. When her mother died in Cairo in Shawwāl 385/November 1995, the daughter held a death-watch at her tomb for one month (al-Makrīzī, op. cit., i, 288-9); she inherited her mother's slave girl Ṭākkurr (d. 415/1025), who became her confidante and served her as a special servant (al-Musabbīh, 111). Like the other daughters of Fātimid caliphs, Sitt al-Mulk never married, probably for dynastic reasons. Beloved by her father al-'Azīz, she was showered with gifts and provided with a lucrative appanage so that she was able to establish large charitable endowments, e.g. wells, reservoirs, baths, etc. (al-Makrīzī, op. cit., ii, 33; Lev, The Fātimid Princess, 321).

When her father al-'Azīz died suddenly in Bilbays on 28 Ramadān 386/13 October 996, the princess, then 26 years old, accompanied by the Kādi Muhammad b. al-Nu'mān, the Bearer of the Parasol Raydān (or Zaydān) and other courtiers, hurried to Cairo with the palace guard (al-kāriyya) in order to occupy the palace; according to Ibn al-Kālānī, ed. Amedroz, 44, she planned to take over and to hand the power to her cousin, a son of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'tazz. But she was prevented from entering the palace and was brushed aside by the eunuch Barjdāwān [q.v.], who placed her under house arrest and put her eleven-year old half-brother al-Mansūr (al-Hākim) on the throne (al-Makrīzī, op. cit., i, 291; Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, Maghrib, i/2, 54).

After Bardjāwān's assassination by Raydān, the Bearer of the Parasol, in 390/1000, the princess seems to have exercised some influence on her young half-brother, to whom she made precious gifts and who, on his part, bestowed on her ḫūdārī [q.v.] whose annual income was 100,000 dinars (al-Makrīzī, op. cit., ii, 33). Ibn al-Kālānī, 60, mentions the Christian administrative personnel of her Syrian estates. During the last years of al-Hākim's sole reign, she seems to have become alienated from him, perhaps as a result of al-Hākim's designation of his cousin 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Liyās as heir-apparent in 404/1013. It was Sitt al-Mulk who thereupon took al-Hākim's umm waqā'id Rukayya and her son—the future caliph al-Zāhir [q.v.]; to her palace in order to protect them; the young prince was brought up and educated in her household (Yābāy al-Antākī, ed. Cheikhī et alii, 207, 235). In the following year, al-Hākim had his kādi 'l-kudāt Mālik b. Sa'īd put to death because he suspected him to be in tacit understanding with the princess (al-Makrīzī, op. cit., 106-7).

Sitt al-Mulk's alleged involvement in the murder of al-Hākim in 411/1021 is dubious; the only source for it is the Baghdādi court chronicler Ḥilāl al-Sābī [q.v.], who records the episode as a well-known; his report, preserved by Sibt Ibn al-Djawāzī, Mīr, et al., Zamān, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iv, 185-90, is pure fiction.
Neither the Christian al-Antaki nor the Shafi'i jurist al-Kudaef — both contemporaries and sources of events — casts any suspicion on the princess.

After al-Hakim's disappearance, Sitt al-Mulk was instrumental in securing the succession to the throne of her protégé al-Zahir, whom she kept under her tutelage, apparently in competition with his mother Rukayya (al-Makrizi, op. cit., ii, 124-5). She had put to death the murderer of al-Hakim, Ibn Dawwas, a Kutama (q.v.) chief (al-Kudaef, in Ibn Taghribirdi, Cairo, iv, 191-2; al-Makrizi, op. cit., ii, 125-6), and eliminated al-Hakim's designated heir-apparent 'Abd al-Rahman, who was serving as governor of Damascus (al-Kudaef, in Ibn Taghribirdi, Cairo, iv, 194; al-Antaki, 236). She held the reins of government for her nephew al-Zahir; in the contemporary sources she is referred to as "al-Sayyida al-'amama, "the Princess-aunt" (al-Musabbihi, 43, 96), al-Sayyida al-gharfa (ibid., 110-11), or al-Sayyida al-aziza (al-Makrizi, op. cit., ii, 174; not to be confused with her mother, al-Sayyida al-Azizya who had died in 385/995; ibid., i, 288-9). Sitt al-Mulk tried to restore order in state affairs following the mismanagement of al-Hakim's last years; she cancelled the illegal customs duties (mukas) he had abolished (al-Antaki, 237). She died of dysentery, on 11 Dhu 'I-ka'da 415/5 February 1023 (al-Nuwayri, Nihaya, xxvi, 203; Ibn al-Dawadarf, vi, 346; cf. Ibn 'Idharl, xxi, 195-8). Hence al-Makrizi's statement (loc. cit.) that she reigned five years and eight months after al-Hakim's death is due to an obvious mistake.

**Bibliography:** H. Halm, Der Treuhänder Gottes. Die Edikte des Kalifen al-Hakim, in JSS, xxxiii (1987), 319-29. (H. HALM)

**SIU**

In some authors Siv, is a small town 6 miles east-north-east of Pate [q.v.] on Pate Island. Its date of foundation is unknown. The Swahili History of Pate ascribes it to 903/1497; finds of Sâin-id Islamic pottery suggest earlier occupation. The inhabitants claim Bajun origin, Bantu settlers from southern Somalia. There is a town wall, ascribed to 1843, but possibly earlier, and some houses believed by Kirkman to be recovered by Zanzibar in the mid-1860s. It was notable for its population, which—an unusual fact to which the Pharaoh had contributed. The hum- mor was estimated at between 8,000 and 10,000 inhabitants, only to be recovered by Zanzibar in the mid-1860s. It was again subject in 1245/1829. The Friday mosque has a mina- bar. The town of the craftsmen, in Azania, xiii (1988) (with rich bibl.); S. Digby, A Qura'an from the East African coast, in Art and Archaeology Research Papers, no. 7, London 1975; and information kindly supplied by Dr. M.C. Horton. (G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

**SIWAS** [see sivwa]

**SIWA, an oasis in northwestern Egypt.** "A jewel, the most fascinating of the Egyptian oas- ses": thus Nancy McGrath (Guide to Egypt, ed. 1983-4, 403) describes the renowned oasis which, in early 1995, was the site of a sensational event, the discovery of the alleged tomb of Alexander the Great, some 25 km/16 miles from the temple of Zeus-Amon. Siwa, Ammonium in ancient times, is indeed a large and pleasant oasis, the most westerly of the five Egyptian oases, situated only some 50 km/31 miles (as the crow flies) from the frontier of Libya. A road 300 km/186 miles in length, entirely asphalted since 1983, links it to Marsa-Matrouh, the ancient Paraetonium, situated to the north-east on the Mediterranean.

1. The site

Siwa and the oases grouped under this name are located in a depression some 80 km/50 miles in length lying on a west-east axis, the base of which is some 20 m/65 feet below sea-level. From this a number of holms emerge, two of them sheltering the locali- ties of Siwa and Aghurmi, separated by a distance of 3 km/2 miles. It is at the latter site, on a rocky plateau, as well as a few hundred metres away at Umm 'Ubaida, that the remains of the temple of Amon have been found; this was constructed by the Pharaoh Amasis (26th dynasty) probably during the period which also saw the restoration of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, accidentally destroyed by fire in 548 B.C., with the aid of an international fund to which the Pharaoh had contributed. The humble appearance of the temple of Amon today does not reflect the reverence in which its oracle was long held in ancient times.

The population of the oasis, which—an unusual phenomenon for Egypt—is Berber-speaking, may be estimated at between 8,000 and 10,000 inhabitants, this figure including the village of Gara, or Kâreit Umm al-Saghâr, some 100 km/62 miles to the east in the edge of the depression of Kaftâra, which is in
fact the eastern extremity of the Berberophone region. This depression, 300 m/985 feet below sea-level, cannot be crossed without risk of being stranded, trapped in the soft sand. In June 1964, five young Germans, attempting to trace in reverse the course of Rommel's advance on El Alamein, died of thirst there.

A curiosity of Slwa is the ancient citadel, today in ruins, called Shalli (ṣa-li = “my country”), cf. Laoust, Siwa, 301, a fortified village built on a hill overlooking the “modern” town. In an interesting short work by Bettina Léopoldo (cf. Oasie) ample descriptions will be found, not only of the traditional architecture but also of the economy, crafts and professions, religious and secular customs. Furthermore, it should be stressed that the article by E. Laoust in ÉT is still, more than two-thirds of a century after its composition, a mine of information.

The wealth of Siwa derives fundamentally from its dates, renowned since ancient times. In second place, but a considerable distance behind the 200,000 or so date-palms, the 40,000 olive-trees contribute extensively to the revenues of the Iṣwaḥ (people of Siwa).

As for the ambitious irrigation and drainage scheme called “New Valley”, which was inaugurated in 1954 and involved the five major Egyptian oases, it seems to have been pursued with less energy in the case of Siwa than in that of Kharga. In the past, agricultural work was for a long time the preserve of the zaggila, unmarried labourers, not allowed to live within the walls, even reduced, it is said, to practising marriage between men, supposedly legal until the visit of King Fu‘ad in 1923.

Currently, while young men may leave the region to pursue their studies, women are still confined to the oasis. Their role in the family remains, however, primordial: in her home, the wife takes the decisions, holds the purse-strings and brings up her children as she sees fit. “If our children speak Siwa (ṣan n istiwān), this was said in early September 85 by a deputy mayor, “it is to our womenfolk that they owe it”. Six months later, television made its appearance. It is hardly likely that that there will be a great deal of broadcasting in the Berber Language, but it must be hoped that, at the end of this first decade, the damage will not prove to be too great. Determined efforts must be made to preserve this language which, at the time of Alexander’s visit to the oasis in 323 B.C., had perhaps been spoken there for as many centuries as have passed since then, although it must be admitted that this hypothesis has no more corroborations than that of the presence of the tomb of the “Son of Amon” at Ammonium.

2. The language

Regarded over the past two centuries by European travellers as related to Berber, the language of Siwa has been the object of many studies, varying considerably in terms of the scope and the rigour of the description. Two of them may be considered thorough and comprehensive. That of E. Laoust (Sīwa), appearing in 1931, has constituted and still constitutes a work of great value, for its grammatical and syntactical analysis as well as for its ethnographical information, with however one serious error in the verbal system. That of Werner Vycichl (Sketch), the manuscript of which the present author read in 1989-90, is absolutely remarkable in terms of the detail, the rigour and the thoroughness of its descriptions. The question of the pertinence of vocable quantity and accentuation could usefully be the object of further and deeper verifications.

The personal visit (September 1985) on the part of the author of this article had as its primary object study of the use of the verbal system, in particular that of the theme of the resultative perfect, that Berber peculiarity, then the syntax of relatives and focalisation.

First of all, some remarks on phonology: the consonantal system presents few difficulties. The affricative pronunciation [ʃ] of the fricative ʃ, since noted by W. Vycichl and transcribed by him as j (Sketch, 44-5), did not register with this writer. As for the opposition of emphasis of m-t in ṣa-reg “small bottle” ~ ṣa-rag “frog”, it is possible, bearing in mind the notation azra, pl. irstawm of Laoust (Siwa 245), that the emphatisation of ʃ may be owed to the vowel/consonant u-cu of the conjugation of the verb with the final e.

The opposition ʃa or ŋ which K.-G. Prasse has established for the vocalic quantity which in Siwa opposes the perfect ṣana “he studied, he read” to the resultative perfect ṣan “he has studied, he has read”, this seems to have no relevance in Siwa. This dialect indicates the resultative otherwise, and opposes ṣana to ṣana, where the length of the first a is definitely phonetic but not distinctive. In a brief and excellent recapitulation of the characteristics of Siwa, based on Laoust’s study corrected by that of A. Basset (cf. Probleme), Prasse does not mention the vocable quantity. The present writer only became aware of this article (cf. Istwan) several months after returning from Siwa.

When, some four years later, this writer read the text of W. Vycichl, it was to find recorded there not only the length but also the accentuation, which poses a problem with regard to the notations of Basset and of Prasse, to the texts of Laoust and to this writer’s own observations. In fact, the author distinguishes here between four cases: for example for ʃa differentiates long and accentuated ʃa from short and unaccented ʃa, from short and accentuated ʃa and from short and unaccented ʃa. But it is puzzling to read that long and unaccented vowels are “effectively short”, as in ʃa of (ṣa-in ʃa “children” (Sketch, 43). Still more disconcerting is the fact that ʃa even when accented, can disappear: thus ʃisa “hands” as heard as ʃisawma, = simply being simply “a space between consonants” (Sketch, 48). Particularly to be noted is another novelty represented by the change in position of the accent after a preposition. As opposed to istwan “the Siwis” we have ʃsan n istwan “the language of the Siwis”. As opposed to turaadān we have i turaadān “to the children” (Sketch, 35, 81, 82).

Finally, most interesting seems to be the combination of a change of accent and of length, or of timbre, with the suffixing, to an adjective of an a, the meaning of which remains mysterious. In this writer’s personal judgment, to the adjective aksawm, fem. kawsawma (cf. Egyptian Arabic kawsaw, fem. kawsa “good, well”) there should correspond a plural kawsawma which, alongside the Arabic kawsin, could be considered analogous with the resultative perfect of a verb, e.g. putuwa “they are (fallen) ill”, as opposed to the perfect yarvm “they fell ill.”

Vycichl says that his informants differ over the sense of the a termination. For ‘Abd Allāh Baghī (who was also consulted by this writer), aksawm means “good, in my opinion” and aksawma “good, as everyone should know” (Sketch, 89). For others, it is a case only of variants, which recalls the analysis of verbal themes by Laoust when he says for example that “an a sound, enigmatic in sense, lengthens all forms” (Siwa, 683) or that “the paradigm of the conjugation of the
perfect presents certain variants (our italics) in the 2nd and 3rd persons plural”. For him, *ijlina* is merely a variant of *yln* (*Swa* 56, 57), what of in fact what we have is the resultative perfect “they have passed”, as opposed to the perfect “they passed”. What exacerbates the difficulty is the assertion by Vyvichi of the lengthening, indeed the super-lengthening of the last vowel of an interrogative term; this leads to the distinction of three lengths, for example, *é, é* and *é...* (Sketch, 89); it would be interesting to check the phonological pertinence of this phenomenon. In any case, the difference of form [*...*], is determined for the opposition of two verbal themes, the perfect *lsln skhrn* *mn*n tr*rm* “they put on their new clothes” and the resultative perfect *lsln...* “they have put on... they wear...”. It is surprising that Laoust should have called “passive” a form furnished with this “augmentation” [*...*] or [*...*], is determined with this theme “intensive preterite”, and labelled as “intensive aorist” the so-called “habitual form”, which, to his credit, he had integrated into the tense/aspect system in 1929 (Verbs, p. 1). It is to L. Galand that we owe the terminology that best describes the functioning of the latter (Systemis, Continualis, n. 195). As regards the special theme, Basset had in 1952 concluded that the formal differences between that of Tuareg and those of *Swa* and of *Aw* “are a case of dialectal innovation” (Langue, 14). Here there is effectively an instance of asp ectual dynamic (doubling of the perfect and/or of the imperfect) remarkably described by D. Cohen for the most diverse languages (Phrase, ch. 6; Aspect, ch. 4). Consequently, it is particularly noticeable that to the aorist-perfect opposition, analysed by Bentolila (Grammaire, 156, n. 140), there corresponds at *Swa* a perfect-resultative perfect relationship. Thus in

(1) *af-mni amnt* a-t-sn *tqlq-in (ynlnm) *ixvna (resultative perfect) i ad*r “when their brother joined them, they had (already) set out to climb the hill”, if we substitute... *tenm* (perfect)... we would have “... they climbed...”. The justification of the term resultative seems particularly apt if in

(2) *ntla ytnma* (resultative perfect) *y *frd-mns, bhd* *y* (perfect) (*flk-a*) “he has hurt his knee, because he fell (down)”, we substitute... *yfrg* (resultative perfect) “... he has fallen (and he is still on the ground”).

Another peculiarity of *Swa* is its residual injunctive, comparable to that of Kabyle (Chaker, Kabyle, 206). In

(3) *gtrtuhr *gr-n*nt *wn n *f*bnt “Let us go to see those of the cemetery (the dead)”—there is a combination of *wst* the imperative suffix, with *gtr* “we shall go” and *gr-n* “we shall see”, where *ru* and *zr* are in the “non-real” mode (terminology of F. Bentolila, Grammaire, 146).

At variance with Morocco, but as in Kabylie and in Tuareg (Galand, Continuité 302; Prasse, Manuel, pp. vii-vii, 37-8), a succession of unreals serves to denote a continuous recurrent series:

(4) *gtr*ntk *trkh, gr*ndd *karn* gr*trh i *pt “We rise in the morning, we take the cart, we make our way to the fields...” (Leguill, Notes, 63).

While the *Swa* verbal system shows remarkable fidelity to its Berber identity, the syntax of relatives, for its part, is in a process of powerful “contamination” by Arabic structures. As early as 1925, at the time of Laoust’s visit, it had lost the participial subject-marker which forms a distinction, e.g. in Kabyle between *gtr *frn* “the field (which is worked)” and *gtr *fr “the field is worked”, and the state of annexation which distinguishes *gtr *yfr* lit. “it is worked, the field” from *gtr *fr “he has worked the field”. In addition, there used to be three supportive relative pronouns: *wn, tm*, and *w* (*Swa* 119):

(5) *rdt-i *yfr* *w* *shtlf-y-Akta, lit “Give me the money that I have lent you” has become.

(6) *rdt-i *yfr* *w* *shtlf-y-Akta, lit “... that I have lent them to you” (Laoust, Notes, 69).

Laoust (*Swa*, 119) has also asserted the absence of the particle of prominence *a’d*, *ay*, *i*, such a typical feature of Berber. In fact, this is not only signifier of focalisation, especially in the negative, where *Swa* clearly opposes the focalling statement (7) to the neutral statement, as follows, in the former case, in the second

(7) *fr*nknn *wnm* “It is not you who has stolen”.

(8) *w* *w* “You have not stolen”.

3. Myths and history

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the Berber language may already have been thousands of years old at the time of the visit of Alexander the Great to the temple of Amon. Alongside this astonishing antiquity, the existence in this remote oasis of a renowned oracle was another singularity. For Camps (*in ev. berh.*, A196), whatever may be the origin of the Amon of *Swa*, it was the Greeks of Cyrenaica that its reputation became supreme throughout the Mediterranean world under the name of Zeus-Amon, with a humanised effigy, showing the features of a bearded individual whose horns are barely visible in his curly hair. The cult enjoyed remarkable success in the Hellenistic world, especially after Alexander’s sojourn in *Swa*; the coinage struck in honour of this effigy was to show it rendered divine with the ram’s horns of Zeus-Amon and was perhaps to contribute, even a thousand years later, in the centuries following the Muslim conquest of the 640s, to bestowing upon the Macedonian “a sacred dimension” (Oasis, 17). The fact is, however, that the god and proclaimed, as shortly before at Memphis, “the balloon was soon deflated, through the expertise brought to bear by specialists” (36).

What became of the oracle of Zeus-Amon after the Macedonian had himself recognised as the son of the god and proclaimed, as shortly before at Memphis, Pharaoh of Egypt, the first of the 32nd dynasty? According to Cl. Savary, having become Jupiter-Amon under the Romans, the oracle, although in decline, continued to be consulted at least until the 6th century A.D. (Leopoldo, Oasii, 17). The fact is, however, that with the edict of 391 the Emperor Theodosius ordered the closure of all pagan temples and prohibited sacrifices. According to Vyvichi, local traditions show traces of a Christian past to which the ruins of Beld er-Rum, a Greek or Christian village,
bear witness; but he challenges the "extravagant stories" related notably by the so-called... khans along the roads to the town, several endowed by the Saldjuk-Il Khanid vizier, Mucfn al-Dm Parwana (q.v. 23-4), bearing in mind that the Zenata group described by Ibn Khaldun (Sketch, 26-34) will be found a thorough survey on the studies, of varying importance, contributed by a score of authors who have documented Siwa and/or its language from Brown (1799) to Ahmad Fakhri (1973, cf. oasis). It seems that in centuries the oasis was independent, threatened only by Bedouins. In 1820, it was subjugated by Muhammad "Ali, whose representative was however assassinated in 1838. Laoust (Islam) indicates that Muhammad al-Santús (q.v.) spent several months here and acquired disciples here. Some decades later, the chief of the Sanusiyya (q.v.) engaged in conflict with the Anglo-Egyptians, using Siwa as a base (1915-17). Finally, during the Second World War, Rommel, a fervent admirer of Alexander the Great, paid a visit to Siwa and was received there by Shaykh "Ali Hayda (Léopolde, Oasis, 23-4). During the present writer's brief stay (1-4 September 1985), the oasis was occupied by a large force of Egyptian troops; there was suspicion of predatory intentions on the part of the Libyan "big brother". However, in March 1988, the frontier, closed since July 1977, was re-opened, as a result of the diplomatic efforts of Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Tunisia, although Gaeddafi (Kadhâfî) has still refused any restoration of normal relations with Egypt.

Bibliography (mainly linguistic, given in alphabetical order; for further references, see Laoust and Vycichl): A. Basset, La langue berbère. Le verbe. Études de thèmes, Paris 1929 (= Verbe); idem, La langue berbère, London 1952 (= Langue); idem, Problème verbal dans le parler berbère de Siwa, in Mélanges Maspero, MIFAO, xviii, 1935, 154-9; idem, Siwa, Ausâjila et Ineghrar. A propos d'un rapprochement, in AIEO (1936), 119-27, written after Siwa and Ausâjila. Problème verbal dans, in Mélanges Gaudu-Fay-Demomblynes, MIFAO, 1937, 279-300; idem, Du nouveau à propos d'un problème verbal à Siwa, dans Six notes de linguistique berbère, in AIEO, v (1939-41), 16-40: these four articles discuss the alleged "passive" of Laoust (⇒ Problèmes; F. Bentolila, Grammaire fonctionnelle d'un parler berbère. Alt Ségourenches d'Oum Jeniba (Maroc), Paris 1981 (= Grammaire); G. Campos, art. Ammon, in Encycl. berbère, iv, 596-9 (= Enc. berb. A 196); S. Chaker, Un parler berbère d'Algérie (Kabylie), Marseilles 1983 (= Kabylie); idem, Linguistique berbère. Études de syntaxe et de dia-chronie, Paris-Louvain 1995 (= Ling. berb.); D. Cohen, La phrase nominale et l'évolution du système verbal en sémi-lique. Étude de syntaxe historique, Paris 1984 (= Phrase); idem, L'aspect verbal, Paris 1989; A. Fakhri, The oases of Egypt. I. Siwa oasis, Cairo 1973 (= Oases); I. Galdan, L'âbyd et berbère. II. En heure: le système verbal dans le parler berbère de Siwa, in Mamers de l'PHAL, Phalanges d'Outre-Mer (1972-3). 173-80 (= Système); idem, Continuité et remaniement d'un système verbal: le cas du berbère, in Bull. de la SLP, lvii 1 (1977), 275-303 (= Continuité); J. Lanfray, Gha- dimâti, I. Dictionnaire des verbes, ex-Fort-National (Algeria) 1968 (= Ghâdimâtî); E. Laoust, Siwa. I. Son parler, Paris 1937, with an important bibli-ratination, complete up to its time (= Siwa), A useful work, despite the error in regard to the alleged "passive"; A. Leguil, Notes sur le parler berbère de Siwa, dans Bull. des Etudes Afriques de l'INALCO, (i) no. 11, 5-42, (ii) no. 12, 97-124, Paris 1986; repr. in Structures predicatives en berbère. Grammaire II, syntaxe, énonciatique, Paris 1987, (i) 847-940, (ii) 959-94 (= Leguil, Notes); Bettina Léopolde (ed.), Études, oasis d'Amoun-Siwa/ Egypt, the oasis of Amoun-Siwa, Genève 1988, bilingual text, introd. by Cl. Savary, 9-21, text, 22-71 (= Oasis); K.C. Prasse, Siwi (Jilân n-iwâsan), in Encycl. berb., xxxiv (1984), (= Iswaon; idem, Manuel de grammaire touariq (tahaggar), i-iii, vi-vii, Copenhagen 1972 (= Manuel); W. Vycichl, Sketch of the Berber lan-
guage of the Oasis of Siwa (Egypt) typed-written text, Geneva 1990, with very rich bibl. (= Sketch), indispensable for a knowledge of Siwi. See also El. Siwa (esp. useful for folklore and ethnology). (A. Leguil)

SIWÂK [see MSWÂK].

SIWÂS, the form found in Islamic sources from the 6th/12th century onwards for the Turkish town of Siwa, a town of north-east central Anatolia, lying in the broad valley of the Kizil Irmak (q.v.) at an altitude of 1,275 m/4,183 feet (lat. 39° 44' N., long. 37° 01' E.). It is now the chef-lieu of the province of the same name in the modern Turkish Republic.

There may well have been a Hittite settlement here, but the site only emerges into history as the Roman city of Sebasteia, the capital of Armenia Minor under Diocletian. It was a wealthy and flourishing city in Byzantine times. In 1021, the Armenian king Senêk'ërim Hovhannes ceded his dominions to the Emperor Basili II, and he and his successors became the Byzantine viceroy of Sebasteia until the battle of Malázgird (q.v.) in 1071. Thereafter, it became the capital of the main branch of the Türkmen Dânîghmendîs (q.v.) until it was taken by the Rûm Saldjûk Kâfî Arslân II in 570/1174, becoming, with Konya, one of the Saldjûk capitals.

It then acquired an upper and a lower citadel, with the lower one completed in 621/1224, according to an inscription. There were also mosques and medreses from this century; the oldest building extant in the town today, the Ulu Djâmi', may conceivably go back to Dânîghmendid times, though its minaret has been assigned, on stylistic grounds, to the 7th/13th century. Only four of the numerous medreses survive today, the oldest being the hospital of Sultan Kay Kâwîs I, founded in 614/1217 and transformed into a medresse in Ottoman times; all the other three date from 670/1271, when the Saldjûks were vassals of the II Kâhîâns, including that of Muqzâfar Burûijdîrî or Hâdîqî Masîfîdî, which now houses the Sivas Museum.

Sivas early became the centre of the Anatolian caravan trade, with merchants travelling northwards to Sinop, Samsun and the Crimea and east-westwards between Tabrîz and Constantinople. Genoese notaries occasionally functioned in the town, and in 700/1300 they established here a consul. The roads to the town crossed the Kızıl İrmak on important bridges, three of these still standing, including one built by Mubârîz al-Dîn Erûkûşî, Aûbûg to one of the sons of 'Alî al-Dîn Kay Kûbahî I, and there were numerous îlânns along the roads to the town, several endowed by the Saldjûk-II Kâhînd vizier, Mu'ûn al-Dîn Parwânsî (q.v.)
With the decline of II Khanid power in Anatolia during the 8th/14th century, local lines appeared in the area, growing in importance, characteristic, and durability. One of these was Eretta Beg (d. 753/1352 [g.e.]), whose capital was Sivas, and then in 783/1381, the Kađi Burhān al-Dīn Ahmad [g.e.], formerly vizier and našib of Eretta's grandson. Before this time, Ibn Baṭṭūta had visited Sivas, which he thought was the largest town of the II Khanid dominions in Anatolia. The local aḵāt [g.e.] were strong in the town, and may have played a role in the internecine struggles for the succession of Eretta Beg, able to take over power in the absence of a recognised ruler (Ribāla, ii, 289-92, tr. Gibb, ii, 434-6).

Sivas was plundered several times, but was able to recover. However, the end of the 8th/14th century brought a cataclysm. The town surrendered, after the death in battle in 800/1398 of Kađi Burhān al-Dīn, to the Ottoman Bāyezyd I Yıldırım, and thus became a prime target of Timur's onslaught. It had to surrender in 859/1455, and many inhabitants were massacred, and the fortifications dismantled. Even in 859/1455, the date of the first Ottoman tahrīr recording the tax-paying population of Sivas, it apparently lay largely in ruins. It had 560 tax-payers, 214 Muslims and 346 non-Muslims: at most, a total population of 3,000. Only a number of tāzayn seem to have been active, possibly providing the core around which Sivas gradually revived.

The 10th/16th century was likewise troubled. During the war with Şhāh Ismā'īl Safawī, Selim I killed large numbers of real or suspected Şīʿī sympathisers. During Süleymān's reign, in 933-4/1526-7, there was a rebellion of the rural population of the town, and many inhabitants were massacred, and the fortifications dismantled. Even in 859/1455, the date of the first Ottoman tahrīr recording the tax-paying population of Sivas, it apparently lay largely in ruins. It had 560 tax-payers, 214 Muslims and 346 non-Muslims: at most, a total population of 3,000. Only a number of tāzayn seem to have been active, possibly providing the core around which Sivas gradually revived.

The 10th/16th century was likewise troubled. During the war with Śhāh Ismā'īl Safawī, Selim I killed large numbers of real or suspected Şīʿī sympathisers. During Süleymān's reign, in 933-4/1526-7, there was a rebellion of the rural population of the region, and even after its suppression, other outbreaks occurred, in which, it appears, the poet Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl was involved, leading to his death. In 1008-9/1600, the town and its hinterland were ravaged by the Djič̣lār leader Karayažālī (see KALAYLI, in Suppl.).

In Ottoman times, Sivas was the administrative centre of the pālah of Rūm, the core of which consisted of the sandjaqs of Sivas-Tquivos, Nīṣār, Ğūrūm, Amāsya, Djič̣īk (Samsun) and Karahišār-ı Şarqī. Apart from these sandjaqs, sometimes known as Rūm-ı kādkīm, there was a second division, known as Rūm-ı hadith, which encompassed the sandjaq of Dīvrīgī, Kemākhi, Bābyūr and Məltāya. In 982/1574-5, a tahrīr of the city counted 3,386 taxpayers, of whom 1,987 were Christians. Only 311 unmarried men were listed, probably an underestimate. If we make the conventional assumption that a household contained five members, the tax-paying population should have amounted to slightly over 15,000 persons. Even if we make a generous allowance for tax-exempt and therefore non-registered soldiers and officials—who were probably numerous, given the rank of Sivas as a provincial capital located in a troubled area—it is unlikely that total population was much higher than 20,000.

The text also mentioned a kaît-ʾārī kāhī, presumably in contrast to the more recently constructed fortress (rebuilt by Meḥmed Fāṭih in 861/1456-7, according to an inscription published in 1840 but since lost. At the end of the 10th/16th century, Sivas possessed a covered market and at least two tanneries, in addition to a dyehouse and a brewery for miller beer (bāzar); it also functioned as a market for the salt produced in the surrounding villages. Different mosques owned a total of 170 shops, and the 10th/16th century mosque of Ḥasan Pāsha drew a yearly income of 12,400 akēl from the tenants of its 74 shops. As usual all over Anatolia, Sivas was surrounded by vegetable gardens; but that the latter could also be found within the old fortress may indicate the population losses which the town had suffered since its apogee in the Safavīd and Mongol periods.

For the 11th/17th century, two major sources are the reports of Kaṭīb Celebi and Ewliyā Celebi. Kaṭīb Celebi and his collaborators describe Sivas as constituting the centre of pālah sandjaq of the vilâyet of Rūm, which now consisted of Amāsya, Bozok, Djič̣īk, Corum, Dīvrīgī and Arabgī. Ewliyā Celebi's description is far more detailed, describing the town walls from the İf Hüşr, which consisted of two parts. The town walls, 10,500 paces in circumference, still showed traces of their former strength, but many sections lay in ruins, probably since Timur's time. The upper fortress possessed a small garrison, but the cannons were out of order. This citadel was not much frequented, and mainly used for the storage of valubles. More lively was the lower fortress which Ewliyā also calls the Pāhsa ḥuşr, the administrative centre of the vilâyet, where the governor held his dīwān four times a week. Within the walls of the town, Ewliyā recorded 4,600 houses in “fifty” mabāles (possibly intended as a synonym for “many”), the Christians, both Greek and Armenian, living in two quarters close to the Kayseri gate. Among the mosques he mentions the Ulū Dič̣mī and Ḥasan Pāsha Dič̣mī, the latter with its associated shops, already known from the 10th/16th century tahrīr. Among the madrassas, Ewliyā especially praises a structure which he calls the Kızıl madrassa. He also mentions the existence of 18 khāms, and the bedestān, probably with some exaggeration, is credited with a thousand shops. Apart from tanneries there were many shoemakers' workshops. A variety of cotton fabrics was manufactured. Not too long before Ewliyā's visit, a dignitary at the court of Sultan Murād IV had had the sipāḥ basārī rebuilt in stone. Ewliyā notes that both Turkish and Kurdish were spoken in the town. Where agriculture was concerned, he commented that the cold weather prevented fruit from ripening, but that grains, lentils and chickpeas did very well.

Two authors of the same period provide information on the Christians of Sivas: the Polish Armenian Simeon, who travelled in Anatolia 1017-28/1608-19, and the Archeacon Paul of Aleppo, describing the mid-11th/17th century travels of his father, the Patriarch Macarius. Simeon claimed that the Armenian population recently had declined from 2,000 to 600 households. Many of the surrounding villages were also deserted, probably due to the Djič̣lār rebellions. Paul of Aleppo also thought that the local Christian community was very small. This author mentions a new church with a high cupola, dedicated to St. George and built in the reign of Sultan Murād IV. An ayânsa commemorated the martyrs of Sebastia, while the former church of St. Philastius was now in Turkish hands.

At the end of the 12th/18th century, Domenico Sestini experienced Sivas in the throes of a rebellion of both Turks and Armenians against the high taxes demanded by the local māteśollim. It is unlikely that he saw much of the town itself, but he thought that it held 15,000 inhabitants. In the 19th century, Sivas was visited by several European travellers. V. Fontanier mentions a register, according to which Sivas consisted of 9,000 houses, or 40,000 inhabitants, including about 5,000 Armenians. Among Armenian merchants
operating in Sivas, he encountered some who traded in nut galls from Mawsil, tobacco from ... the capital of a kadd in the sanjak of Ankara. Towards the end of the 19th century it had about 11,000 inhabitants, particularly, copper; apparently Sivas, Kayseri and Andreas Mordtmann, Sen., visited Sivas in the mid-

rather pessimistic picture, he estimated the population at approximately 50,000.

For the late 19th century, Cuinet and Şems al-Din Sâmi provide fairly detailed information, which can be completed from the sal-nâmes of this period. At this time, the wilâyêt of Siwâs was much smaller than it had been in the 10th/11th century, and consisted merely of the merkez-şehir of Siwâs, in addition to Tokat, Amasya and Karahîşi-1 Şarkî (modern Şebinkarahasarc). Urban population consisted of about 43,000 persons, 32,500 of whom were Muslims. Quite a few crafts mentioned in older sources were still being practiced, such as the work of local gold- and silversmiths, while tanneries were active and the salt-pans of the kâdâf were also in productive use. High-quality rugs and carpets were being manufactured, in addition to the elaborately-orned socks for which the area is still known today. However, agriculture, produced exclusively for the local market, as transport over poor roads to the ports of the Black Sea was prohibitively expensive.

During the Turkish War of Independence, Sivas was the site of one of the major congresses of the Mudâfaa-ya-îl Hüskük Dîmemîyyet, which organised national resistance against the partition of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. This congress met from 4 to 11 September 1919; apart from 31 provinces, it was also attended by a number of civil and military authorities. The congress members announced their determination to defend Turkish territory by military force if necessary, and confirmed the election of Muştafa Kemâil (Atatürk) as chairman of the executive committee of the national resistance movement (see E. Zürcher, Turkey, a modern history, London 1993, 156-7). However, even though Sivas had originally been selected as a meeting-place because it was considered one of the safest places in Turkey, in the end Ankara with its rail connections, became the seat of the National Assembly. In 1927, the first census conducted by the Republican government showed the lack of dynamism due to a decade of war; Sivas was still a modest town of about 30,000 inhabitants.

Public investment was soon to modify this picture. Between 1930 and 1936, Sivas became an important railway junction, as the city was linked to Kayseri, Ankara with its rail connections, became the seat of the National Assembly. In 1927, the first census conducted by the Republican government showed the lack of dynamism due to a decade of war; Sivas was still a modest town of about 30,000 inhabitants.

Public investment was soon to modify this picture. Between 1930 and 1936, Sivas became an important railway junction, as the city was linked to Kayseri, Ankara with its rail connections, became the seat of the National Assembly. In 1927, the first census conducted by the Republican government showed the lack of dynamism due to a decade of war; Sivas was still a modest town of about 30,000 inhabitants.

Public investment was soon to modify this picture. Between 1930 and 1936, Sivas became an important railway junction, as the city was linked to Kayseri, Ankara with its rail connections, became the seat of the National Assembly. In 1927, the first census conducted by the Republican government showed the lack of dynamism due to a decade of war; Sivas was still a modest town of about 30,000 inhabitants.

Public investment was soon to modify this picture. Between 1930 and 1936, Sivas became an important railway junction, as the city was linked to Kayseri, Ankara with its rail connections, became the seat of the National Assembly. In 1927, the first census conducted by the Republican government showed the lack of dynamism due to a decade of war; Sivas was still a modest town of about 30,000 inhabitants.
of whom 4,000 were Armenians (SamI). There is a mosque there attributed to the Seljuk vizier Amln al-Dln Mlk'tl, with a library of 1,500 volumes. The remains of the Byzantine town of Amorium, known as Aydin-Oghullari under Bayezid II, it was the refuge of the corsair Kara Turmish (von Hammer, iv, 2582); in 1965 it was 5,259.

Bibliography: Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge 1905, 153; Ritter, Erdkunde, Berlin 1858, ix/1, 525, 577; V. Cuinet, La Turquie d'Asie, Paris 1892, i, 287; SamI, Kdmus al-d'ltm, iv, 2582; Belyudiler ylilgh, Ankara 1950, iii, 363-7; IA, art. Scharl (Besim Darkot).

2. The modern Turkish Seferi Hisar lies near the Sgack bay shore of the Aegean, 30 km/18 miles south-west of Izmir and is in the il or province of Izmir, being the chef-lieu of an ilk or district of this last (lat. 38°10' N, long. 26°48' E). In pre-Ottoman times, it came within the b6lyk or principality of the Aydin-Oghullarl (SamI). Under Bayezid II, it was the refuge of the corsair Kara Turmush (von Hammer,GOR, ii, 346). Evliya Celebi passed through it in 1081/1670 (Sehpahl-name, ix, 130-2). In the late 19th century, Sarni gave its population as 5,640 (Kdmus al-d'ltm, iv, 2582); in 1965 it was 5,259.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, La Turquie d'Asie, iii, 493-6; Belyudiler ylilgh, iii, 272-8; IA, loc. cit. (J.H. Krarners-C.E. Bosworth)

ŞIYÂGHÂ [see Ş'iqâ].

ŞIYAH-KALEM, Central Asian, Turkman or Persian painter of the 15th century. Sixty-five paintings and drawings in two albums (Topkapi Saray Libr., Istanbul, H2153 and H2160) are inscribed Ustdd Muhammad Siydh-Kakm (r/918-26/1512-20), found on the first and last folios of these albums containing his works are the proceedings and熊orded to that of Darwsh Muhammad's illustrations in the 886/1481 Qamsa, some of the Siyah-kalem works share the intensity of palette, fineness of brushwork and wealth of detail of the illustrations. Yet the identification of Siyah-kalem with Darwsh Muhammad presupposes the artist's ability and desire to work in markedly different styles, depicting a very broad range of subjects. Until more is learned of how Turkmen court artists worked and the circumstances under which the Siyah-kalem works were produced, the identity of the artist will remain uncertain.


ŞIYÂKAT (A.), Ottoman Turkish form of the Arabic original šâqâ (from šâq drive, urge on, herd), a technical term of 'Abbasid financial administration, certainly in use in the 4th/10th century with the sense of "accounting practice", "revenue bookkeeping practice" (tim al-siyâka wa l-hisâb), and hence by extension the particular form of Arabo-Persian script which came to be utilised by financial bureaucrats of Turco-Islamic politics, e.g. that of the Ottomans, for the writing of both decrees and single documents of a financial nature (including the so-called tapu ve tahtir defterler [see Defter-i Milâyânt]. In Ottoman practice, for which alone original documentary evidence is of a comprehensive nature, it was also used for certain elements in documents such as the so-called hâkim-i mâtîye (cf. J. Matuz, Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Suleymans des Prachtigen, Wiesbaden 1974, docs. 2, 6) or terdît-i fermânâlar (cf. Matuz, doc. 16), and for financial calculations made on incoming ind-i mâlâs which would be used in drafting imperial orders or bâgarâyâ. These exceptions apart, siyâkat was not used as legal docu-

ment of drapery and bare flesh, which consists of wide, parallel bands of black or red with light pigment highlighting the creases of each fold. The large-scale and predominantly human figures and the unpainted ground diverge markedly from the court paintings of the major 15th-century schools of the Djâlâyirds, Turkmans and Timûirds. While small-scale demons and grotesques are found in 15th-century manuscript illustrations, their visual impact and pictorial style bear little relation to the works attributed to Siyah-kalem.

In addition to works inscribed with Siyah-kalem's name, H2153 and H2160 contain 71 ascriptions to Shaykhî and three to Darwsh Muhammad, the two artists who added illustrations to a Qamsa (Topkapi Saray Libr. H762 and dispersed pages) for Ya'kub Beg at Tabriz in 886/1481. The imbalance in pictures assigned to one leading Turkmen painter and not the other has led B.W. Robinson to identify Muhammad Siyah-kalem with Darwsh Muhammad, on the assumption that Darwsh Muhammad was too important to be so under-represented in the Ya'kub Beg albums. The teacher of Darwsh Muhammad, Siyâh Muguflar, was known as Siyah-kalem, and it is possible that the sobriquet passed from teacher to pupil.

While the subject-matter of the Siyah-kalem paintings and drawings in the Istanbul albums is unconnected to that of Darwsh Muhammad's illustrations in the 886/1481 Qamsa, some of the Siyah-kalem works share the intensity of palette, fineness of brushwork and wealth of detail of the illustrations. Yet the identification of Siyah-kalem with Darwsh Muhammad presupposes the artist's ability and desire to work in markedly different styles, depicting a very broad range of subjects. Until more is learned of how Turkmen court artists worked and the circumstances under which the Siyah-kalem works were produced, the identity of the artist will remain uncertain.
ments, or in other documents (hawsh, name) deriving from the chanceries of the Divan-i Humayun [q.v.].

A distinction has to be made between sipakat script, characterised by the prolongation (alternatively, the compression) of letter forms and by the virtual absence of diacritic points (cf. the examples given by A. Zajaczkowski and J. Reychman, "Zarys dyplomatyi osmansko-
tureckich", Warszaw 1955, 68-9), and sipakat numerals.

The latter, the so-called divan rakamlari, were in effect the "written out" shapes of the numerals in Arabic, reduced to a skeletal and schematised form (cf. the useful tables in Salihettin Elker, Divan rakamları, Ankara 1953; actual examples in L. Fekete, Die Sipakat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung der Oströmischen, Budapest 1955, i, 34-9 = ii, pls. i-iii). However, financial documents, the literary elements of which are written in sipakat script, frequently have the figures in whole or in part supplied in their normal "Arabic" forms. It is also perhaps worth mentioning that sipakat figures were used for the dating of İkinci and late Saljuk of Kırım coinage.

The sipakat script itself has been described as "squint and angular" (V.L. Menna and M. Hinds, Quor İrin in the Ottoman period. Turkish and further Arabic documents, London 1991, 76), but the script in fact, in its best period, has a style and elegance which stands comparison with what are the commonly accepted more "aesthetic" forms of Perso-Arabic script (cf. the examples in Fekete, i, passim). It has also been commonly regarded as difficult in the extreme to read, but in both indigenous Islamic and later western criticism there may be detected a certain amount of exaggeration. What should not be forgotten, however, is Fekete's observation (9) that "no person, who is not competent to read sipakat script, is qualified to work on source-based research in [the field]."

The forms and ductus of sipakat, as used in the Ottoman financial bureaucracy, underwent a profound development from the 9th/15th to the 19th centuries. It reached its most elegant form early in the 10th/16th century; from the later 11th/17th century it becomes more stylised, with the distinction between "thick" and "thin" strokes greatly accentuated. By the era of the Tazimât [q.v.], Ottoman sipakat hands in general become debased and, ultimately, before its abolition, decadent (see the later plates in Fekete, ii, passim). The standard manual on sipakat remains, after more than 40 years, the two-volume study by Fekete referred to above, which is unlikely ever to be superseded.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

SIYALKUT, conventional rendering Sialkot, a town in the Panjâb situated in 32° 30' N. and 74° 32' E., the foundation of which is attributed by legend to Râdjâ Sâlah, the uncle of the Pandavas, and its restoration to Râdjâ Sâlvâham, in the time of Vikramâditya. Sâlvâham had two sons, Puran, killed by the Ghurid Muâmmar, and Sus, who tend, manage", etymologically connected with Biblical Hebrew sârâs "horse", originally used in Bedouin society for the tending and training of beasts, hence sârâs "manager or trainer of horses, camels, etc." (this last appearing, via Hindi, in the Anglo-Indian word sârân "groom",Fr. père; see Yule-Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, London 1903, 885-6).

1. In the sense of statecraft, the management of affairs of state and, eventually, that of politics and political policy.

In 1799, the Siyâlkut district, and also Lahore, was acquired by the great Sikh leader Ranjit Singh [see sikha], and the town was planned on a rectilinear pattern by the Italian general in his service, Avitabile. In 1849 it passed, with the rest of the Pandjâb, under British control, and the old fort, now dismantled, was defended by a handful of Europeans during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8. Within British India, Siyâlkut was the site of a large military cantonment, and the town itself grew in size to a population of 58,000 in 1901. At the Partition of India in 1947, Siyâlkut came within Pakistan, and is now the chief-locus of an intensively-cultivated District of the same name in the Lahore Division of the Pandjâb. It is now a significant manufacturing centre, including of sports equipment and surgical instruments, and in 1972 had a population of 212,000. It also has the renown, in contemporary Pakistan, of having been the birthplace of a figure regarded as one of the country's founding fathers, Sir Muhammad Iqbal [q.v.].

Bibliography: There are references in the historical sources, such as Djezđđani's Tabâbât-i Naziri and in Abu 'I-Fadl 'Alâ'mî's Ain-i Akbari. See also J.R. Dunlop-Smith, Siyâlkut District gazetteer, 1894-5; Imperial gazetteer of India, ix, 326-36.

(T.W. Hayc [C.E. Bosworth])

AL-SIYÄLKUTI, 'Abd al-Ḥakîm b. Shams al-Dîn (d. 1067/1657), counselor of the Mughal emperor Shâh Shâh Jân (regn. 1037-68/1628-58 [q.v.]), versatible scholar and well-known writer of glosses (hawshâghi, gh. hâshâyâ) on a number of popular textbooks. Many of them exist in old prints and lithographs, of which a fair number have recently been reprinted. In non-Indian prints, his name often appears distorted as al-Siyâlkuti or al-Silkûtî (intended vowels unknown).

Works on which he wrote hawshâgi include: (1) the Tafsîr of al-Baydâwî (d. 685/1286 or later [q.v.]); (2) the commentary of al-Tâfzânî (d. 791/1389 or later) on the 'Abîd'î of Abû Haʃîm 'Umar Nâdîm al-Dîn al-Nâsîf (d. 537/1142 [q.v.]); (3) al-Shurâ mutawa'all al-Tâfzânî on the Tâfsîr al-Midshîl of al-Khâji al-Kâzîmî (d. 739/1338 [q.v.]); (4) R. fi l-Tasawwurî of Djalâl al-Dîn al-Dawawînî (d. 907/1501 [q.v.]); (5) the gloss of 'Abd al-Ghaʃîr al-Lâî (d. 912/1507) on al-Fawzîd'î al-dîyâ'îyâ of Dâmi't (d. 898/1492 [q.v.]), a commentary on the Kâfsîa of Ibn al-Hâdîj [q.v.]; (6) the commentary of al-Kulambîwî on al-R. al-Shamsîyya of al-Kâtib al-Kâzîmî on logic.

Bibliography: Brockelman, G II, 550, S II, 613-14; Zirblt, Alman, iv, 55. (Ed.)

SÎYÄM [see sîyam.]

SÎYASA (a.), verbal noun from the root sâ-râs "tend, manage", etymologically connected with Biblical Hebrew sârâs "horse", originally used in Bedouin society for the tending and training of beasts, hence sâs "manager or trainer of horses, camels, etc." (this last appearing, via Hindi, in the Anglo-Indian word sâran "groom", Fr. père; see Yule-Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, London 1903, 885-6).

1. In the sense of statecraft, the management of affairs of state and, eventually, that of politics and political policy.
Here, the sense of training and managing animals passed early into the context of Islamic rulership, the conduct of state affairs and the management of the subject people, the nizya [q.v.], doubtless influenced by the ancient Near Eastern idea of the ruler as the shepherd and director of his human flock, and perhaps also with the idea of the "man on horseback" as a symbol of authority. The semantic process at work here would appear to be parallel to that in the term farisayya [q.v.] "equitation" > "chivalry, knightly conduct". Hence the meaning in early Islamic usage is primarily that of "statecraft, the successful conduct of public affairs". Bernard Lewis has described this usage, with copious examples, in his exhaustive study Siyasa, in A.H. Green (ed.), In quest of an Islamic humanism. Arabic and Islamic studies in memory of Mohamed al-Nouwaihi, Cairo 1984, 3-14. He adduces examples attributing use of the word siyasa to the Caliph 'Umar and the Umayyads, and (more authentically) to the 'Abbasids, as when al-Ma'sudi credited al-Mansur with superlative sa'adb al-ta'dhib wa-ham al-siyasa "good administration and sound statecraft" (Marudi, vi, 221 § 2431). From Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 140/757 [q.v.]) in his Risala l-yusufikhe comes the germ of an important future extension of meaning, that siyasa is the discretionary authority of the ruler and his officials, one which they exercise outside the framework of the Shari'a, the authority conferred on the caliph and his delegates by divine sanction. There further develops from this an additional sense of siyasa in Arabic, and thence in Persian and Turkish usage, that of punishment, extending as far as capital punishment, the violence which the ruler has to use in order to preserve his authority. Specifically, it implies punishment beyond the hadd [q.v.] penalties prescribed by the Divine Law. Lewis again quotes Ibn al-Tikhtak's [q.v.] celebrated work on statecraft and history, al-Fakhri: "Siyasa is the chief resource of the king, on which he relies to prevent bloodshed, defend chastity, prevent evil, subjugate evildoers and forestall misdeeds which lead to sedition and disturbance" (ed. Derenbourg, 30, Fr. tr. A.M. 37, Eng. tr. Whitting, 20) and the fact that, in Persian and Ottoman Turkish, siyaset-eh means "place of torture or execution". In Mamlık times, this distinction between Shari'a penalties and siyasa led, as reflected in such contemporary authors as al-Maqrizi, to a fantastic etymological connection of siyasa with the Mongol tribal law, the yasa (a view which was embraced by such an early Western orientalist as Silvestre de Sacy, see Dozy, Supplément, i, 702). See further on this, 3. below, at the end.

In the more recent Arabic Middle East, sc. from the mid-19th century onwards, siyasa and siyâsé became increasingly used in the sense of "politics, political"; the Egyptian traveller and translator Rifa'i al-Tahrawi [q.v.] had used siyasa as his translation for "loi, règlement" in his Arabic translation of the French constitution of 1830. Likewise, in Ottoman Turkish, whereas siyaset had been almost exclusively used in regard to physical punishment for offences against the state (as, e.g. in the Kanun-ndme of Mehmed II), during the course of the 19th century it began to acquire the meaning of "politics", with Ottoman reformers of the mid-19th century now demanding hukuk-i siyasiye, so that the old sense of "punishment" rapidly disappeared.

Bibliography: See, above all, the study of B. Lewis mentioned in the text, and also his The political language of Islam, Chicago and London 1988, ii, 19, 122 n. 19. For various aspects of modern politics in the Middle East, see Duster, H.E.B., Islam, Marxists, Marxist-Wara, etc. (C.E. Bosworth)

2. In the context of political philosophy. Modern scholars such as Fauzi M. Najjar and Miriam Galston are agreed that such titles as al-Farâbi's al-Siyasa al-madaniyya should be rendered in English as The political regime. Najjar considers siyasa to mean "the act of nation or managing the state in accordance with a principle or an end". In the hands of a philosopher, such principles and ends were clearly underpinned by philosophy. And in a philosopher like al-Farâbi, the intimate links between metaphysics and politics, or political science, have been stated many times. This is immediately clear in the alternative title given to al-Siyasa al-madaniyya, i.e. Masâdi', al-maşâidi', which Najjar renders as The treatise on the principles of beings. Not only was there that intimate link between philosophy and politics in al-Farâbi's writings but, whereas al-Ghazâli and Ibn Taymiyya subordinated siyasa to fiqh, the philosophers often elevated siyasa above şari'a in importance. Furthermore Najjar stresses that "under the influence of classical philosophy, especially that of Plato and Aristotle, the Falsâfiya regarded siyasa as an important and separate branch of philosophy [my italics]. Accordingly, political life is susceptible to philosophical scrutiny, and its principles may be established by reason, independently of şaykh and kalâm". It is al-Farâbi who is the arch-exponent of philosophical siyasa in mediaeval Islam. In his Kitâb Iba's al-ilm he devotes an important fifth chapter to al-ilm al-madani (which has been translated as both "political science" and "civil science") together with Fikh and Scholastic theology (ilm al-kalâm). Al-Farâbi notes that al-ilm al-madani "makes enquiry into the kinds of actions and intentional ways of behaviour and natural dispositions and character and traits and the natures from which those actions and ways of behaviour derive" (Iba's al-ilm, 91 [Arabic] tr. Netton, 100 n. 44). Given the links in al-Farâbi's thought between al-Madâna al-fikâda and al-Siyasa al-madaniyya, this definition of al-Farâbi's provides a useful philosophical substrate for the whole concept of siyasa. In another work, his K. al-Tanbîh al-sâlih sabîl al-sââda, which like the Iba's al-ilm shows al-Farâbi's passion for division and sub-division, the author divides philosophy into the theoretical and the practical, and the latter is further sub-divided into ethics and siyasa. It is thus no exaggeration to say, together with many other commentators, that siyasa was an integral part of al-Farâbi's philosophical edifice, and, in particular, a distinctive and highly developed feature of his metaphysics.


3. In the sense of siyasa şari'yya.

"Governance in accordance with the şari'a" is a Sunni constitutional and legal doctrine emerging in late mediaeval times and calling for harmonisation between the law and procedures of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) and the practical demands of governance (siyasa). Most
responsible for crystallising the doctrine were the two Hanball scholars Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [q.v.]) (particularly in his al-Siyása al-sharíyya, Beirut[?]) 1966) and his student Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350 [q.v.]). Ibn Taymiyya's view in his treatise is that, if the divine law or sharfa, is observed, šiyása of rulers (imám, súllám, amir or wálí) will not conflict with fikh [q.v.] as elaborated by scholars (fakha'á'). Earlier authorities had conceded that rulers had the need and the right to deviate from fikh in order to attain effective šiyása, but Ibn Taymiyya claimed that such "deviations" are imaginary. If conflict between them appears, it is either because the fikh is understood too narrowly, neglecting the rich resources of the šiyása for attaining the public good, or because rulers disregard the divine will and act unjustly (šiyása zálimá). Indeed, Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya claimed that true šiyása (šiyása 'dála') is but part of the š гарыа (al-Tunuk al-bukhimiyá fí 'lišiyása al-sharíyya, ed. A. al-Ashtari, Cairo 1961, 100; see also idem, Fán al-muwakkití'n, Cairo n.d., 373-4). If the rulers and the 'ulámá' (who, for Ibn Taymiyya al-Hisba, ed. S. Ibn Abí Sá'd, Kuwait n.d., 117), collectively comprise the Kur'ánic al-a'lam (sura IV, 59) uphold the revealed law not only in particular rulings but also in its general objectives or principles, they will lead mankind to good in the present world and the hereafter.

By this doctrine, Ibn Taymiyya advances both a more expansive vision for fikh (among other things, embracing disputed doctrines by which fikh draws on utility [see 'Áda'; 'Istimrás'; 'Istísirá'; maslála; 'írj]) and also a constitutional theory by which the excesses of rulers may be curtailed and šгарыа legitimacy extended to actual states. In effect, his doctrine offers rulers šгарыа legitimation in return for a greater share of power for 'ulámá'; it offers šgarыа' greater šгарыа' efficacy at the cost of their being implicated further in affairs of state.

Ibn Taymiyya's view is only one understanding of the relationship between fikh and šiyása, and between the roles of ruler and 'ulámá', in upholding šгарыа'. Other formulations (by other names) appear in Islamic political and constitutional writings, some with greater historical influence. (They include some of the most thoughtful statements on state and religion in Islam: e.g. Ibn Khaldún, Muqaddámá, Beirut 1415/1995, esp. 177-8; and see isámá; khalíta; mahdí.) Indeed, Ibn Taymiyya's doctrine, and the context in which it arose, reflect only one stage in the course of Islamic constitutional history, a field demanding greater scholarly attention.

If we merely trace uses of the term šiyása, we find that in early periods it appeared not as a technical term but as a common word for "governance" and "statecraft" (see 1. above), which was used in a manner betraying little sense of conflict with fikh. (Sa'bth Muslim, imára, 46; B. Lewis, Šiyása, in In quest of an Islamic humanism [see for this, above, 1]. Early šгарыа' legitimation being grounded in the office of the caliph, his discretion in the šгарыа' application was axiomatic. The Rághúdán caliphs exercised extremely broad legal authority, taking many far-reaching legal actions with little apparent concern for the interpretative techniques of later fikh. By the early 'Abbásid era, despite self-conscious adoption of fikh as state law, caliphs still enjoyed a legal authority supervening fikh, as reflected in works by Ibn al-Mukaffa' (d. 140/757 [q.v.]) and Abú Yusuf (d. 182/798 [q.v.]) in his K. al-Khadíq (ed. I. 'Abbas, Beirut 1985). Abú Yusuf often cedes to the caliph discretion in fikh matters and never mentions šiyása. In the 14th and 117th centuries, the decline of the caliphate in favour of sovereign military-caste sultanates, and increased vitality and outreach in fikh and in 'ulámá' institutions, brought the two legitimacies of šgarыа and šiyása into competition. Al-Mawardí's (d. 450/1058 [q.v.]) classic statement in the coining of state terms for the hierarchy of state officials and administrative officials, but not the learned kádí, powers under the šгарыа' to transgress particular fikh laws and procedures in their adjudications, as long as categorical rules are not offended (see particularly, discussions of nádzir al-mazálim "the enquirer into grievances," Akhám, Beirut 1410/1990, 104-78, e.g. nádzir al-mazálim lát yabhùn min al-akhir mà hasáxubu al-shári, Akhám, 160; and of the nádzir 'l-shará'í or criminal jurisdiction, Akhám, 363-13. See also mazálim; hurrta; and cf. Ibn Taymiyya, al-Hisba, 15-16, countering Al-Mawardí with a claim that distinctions between the kádí and other judicial authorities have no basis in šгарыа but are only customary). Al-Mawardí's system, to our eyes, makes large concessions to political authority, but in historical context it seems a bold assertion of political vision in fikh. For, with Al-Mawardí and public law after him, even the political sphere is to be judged by standards set by 'ulámá', šiyása being valid only where the latter admit it. With such a theory in place, it becomes far easier to criticise various rulers' actions as illegitimate. And with the decline and extinction of the caliphate, fikh indeed accepted rulers, and their acts, as legitimate only by way of necessity (A.K.S. Lamton, State and government in medieval Islam, Oxford 1981, 103-29). Against this background, Ibn Taymiyya's theory represents a reaction, an attempt to restore some form of Islamic legitimacy in political circumstances which were by then understood as not only tragic but also permanent. The compromise which he proposed was largely ignored in his lifetime, but appears to have had a strong influence on Málíkí (see e.g. Ibn Farbars (d. 799/1397 [q.v.]), Tahsinrat al-hukkám, Cairo 1884, 1-12, 13, ii, 104-15, following Ibn Taymiyya and departing from the views of the Málíkí al-Karáfí, d. 684/1285), and on late Hanífí and Ottoman law and practice (al-Tarábulúsí, d. 944/1440, Mu'ín al-hukkám, Cairo 1973, and Dedé Efendi (d. 972/-1565?), both relying heavily on Ibn al-Taymiyya and Ibn al-Kayıyim; see U. Heyd, Studies in old Ottoman criminal law, ed. V.L. Ménege, Oxford 1973, 198). In modern times, Ibn Taymiyya's views have been adopted by the Wahhábí movement (Hanbálí in fikh) as the constitution for all Saudi states since 1745. For this and other reasons, his views have exercised immense influence on modern Islamic constitutional thought.

Although mediaeval fikh writings on šiyása are varied and profound, in modern times there is often distilled from them a single doctrine of šiyása šgarыа broadly accepted (see e.g. A. Khallál, al-Šiyása al-Šaríyya, Cairo 1350). This recognises, in the state, authority to take legal acts (including legislating to supplement the šgarыа' and creating new courts) as needed for the public good (maslála 'amma), provided that the šgarыа' is not infringed thereby (or, in another formulation, as long as the šgarыа' has "no text", lánas, on the matter). How the latter provisos are to be understood and applied is, however, disputed in practice. One view excludes acting whenever fikh posses a ruling, even if this is based on idjátáh and open to dispute. A more permissive view limits contradiction to indisputable šgarыа' tenets (náší kal'), overlooking mere idjátáh and kiyád. A still more liberal view is concerned only with contradiction with the "spirit" of šgarыа' or with its "principles" (maslála).
Returning to mediaeval writings, since *siyasa* sharciyya and similar theories deal with the relationship between *fikh* and *siyasa*, both sources of legitimation for state power, they have often been called upon to allocate authority between state institutions derived from the two sources. In many areas, there was little competition, as in undisputed *fikh* authority over ritual and family law or clear *siyasa* jurisdiction over governmental organisation and administration. Other areas, however, were rife with conflict, and we find *fikh* writings preoccupied with them. We give here three major examples.

One of these is adjudication generally. *Fikh* writings on *siyasa* deal extensively with non-*kâfîd* jurisdictions, such as those of the *maqâlim*, the *shari'a*, and that of the Mamlik *hâdîqât*, that employ *siyasa* procedurally and substantively, concerned that such tribunals are oblivious of *shari'a* (Ibn Taymiyya, *Hisba*, 16; Ibn Kahlînî, 206). *Fikh* works endorsing *siyasa* *sharî'ya* seem dedicated to persuading *kâfîd* to use *siyasa*'s flexible methods of proof and investigation, particularly in criminal law, presumably with the object of expanding *kâfîd* jurisdiction against *siyasa* competitors (Ibn Taymiyya, *Maddûma*, *fâsiqûs*, ed. A. Al-`Aîmî, Riyâd 1382, xx, 388-93; Ibn al-Kayyîm, *Turkân*; Ibn Farhûn, *Tabûrîn*; al-`Alâ`rûbûlî, *Mîwâs*).

As a second example, *fikh* writings on criminal law are preoccupied by *siyasa*, since here *fikh* and *siyasa* shared the field. First, apart from the small number of *hâdîd* (*q.v.*) crimes extensively regulated by *fikh*, authors largely delegated substantive criminal law to the ruler's discretion under the heading of *'a'd* (*q.v.*). Secondly, under a related concept, rulers claimed, and most *fâsîk* acknowledged, authority in certain circumstances to punish *pa'îd* (*q.v.*), meaning that the ruler has authority to punish seriously and peremptorily, without observing even the few general limits as to punishments and procedures imposed by *fikh* (Ibn Taymiyya, *Siya'sa*, 98-100). Thirdly, *siyasa* was invoked to justify police practices of imprisoning and beating accused persons to encourage confessions, practices of which, as al-Mawârid states explicitly, *shari'a* disapprove but nonetheless uphold (*Akbâr*, 219-21). Indeed, because of practices under these various heads, *siyasa* became so closely associated with discretionary penalties (and particularly with harsh punishments and torture) that it became the very name for them. This usage appears in al-Dhûwânuğ (d. 478/1085) (*Gûyûf al-`amam*, Alexandria n.d., 150, 170) and even earlier, and by Ottoman times it is the term's most common meaning (Lewis; Dozy, *Suppl*.; Heyd, 192-207).

A third concern of *fikh* writings on *siyasa* is legislation issued on the ruler's authority (see e.g. Ibn al-Kayyîm, *Plám*, iv, 372). This arose particularly after the advent of Mongol rule, when states adopted or imitated the Mongol practice of dynamic laws and customs called *yânâk* or *yâsâ* (*q.v.*), and often applied the term *siyasa* to these rules. *Ulamâ's* jealousy of rulers' law as a potential competitor to *fikh*, portrayed respect for *yâsâ* as a heretical placing of Cîngiz Khan and his decrees alongside the Prophet Muhammad and the *shari'a* (al–Ba’lî, al-Durar al-mudîyya, Beirut n.d., 394-5, citing Ibn Taymiyya). Al-Mâkrîzî went so far as to claim that *siyasa* in Mamlik military-class usage is not Arabic at all, but derives from *yâsâ* (*khatîb*, Cairo 1934, ii, 220; Ibn Taghribirdî, *Nûdwûm*, ed. Cairo, vi, 182-3; Ayalon, *The Great Text of Châng Khan*, in *SL*, xxxiii [1971], 1-15; J.S. Nielsen, *Secular justice in an Islamic State. Maqâlim under the Bulgarian Mamelûks*, Istanbul 1985, 104-4; D.O. Morgan, *The Great Text of Châng Khan* and Mongol law in the *Ilkhânate*, in *BSOAS*, llix [1986], 163-76). In Ottoman practice, the institution of dynastic law overcame *ulamâ's* resistance to become a relatively ordered system of state legislation (called *kâfîd* [*q.v.*] or *bu'at*). *Fikh* works endorsing *kâfîd* courts and applied by the *kâfîd* courts.


**SIYÂSAT-NÁMA** [see naṣḥat al-mutâlîk]

**SIYAWUSH**, a Kayânid prince of Persian legendary history and national epic, whose murder by the order of Afrâşîyâb, the arch-king of Iran and Turân, deepened the deadly feud between Iran and Turân and led eventually to the destruction of Afrâşîyâb and the devastation of his land.

Siyawûsh is mentioned several times in the Avesta as a holy prince, whose blood was avenged by his illustrious son Kavî Haorsuath (Pers. Kay Khusraw [*q.v.*]), who slew Afrâşîyâb and destroyed his kin (*Taqîs*, 9:18; 13:122; 19:71, 77). The *Bundahîshn*, a major Middle Persian work, contains a brief account of the legend and from the *Dinkart* we learn that a lost section of the Avesta, the *Sutkâr* Nask, referred to the avenging of Siyawûsh's blood.

Arabic and Persian histories that treat of ancient Iranian history generally give an account of Siyawûsh's legend. The fullest account, however, is provided by Firdawû's epic, the *Shâh-nâma*, which is by and large a rendering in verse, through more than one intermediary, of the *Fahlust* *Shâh-nâmâ* or *Book of Lords*, compiled in late Sâsânî times. The legend constitutes the longest and also the most moving episode of the *Shâh-nâma*.

Briefly, according to this account (ed. Khâlîkî- Mutilâk, ii, 202 ff.), Siyawûsh, King Kâwâl's favourite son, is accused by his stepmother, Sîdâbã, who has fallen in love with him, of amorous advances towards her, an accusation of which he clears himself through his prowess in the art of love. Later, he seeks refuge in the land of the enemy as a consequence of the unreasonable demand of his petulant father to break an honorable peace he had made with Afrâşîyâb. He is welcome and honoured by Afrâşîyâb, who later, however, following accusations by his wicked brother Garsîwaz, has the prince murdered. Siyawûsh's death is subsequently avenged by his son Kay Khusraw, who hunts down and kills Afrâşîyâb. There are some variants in the legend as recalled by other Islamic sources, such as al-Thâlîî's *Ghurar al-`ısrâr*, 171-222, and al-Täbârî, i, 598-602, tr. M. Perlman, iv, 1-5. See Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 111, for further variants, and on the tale in general, Yarshater, ch. *Iranian national history*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/1, 374-4.

The religious dimension of the legend of Siyawûsh, whose cult continued at least in Transoxiana well into the 10th century, is evidenced by a report in Nâshrîhî's *Tärib-ı Bukhârâ*, ed. Radawi, 32-3, tr. Frye, 117, 122, according to which the people of Bukhârâ had many laments (nûdwûm) on the slaying of Siyawûsh, which the minister of state made into chants called the "weeping of the Magi" (*gûstân-* or *nûdwûm*).
He reports further that Siyawush was believed to have been buried in Bukhara, and each year, on New Year's day, every man sacrificed a cock and poured its blood on his grave—a fact confirmed by the inscription that the vizier was spiritually affiliated to the Nakshbandiyya dervish order.

He is described by Ottoman biographers as “moderate”, “gentle” and “incorruptible”. Three times he had to yield to the Grand Vizierial signet ring and give way to the more influential personalities of his time.

The Siyawush episode in the Shâh-nâma represents the height of Firdawsi’s poetic power, endowed as it is with rare psychological insights, apt characterisation, and careful structure. It has been ably translated into English verse by Dick Davis (The legend of Seyavush; Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth 1992), and has prompted a number of literary studies beside Miskûb’s perceptive analysis (see Bibl.). Several historical figures in Persia and Armenia bear the name of the prince (see Justi, Namenbuch, 300, s.v. Siyavush).
The afore-mentioned should not be confused with two of his predecessors carrying the same name. 1. Siyawush Pasha, kanîhêli, Dâmâd,Ş. L. 1010-11/1602, was three times Grand Vizier: in the years 990-2/1582-4, 994-7/1586-9 and 1000-1/1592-3 (on him, see above, 1); 2. Siyawush Pasha, Ahabäzâ, Dâmâd, D. 2 Nov. 1066/25 April 1656 was Grand Vizier under Sultan Mehmed IV in 1061/1651 and 1066/1656.


SKÖPJE [see SKÔPJE].

SKUTARI [see ESKÖRDRA, in Suppl.].

AL-SŁAWI [see AL-NÄRÎ AL-SŁAWI].

SMALA [see ZMALA].

SMYRNA [see IZMIR, in Suppl.].

SÔBA, a town of the mediaeval Sudan, situated on the right bank of the Blue Nile 22.5 km/14 miles above its confluence with the White Nile. While the city arose amidst the remains of older Merotic or Napatian settlements, to the Islamic world Sôba was the capital of the mediaeval kingdom of Alodia [see 'ALWA]. Brief inscriptions in Old Nubian have been found in the area, while recent discoveries of texts in Greek, including a royal tombstone, suggest that this language also played an important role in the court culture of the very large and ethnically diverse Alodian realm. In A.D. 580 the Alodian monarch embraced Monophysite Christianity, and richly endowed ecclesiastical architecture graced Sôba when, no later than the 9th century, it became the Alodian capital.

Sôba at its 10th-century apogee was a sprawling city, its public buildings of red brick, set amidst a wide and fertile agricultural and pastoral hinterland. Its customs and usages were said to resemble those of Dongola [q.v.], which it exceeded in wealth and power, and its kings, through marriage diplomacy, sought with indifferent success to unite the two Nubian crowns. A large quarter of Sôba was inhabited by foreign Islamic merchants who supplied the court with imported luxuries, conspicuously glassware, in return for Sudanese products.

During the 12th century, Sôba began to decline as the authority of the Alodian monarch over his far-flung provinces faltered, yet the city remained a centre of regional power until its conquest by the Fundj [q.v.] at the close of the 15th century. Thereafter, Sôba enjoyed posthumous eminence as legendary ancestral home to the kings of Fazzûghi [q.v.].


SOCOTRI [see SÛRATRA. 3].

SÔFALA, Ar. Surâlû, a district and former town in Mozambique, in lat. 18° 13' S., long. 14° 20' E., 48 km south-south-east of Beira, was the principal port for the regional gold export trade at least from the 10th to the 17th century. Materials are not available to construct an orderly history, which is recorded only in scattered Arabic, Chinese, Persian and Portuguese sources.

The name is generally connected with the Arabic root sofâlā to "be low-lying". Thus Al-Masûdî (i, 331-2 = §§ 362-3) says that "whenever a mountain stretches some distance below the sea, in the Medi-terranean it is given the name al-sofâlā". Presumably from "underwater mountains", the coast here is low-lying. Nevertheless, the term is also used for the ancient Indian port of Suruparaka, near Bombay, which is by no means low-lying. For this reason G. Ferrand considered that a Banntu root may be preferable, but there is no evidence to support this.

Al-Masûdî is the first author to name it (i, 233 = § 246). There is, however, some earlier archaeological evidence. Sligh evidence exists of gold digging in the region, ca. A.D. 100, in some authors, ca. A.D. 500 in others, the earliest source being Mapungubwe in the present republic of Zimbabwe. A recent archaeo-logical survey by G. Liesegang disclosed nothing of antiquity. Al-Dzhâhîz (d. 255/668-9) attests a Muslim presence and an established slave trade in Zanzibar and Pembâ, without mentioning gold. Nevertheless, there, and on Tumbatu Island, remains of mosques have been found datable to the 8th or 9th centuries A.D. Their size indicates that they were built not simply for agricultural settlements but for substantial trading towns. The gold trade of Sofâla could not have sprung "like Venus from the waves"; it seems logical to rely upon these indications. The answer to the problem will lie in systematic excavation.

Al-Masûdî says that Sofâla lies at the utmost end of the land of Zandj. It adjoins the Wàskâw country, the name of this being possibly an onomatopoeic word which suggests click-speakers [see further, WAKWAK]. At iii, 6-8 = §§ 847-9, he says that the Zandj settled a warm and the soil fertile. The Zandj have their capital which suggests click-speakers [see further, WAKWAK].

During the 12th century, Sofâla began to decline as the authority of the Alodian monarch over the far-flung provinces faltered, yet the city remained a centre of regional power until its conquest by the Fundj [q.v.] at the close of the 15th century. Thereafter, Sofâla enjoyed posthumous eminence as legendary ancestral home to the kings of Fazzûghi [q.v.].

for gold, and excavate galleries like ants", phraseology almost identical with that of Diogo de Alçaçova in a letter to the King of Portugal in 1606.

The Hudud al-Islam, written in Persian in northern Afghanistan in 372/982, mentions three towns in Sofâla: MULJAN, possibly the modern Vulanga, the ancient name for Zanzibar still current in Swahili; SUFÂLA, the seat of the Zandj kings; and HWFL, a name which so far has defied identification. Ca. 421/1030 al-Bîrûnî, in his India, mentions an animal, of which a man who had visited Sofâla told him that its horns were used to make knife-handles, clearly a rhinoceros. More importantly, he says that Somnâth in Kathiawar [see SUMANAT] has become celebrated because it is much frequented by sailors, and is the port from which voyages are made frequently between Sofâla of the Zandj and China. At Sayûnâ there are settled Indian traders, plausibly what the Portuguese called Sena on the Zambezi river, an important town trading in gold and other local products. It has not been excavated.

Al-Bîrûnî's reference to China makes it no surprise that the Sung Annals for 1071 and 1083 have detailed accounts of envoys from the Zandj coast, from a ruler called A-meng-to A-mre-lan, which may reasonably be taken as Persian amir-i amîn, a ruler of rulers such as al-Masûdî had also described. He had also mentioned a brisk ivory trade, of such dimensions as to have caused a shortage of ivory in Islamic lands. The Sung Annals give a glowing picture of trade in many items, and also speak of gold, silver and copper currency as in use by the Zandj. Of gold currency we have no evidence of minting at Kilwa [p.e., and see below] before the 14th century. Of both silver and copper currency there is already evidence in Zanzibar and Pemba by the 10th century; there is some possible evidence of silver currency in the Lamu archipelago by the 9th century. Nevertheless, there was no immediate source of silver in eastern Africa, although it could have been obtained from India. The recorded present to the envoys from the Zandj court to that of the Sung, amounting to 2,000 ling of silver, would have been a very handsome one indeed.

Al-Ibrî, a century later in 549/1154, speaks of the famous iron mines, and of the abundance of gold in Sofâla. He also names two towns, Djabasta and Dâghûta. The readings are uncertain, and they have not been identified. For the end of this century the Crónica dos Reis de Quíos, from a lost Arabic source which can be dated to ca. 1500, and translated by João de Barros and published in 1552, gives us some rather questionable information. It alleges that, up to ca. 1190, the Sofâla trade had been conducted by merchants from Mogadishu, and that then, because a Kilwa fisherman was driven out of his course down to Sofâla, he discovered the Mogadishu trade with Sofâla. Thereupon he reported to the sultan of Kilwa, who then sent a governor there. It is difficult to assess the truth, for the standing mediaeval buildings in Mogadishu, two mosques, both have 13th century dedication inscriptions. This would seem to point away from an earlier date for the prosperity of Mogadishu. As to Kilwa, the Crónica shows that, prescinding from the myth of the fisherman, Kilwa did certainly send governors to Sofâla, and one such from Kilwa was found there when the Portuguese built their fort there in 1506.

The Hungul and other early 13th century that Sofâla was the last known town of the Zandj; and that merchants traded with the inhabitants by the "silent trade", in the manner that Yâkût reports also in the Magrib, and that Herodotus and later Cosmas Indicopleustes had reported centuries before in the Magrib and in Ethiopia. A far more elaborate report was completed two years before in China, by Chao Ju-Kua in his Cha-fan-chih. He was commissioner for foreign trade in the Fukien province of China. Of Zanzibar (Ts'ong-pa) he says that the inhabitants are Muslim. It is an island of wooded hills and terraced rocks, a description more like Pemba, which is hilly, than Zanzibar, which is flat. "The products of the country consist of elephants' tusks, native gold, ambergris and yellow sandalwood." The Arabs send ships to this country with white cotton cloth, porcelain, copper, and red cotton. This gold could only have come from the Sofâla region, for other sources of gold far inland near Lake Victoria were not exploited before colonial times.

Ibn Sa'id (7th/13th century) says that the names of the towns of Sofâla are not known but that the capital is Sayûnâ. Ferrand says that this is undoubtedly the Chionia of Barros (Decade ii, Bk. 1, ch. i), which he locates between Malindi and Mombasa in lat. 2° 30' S., long. 99° E. E. Al-Kazwînî lists no such place on the eastern African coast, nor is there any philological connection with Sayûnâ apparent. As with al-Bîrûnî above, it would seem preferable to equate Sayûnâ with the market-town of Sena on the Zambezi. Ibn Sa'id continues that Sayûnâ is the capital of the king of the Sofâlains, a further pointer to the location. The Sofâlains and the Zandj worship idols and wear panther-skins. (There are no panthers in East Africa; presumably leopard or cheetah are meant.) Their principal resources are gold and iron. They have no horses, and only infantry. He speaks also of the straits of Kumr (Comoro Islands [see KUMR]), yet further confirming a southern location for Sayûnâ, as does the mention of the unidentified town of Dâghûta.

Al-Kazwînî (ca. 600-82/ca. 1205-83) records Sofâla as the last town in the land of Zandj, which has gold mines, and practises the "silent trade". He mentions a bird called the fawwârî, which "speaks better than a parrot". Presumably a mynah is meant (cf. A. Roberts, Birds of South Africa, 1940, pl. xvii). Al-Kazwînî mentions a similar bird in Sumatra, calling it hawâwâ, "smaller than a pigeon, with a white belly, black wings, red claws and a yellow beak". Sofâla, too, has white, red (or yellow) and green parrots (cf. Roberts, pl. xxii), but the white parrot would rather be a lourie. Men here eat flies, believing that this prevents ophthalmia, and he notes that they do not suffer from it. Abu 'l-Fida' (672-732/1273-1331) makes only the briefest mention of the location of Sofâla. Al-Dimâqkhîf (ca. 725/1325) mentions Sofâla three times, citing Aristotle for an "oil stone ... red with a bluish light; touched by oil, it is changed for the worse, the oil going right to the centre. It comes from Sofâla of Zandj. When it is rubbed over a garment stained with oil, it removes all traces immediately."

Ibn Baţûtâ visited Kilwa briefly in 732/1331, after short stops at Zayla', Mogadishu, and Mânî. A merchant told him that Sofâla was half a month's march away. "Between Sofâla and Yuft in the country of the Limîs is a month's march. Powdered gold is brought from Yuft to Sofâla." This is possibly a confused memory of Nupé in Nigeria, several thousand miles away, and unconnected by any known caravan route. Yuft and Limîs have never been identified, nor is Limîs recognizable as a Banu root.

Ibn Baţûtâ relates a long anecdote about the generosity of a sultan of Kilwa, al-Hasan b. Sulaymân,
known as Abu '1-Mawahib, and how he gave a beggar a present of his own clothes, together with slaves and ivory. Ibn Batūţa comments with palpable acidity, as if his own hopes had been dashed: "In this country the majority of present-givers of ivory, gold and freights are very seldom given." This sultan, al-Hasan b. Sulaymān (ca. 1310-33) is known from the Akhbar Kulwa (see below), from an inscription in the Husuni (sc. Ar. hīm) Palace in Kilwa, from many copper coins, and from five gold pieces in his name, the only gold coins so far known to have been minted at Kilwa. They were reported to the British Museum only in 1990. It is thus hitherto impossible to interpret Ibn Batūţa's en passant remark as referring to coin. Since much of Kilwa, and of other larger sites in eastern Africa, have not yet been fully excavated, the subject is one that must be treated with great caution. Nevertheless, this gold could only have come from Sofālā.

Hamd Allah Mustawfī related that Sofālā of Zandj has a cavern measuring 500 parasangs in every direction. Because of shifting sands and the heat and aridity, the country is not thickly inhabited.

Like al-Kazwmī above, that speaks better than a parrot. He was not the first European traveller to visit India. His journeys, starting from Portugal, and travelling along the coast of Arabia to eastern Africa, back to Europe. The account also attests, it seems, that Cananor and Cochín were outlets for the Sofālā gold.

In 1505 Francisco d'Almeida was commissioned to set out with a fleet to set up fortresses at Kilwa and at Sofālā. He set out in March or April, but the vessel whose crew was to occupy Sofālā sank in the Tagus. Eventually Pero d'Anhaya reached Kilwa with six ships, carrying materials for building a fort similar to São Jorge de Mina, now Elmina in Ghana. After suffering a series of misfortunes, they crept up the river. They were received by the Shaykh Yusuf, the governor, a member of the royal family of Kilwa, who was eighty years of age and blind. His house was richly furnished, with Indian silks and cloths, ivory and gold, filling the Portuguese with cupidity. By November a fort had been built of local materials and houses for the factor and his staff. Vessels also had been seized at sea, and prisoners slaughtered. At first trade prospered, but the atrocities committed by the Portuguese resulted in an attack on the fort. The locals were aided by fever among the Portuguese, whose numbers were halved. In December 1506 Nuño Vaz Pereira was sent to restore peace and normalise relations.

In the meantime, Diogo da Açoçova had sent a favourable report to the king. The gold, he said, came from an inland kingdom, Vealanga, 30-36 days' journey from the coast. There the miners dig out the earth in tunnels. They cook the earth in pots, separating it from the gold. Barros (Dec. i, Bk. x, ch. i) says that the kingdom of Sofālā is over 650 leagues in circumference. It is so thickly populated that the elephants are leaving it. The locals say that every year four or five thousand die, which explains how they can send so great a quantity of ivory to India. The gold mines are at Manica, some fifty leagues west of Sofālā. The gold is gathered in dust or in nuggets weighing as much as two or three mithkālās. Nevertheless, the people of the country only wear copper ornaments, esteeming copper more gold. The land of Sofālā adjoins the land of the Wākwāk. Ibn Khaldūn is very laconic. Sofālā lies east (sc. south) of Mahārī (sc. Mogadishu), adjoining Wākwāk. Bākuwl speaks of the land of Zandj, famous for its gold mines. He speaks also of a bird called hāvāri, like al-Ḵazwīnī above, that speaks better than a parrot. The mu'allim or shipmaster Sulaymān al-Mahrī (early 10th/16th century) locates Sofālā at about 18°S., a very accurate observation, since correctly it is 18°13'.

About 1490 Sofālā was visited by Pedro da Covilhā. His journeys, starting from Portugal, and travelling along the coast of Arabia to eastern Africa, back to Cairo, whence to India, and then returning to Ethiopia, where he was detained, have been related and traced in detail by E. Axelson. Before proceeding to Ethiopia he encountered a Rabbi from Beja in Portugal, who carried back—so it seems—an account of the intelligence which Covilhā had gathered to the king of Portugal. Covilhā's report, if it were written down, has not survived; it was perhaps destroyed like much information which Covilha had gathered to the king of Portugal. Covilha's report, if it were written down, has not survived; it was perhaps destroyed like much
nuggets. There are also more distant mines in the kingdom of Butua. It has a fortress built of hewn stones, which the local call symbaoe, sc. zimbabees, house of stone.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Sofala was highly prosperous. There was, however, no room for the Portuguese in the equity, and slowly the gold trade, and that in ivory, declined or moved north-ward to a series of small ports. Ca. 1517-18 Duarte Barbosa summarised the coastal trade. Cotton cloth, silk, beads were brought from Malindi and Mombasa, and bought in Sofala, being “paid for in gold at such a price that those merchants departed well pleased, which gold they give by weight”.

In the 1950s the Central African Archives initiated a series which was published in Portuguese and English, Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497-1840. The first eight volumes reached 1589 only. There was then a hiatus in publication, until in 1989 a ninth volume appeared, taking the series up to 1615. This most valuable project was necessarily selective, containing as it does documents from Goa, Portugal, Rome and Spain. The first eight have very numerous references to local payments for salaries and goods in Sofala, Mozambique and Kilwa. Mozambique superseded Sofala as the main port of call in 1507. The ninth volume is more concerned with local affairs.

The payments are generally shown in gold mithkâls, and even in half- or quarter-mithkâls. One list of staff payments at Sofala in 1508, expressed in mithkâls, regrets the absence of dinheiro (ordinary coin) to discharge them. This would make one think that mithkâls were still coined, but no pieces of this nature have so far been found other than those of al-Hasan b. Sulay-mân mentioned above. Some payments are shown in two currencies, both mithkâls and reals (commonly moids). One entry records a payment of 108 silver mithkâls, of which no coined specimens have ever been reported. In 1513 gold was imported in square pieces from Delacca. The toponym is unidentified, and it would be strange if the Dahlak Islands were meant. In 1515-16 a payment is recorded in auro por amodar, gold for coined, that is, in nuggets or uncoined gold. There are further references to uncoined gold, others where it is not specified whether the mithkâls were minted or not. In 1536 Lisbon sent specially-made mithkâls weights to Sofala, which could suggest that a mint was established there. There is no mention of any such in the Documentos. The subject is veiled in mystery. It would seem strange that in the 17th century payment was made in mithkâls if they were no longer minted, when the Portuguese were able to establish mints for Portuguese issues in Goa (1510), Malacca (1511), and Chaul, Diu and Bassein in the 17th century, of which the typology is well reported. A record of 1517, however, laments the decline of the Sofala gold trade, stating that funds for the upkeep of Sofala came from India.

Early Portuguese narratives, and some European scholars, have located at Sofala the Biblical Ophir, from which the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram of Tyre brought back cargoes of gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks (I Kings x. 22; II Chronicles ix. 21). In a well-known passage of Paradis lost Milton speaks of “Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind, and Sofala thought Ophir…” (xi, 399-400). Modern historians see no connection.

Ancient Sofala was on an island, whereas the Portuguese fort was built on the mainland, with a village adjacent. In 1764 it was 252 fathoms long and 60 broad; there were thirty-five houses, one of stone and lime, two of wood with tiled roofs, and thirty-two of wood with thatched roofs. The ancient site was visited and photographed by Professor Eric Axelson in 1958. All that was left was an islet a few metres long and wide, protruding from the sea. There was some débris of stone, but most of it had been taken to build Beira cathedral. It remains only as an adventurous opportunity for underwater archaeologists. In 1889 the authors of the Elementos para un diccionario etnográfico de la provincia de Mocambique wrote the melancholy words: “the district of Sofala, so rich in historical memories, is now poverty-stricken and abandoned.”

Softa was probably one of several Pamphylian fortresses (Softa [q.v.]), on the border of Cilicia Tracheia with the mountains Vitosa and Ljulin; it has a temperate continental climate; a number of affluents of the river Srećec (Bulgarian name, from the 9th century); Atralissa (in al-Idrīsī); and Sofia (by the 12th century). Among the names assigned to the city are remnants dating from the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and the 12th century A.D.;[14] and incorporated in the Bulgarian state.

Its successive names were Serdopolis (Thracidan population); Serdica (Roman name); Ulpia Serdica (from the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D.); Triadica (Byzantine name); Sredec (Bulgarian name, from the 9th century); Atralissa (in al-Idrīsī); and Sofia (from the second half of the 14th century, after the name of the St. Sophia church). It has been populated for seven millennia, and there are remnants dating from the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and the Bronze Age. The Thracian tribe of the Serds fell under the rule of the Romans at the beginning of the first century A.D. The city was granted the rights of a municipality; it became the centre of a theme and was later included alternately in the provinces of Thrace and of Inner Dacia. Constantine the Great issued some of his edicts here. The theme and was later included alternately in the provinces of Thrace and of Inner Dacia.


(D.W. MORRAN)
passed the majority of the Ottoman European possessions. At its head was the beylerbeyi (miri mirdn), with the rank of a pasha; from the 16th century, a vezir, assisted by his own divan which had judicial and administrative functions. Until the end of the 18th century, Sofia was the actual capital of the European territories of the Ottoman state, hence considered as such by both Ottomans and West Europeans at the time.

Sofia was the centre of a kadi. The wide prerogatives of the kadi are made clear by the records in the süslülük preserved in the Oriental Department at the National Library of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia (56 volumes dating from 1550 to the end of the 19th century).

Ewliya Çelebi attributed special attention to the Ottoman functionaries residing in Sofia. First among them ranked the şahıuta judge, a melia with 500 akden daily payment, assisted by a muhtıbası, scribes, a muhtesib and a pazarağa. Ewliya also spoke of a millet, a nakbı vil-eegraf, a ketkhuda of the asphash, a serdar of the Janissaries and a ketkhuda of the city. Over all these functionaries was the Paşa. Among the powerful Ottoman notables, the first dyın of Sofia come to the fore in the 17th century.

At the end of the 18th/beginning of the 19th centuries, the city suffered from the anarchy of internecine warfare and especially from the Kirdjali attacks of the horde of Kara Feyd. In the 18th century, Bitola became the usual place of residence of the Rumeli beylerbeyi, while Sofia was ruled by his mütesellim; from 1836 the seat of the beylerbeyi was moved to Bitola; after the Crimean War, 1853-6, the city decayed, and from 1864 was degraded to a sanduk within the Danube vilâyet. Sofia was captured by the Russian troops on 25 December 1877/4 January 1878; on 22 March/3 April 1879 Sofia was chosen as the capital of the Principality of Bulgaria.

The varying fate of the thousand-year old city has left its seal upon the composition of its population. The Romanised Thracian population was gradually replaced by a Bulghar one. After the Ottoman conquest, Muslims settled in the city for the first time: there was a garrison, Muslim religious functionaries and officials, as well as craftsmen and merchants. But according to Bertrand de la Broquiere (1433), Sofia was still a Bulgarian town. The "Long Campaign" of John Hunyádi and Vladislav I, king of Hungary, in the autumn of 1443, brought real disaster to the local population. At their retreat, the Ottomans applied scorched earth tactics; at their recapture of the city, the population, and especially the Christian élite, suffered from severe punitive measures.

Tax registers from the 16th century recorded an already preponderant position for the Muslim population in Sofia, both in terms of numbers and in the economy of the city. This phenomenon was the result of a migration wave from the east and of Islamisation of local people. A clear tendency of population growth is due to natural increase emerges with the Muslims gaining the numerical superiority. But the populous villages around Sofia remained largely Bulgarian. Until the 19th century, the correlation between the groups of the population in the entire region remained stable—the Muslims were 12%, but in the city they prevailed over the Christians. There appeared Yörük in the region of Sofia (Nadık). The economic and political decline of the city in the 19th century brought about a still further withdrawal of the Muslim population from the city. After the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-8, virtually the entire Muslim population abandoned Sofia.

All travellers noted that in the 15th-18th centuries, Sofia was a well-populated city and they paid particular attention to the diversity in the ethnic and religious composition of its population. Apart from the Orthodox Bulgarians, the city was also inhabited by Jews, both Romaniot and Ashkenazi. Their numbers increased considerably in the 16th century after the influx of the Spanish Jews, the Sephardim. Sofia became then one of the cities with a significant Jewish community. There was a synagogue in the city from at least A.D. 967. The number of Monophysite Armenians in the city during Ottoman rule increased following several migrations of Armenians from Poland, Plovdiv, Nakhchivan, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire; in the 17th century there already existed a Georgian community. The sources identify also a small group of Agham tafs, Armenians from the eastern provinces bordering on Persia, who were engaged in interregional trade within the Ottoman Empire. Sofia was one of the Balkan cities where, beginning with the 14th century, Ragušans settled. About the middle of the 15th century, they had a church of Omurtag in the centre of the city, that is, something like a mahalle of their own; towards the end of the 17th century, the community of the Catholic Ragušans declined. Gypsies, both Muslims and non-Muslims, are mentioned among the inhabitants of the city for the first time in the 16th century.

Following the established traditions in the Islamic and Ottoman town, all ethno-religious groups in Sofia lived in their separate mahalles (at the end of the 16th century—25 Muslims and 11 non-Muslim mahalles, 2 Otomans and 3 đimâriets). Ottoman documentation indicates, however, that from the 17th century onwards, the strict segregation of the population in separate mahalles in Sofia was not infrequently violated. Muslim mahalles were usually represented by the imâms, and from the 19th century by the mukhtârs. The functions of the mahalles in Sofia were related to taxation, maintenance of the public security through mutual guarantees, observance of public and family morality, maintenance of the places of worship and the functionaries in them, and religious charities through the mahalle awâlfis.

The Orthodox Christians, Jews, Armenians and Catholics in Sofia were regarded by the authorities as internally independent autonomous communities grouped around their own religious leaders (an Orthodox bishop, subordinate to the Oecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople; a Catholic bishop, etc.), and they participated in taking decisions related to problems regarding the whole city.

Thus according to Ottoman defters from 930/1523-4, 915 Muslims (that is, ordinary tax-payers, low religious functionaries and some military men, bachelors and men with some form of disability) and 317 Christians had been registered in the city, which makes a total population of about 6,000; in 1544-5, 1,325 Muslims, 173 non-Muslims, as well as 88 Jews, that is, over 8,000 inhabitants; towards the end of the 16th century, 1,017 Muslims (without military men), 257 non-Muslims, 127 Jews and 37 Gypsies, that is, over 9,000 inhabitants. According to the Catholic Propaganda around 1580, there lived in Sofia about 150 Catholics, mainly Ragušans; in 1640 (according to Petar Bogdan) there were 58. The same author indicated that there lived in the city 30,000 Muslims, 25,000 Orthodox Christians, 15,000 Jews, and 1,600 Armenians. A number of Western European observers point out that, in the 18th century, Sofia had about 70,000 inhabitants; at the beginning of the 19th century they were only 45-50,000. The slowing of 1872-3 record 3,065 Mus-
lim households and 1,737 non-Muslim ones, that is, over 35,000 people. According to the first census of the Principality of Bulgaria in 1881, there lived in Sofia 20,501, including 535 Turks, 13,195 Bulgarians, 4,146 Jews, 1,061 Armenians and 778 Gypsies.

The high Sofia plain, surrounded by pastures and forests, is a densely populated agrarian countryside, with over 200 villages, where many categories of population with specific military and police duties, as well as production obligations, were represented—woyukus, derevantsis, djelebs, mel'demgis. Agrarian production, cattle-breeding and metal production were directed mainly towards the big consuming and producing centre, Sofia, as well as towards the vast imperial markets and supplies for the army. The numerous population in the administrative and military centre and its position on the crossroad of two highways stimulated the economic development of the city, which was also stimulated by the emergence of a number of workshops during the Ottoman period.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Sofia was a bâdyos of the sultan. Local trade and production were regulated through the law of the bâd from the 16th century. Between the 15th and 17th centuries, Sofia was the largest import-export base for the caravan trade of Ragusa in Bulgaria. It was mainly crafts related to the processing of metals, wood and hides, that flourished. The famous red and yellow hides, called kordovans and bugarins, were produced here.

Craftsmen and merchants were a major element in the city. At the beginning of the 16th century, these were 294 Muslims and 78 non-Muslims; in the middle of the century, 347 and 130 respectively, and towards the end of the century, 474 Muslim craftsmen and 151 non-Muslims, belonging to 132 crafts. Djelebs had an important role in the city, too. The esnaf or trade guilds [see šarı] were established in the 16th century. Along with the representatives of the askeris, there were also 'elemet: mu'allims, hiştib, sheyhîhs and dervishes from various jāb Lucas, and, above all, imams and mu'allim-kânes. According to Ottoman registers, only in the course of the 16th century did their number increase from about 30 to over 110.

Sofia is one of the few living Late Antique cities. Some of the monuments of Late Antiquity have been preserved until today: the rotunda of St. George, the church of St. Sophia and parts of the fortress walls. After the city fell under Ottoman control, Sofia came under the influence of the Islamic-LEVANTINE culture. The architecture of the city, however, preserved both the Antique and the MEDIAEVAL heritage, which was enriched by another important element, the Islamic one.

Under the Ottomans, the city lost its fortification walls. The Ottoman city spread in width, the houses having large courtyards with lots of verdure, hiding the muddy mediaeval streets and plain houses. For a long time, however, the fortress wall marked the area and the established planning of Antiquity: the main streets were in fact the road-beds of the highways crossing Sofia in its centre, close to the mineral spring. Thus the ancient and mediaeval centre became the centre of Ottoman Sofia, too. It was locked between the imaginary triangle formed by the dome of the church of St. Nedelja, where the relics of the Serbian king Milutin are kept, the cupola of the synagogue, and the minaret of the monumental Banâbâghi mosque.

These three sanctuaries symbolise the Levantine spirit of the Ottoman city in the Balkans, and delineate the Ottoman centre, which was only the new atrire of the ancient and of the present centre of Sofia.

Being the centre of Rumeli in the 15th and 16th centuries, Sofia became the site of building activities of a number of high Ottoman officials and acquired the appearance of an Ottoman city. Most of the important religious buildings were as of utilitarian purposes, built by the Ottomans, were beyond the boundaries of old Sofia; they had become the nuclei of separate town parts, connected rather with the incoming and outgoing arteries.

In Ottoman Sofia, regular street planning was not followed; the domestic housing architecture was very poor. Considerable changes came about in the 17th century. Along with the more solid houses, and those with a more complicated structure, such as two-storied houses with tiled roofs, the number of the rich serails in Sofia grew, too. Ewliya Celebi mentions those of Ya'kub Agha, Kojda Mehmed Agha, Kojda Petkov Ya'kub Çavuş, Ganet Efendi and Durganll Agha; the splendour of the Paša's konak (today part of the building of the National Art Gallery) is emphasised as well.

Following usual practice, the Ottomans converted some churches into mosques. It seems that the first such church was the church of St. Demetrius, converted into Fethi Djami' in the beginning of the 16th century; in the 16th century the church of St. Sophia was converted into the Siyâwush Paša Djami'; and the church of St. George into the Gîl Djami'. But the majority of the Muslim sanctuaries were the result of the activities of high Ottoman officials, local notables and zealous ordinary Muslims.

In the middle of the 15th century, Mahmûd Paša built the Büyük Djami with 8 lead domes (today the National Archaeology Museum of Bulgaria). A century later, the great Ottoman architect Sinân [g.e.] planned the 'imâret complex of Sofu Mehmed Paša, comprising a monumental stone mosque, the Black Mosque, with one of the largest domes in the Balkans (today the church of the Seven Saints), a medrese with 16 rooms, a library, a konâm, a caravanserai, a mekteb and a kitchen. According to Ottoman tax registers, towards the middle of the 16th century there were 4 Friday mosques and 31 medjâfs in Sofia, while towards the end of the 16th century there were 8 Friday mosques and 37 medjâfs. The sâlimânes of the second half of the 19th century record 44 Muslim places of worship (mosques) in Sofia. There are data about 3 waâlîf libraries in Sofia: of Sofu Mehmed Paša in the complex of the Black Mosque; one in the complex at the Banâbâghi Djami'; belonging to Seyfullah Efendi; and one more. Among the manuscripts from these libraries that are kept in the Oriental Department, the collections of the mufti Muştâfî b. Mehmed and of 'Abd al-Fettâh stand out. In the middle of the 16th century, 8 mu'allim-kânes and 2 medreses were registered; according to the sâlimânes of the end of the 19th century, the medreses were 20, while the medreses, the mekteb-i râgütâyes and the mekteb-i sâhiyân were 6 altogether. Official records provide information about four türbes and zajmîes in the middle of the 16th century. Ewliya Celebi's travel account, however, contains detailed information about a number of other places of worship related to various jâb Lucas situated in Sofia and its outskirts.

There were also places of worship of the non-Muslim population in the city. The churches were in the centre of the city and, according to Stefan Gerlach (16th century), were 12 in number; in the 19th century there were 8. The ring of small monasteries around Sofia (25) was praised as the Mount Athos of Sofia. The newly-built churches in the Ottoman period
were St. Krai and St. Nikola the Great; there is more
information, however, on repaired and newly-painted
churches. They had a modest appearance, small
single-nave basilicas, an architectural type that was
dominant even before the Ottoman conquest and
which was very convenient in the conditions of limited
financial resources of the Orthodox and of the ghara
restrictions. The lesser religious communities had
their places of worship in the centre of the city as well:
synagogues for the three Jewish communities from the
beginning of the 16th century; the Armenian church of
the Holy Virgın from the 17th century; and a
Catholic church, established in the second half of
the 15th century. The educational institutions of the
non-Muslim communities functioned, too.

The Sofia bazaar, the heart of the city, was well-
developed. The specialised niqs and markets formed
a dense network in the central part of the city; in
the course of time, it spread to the residential quar-
ters as well and drew them into the common eco-
nomic rhythm of the city in the modern times. The
busiest among them were Banabaghi carshi, where the
Jewish one was situated too, the markets of the
butchers, the cobblers, the goldsmiths, the
Sheytan carshi, the Yakdzii one and the Sungurlar
one; beginning from the 18th century, a Greek market
is mentioned in the Ottoman documents. Specialised
markets—the Salt Market, where salt from Wallachia
was offered, the Honey Market, the Rice Market, the
Horse Market, and others—also existed. According to
Ottoman registers from towards the end of the 16th
century, there were in the city about a thousand work-
shops, taverns and other industrial enterprises like a
tannery, utilising the drainage from the hot mineral
public bath, candleworks, the wekill of El-Hadjdzii
Bayram, water mills, a mint (from the middle of the
16th century to the middle of the 17th century, and,
occasionally, until the first quarter of the 18th cen-
tury), a workshop for the fermented drink boza, ice
works and an establishment for roasting and grind-
ing coffee for the use of retail dealers.

In 1506 the beylerbeşi Yahya Paşa built the largest
bezistân in the Balkans (44 workshops inside and 101
outside it), and a magnificent mineral bath, which
Hans Derschwam compared to the Pantheon. The
big caravanserais are also indicative of the economic
prosperity of the city. Foreign travellers describe the
enormous caravanserais of Siyauş Paşa, the carava-
nersais at the imaret of Köga Mehmed Paşa, the
caravanserais of Hâdzîyi Bega, of Muftü Çavuş, of İhsâs
Bey and of Mewldnd Ald'uddin. The imarets of Köga
Mehmed Paşa, of Siyauş Paşa, and others also had
an important role in economic life. After the 17th
century, the functions of caravanserais were overtaken
by the private khan, which were among the most
impressive buildings of the time: the Celebi khan, Silemski khan, Eski khan, Mahmut Paşa khan, Küük khan,
and Cohâfi khan, the largest civil building, with a
mosque dating from the 18th century. The functions
of the bezistân were assumed by private mosque-
houses.

Even in Antiquity, Sofia had a very good water-
supply and sanitation system. Water from the Vitosha
mountain was taken into the city through a water-
main, maintained in a very good condition by wekilfs
throughout the Ottoman period. The famous mineral
spring in the centre of the city was canalised in the
2nd century A.D. and the reservoir was used until
1912 and a large temple around it were built the
city thermal baths, replaced by an impressive Turkish
bath.

The construction and upkeep of all these religious
and utilitarian premises, as well as those of edu-
cation, culture, etc., were maintained through the
wekîfs of both distinguished and ordinary citizens of
Sofia.

Sofia declined in the 19th century. Terrible earth-
quakes in 1818, and especially in 1838, destroyed the
city. Most of the houses, as well as mosques and cara-
vanserais, were razed. Nearly all minarets fell down.
Some reconstruction works were carried out under Rasin Paşa and Eş'ad Paşa: new productions were
started, the construction of the railway between Sofia
and Plovdiv was begun, the minarets were razed again.

Eminent personalities related to life in Ottoman
Sofia are the famous governors and wekîf founders
The city toponyms have pre-
served the name of Mewldnd Şuleşî, kâdi of Sofia, and founder of a wekîf; of the Sofia kâdi Seyfûlâhn Efendi, who founded a medrese in Sofia in 1570/71
next to the Banabaghi mosque built by him; of Şurukhan Bey, Kara Dânîşmond and Hâdzîyi Hanma.
A number of Ottoman writers, poets and religious
functionaries were born or lived in Sofia, thus turn-
ing it into one of the most important centres of Otto-
man culture in the Balkans in the 16th century: Ahmed Hâdzîyi; Abdî Efendi; Hekîm-zade Şuhî, son of the
wekîf Sinân. Distinguished figures of the 17th century
were İbrahîm Efendi, a scholar and judge, born and
buried in Sofia; Paşa Mehmed Efendi, a native of
Gelibolu, who wrote studies in the field of law, was
a poet and a translator of Persian poetry; and the poet Şofâyî Wâhîd Mehmed Celebi.

Among the religious functionaries connected with
Sofia stands out Bâlî Efendi. According to his siya, he
was a „scholar and a saint, expert in the hidden
and the manifest, with perfect disciples”, one who
created wonderful works and various noble books,
râiles and precious commentaries” among which a
commentary on the treatise of Ibn „Ârâfı and one
on the basic principles of the Khalwetî order; and
poems with a didactic content. This Şîft mystic and
preacher was also an outstanding and extreme sup-
porter of orthodoxy, closely related to the central
authorities, struggling against the heterodox sects in
Deli Orman, Dobruţa and Thrace. The siya describes
him as a saintly man; from other sources, we know
that he died in 1553. On his grave near Sofia, which
is still equally revered by Muslims and Christians, the
kâdi „Abd ül-Rahmân b. „Abd ül-”Azîz constructed a
mosque and a zaviyes, while the village which devel-
oped was named Bâlî Efendi (now Knâzâve). Donors to
the wekîf were the mirimîn of Buda, Mustaş Paşa,
Mesîh Vovoda and other distinguished Muslims
from the city of Sofia. Bâlî Efendi himself founded a
zaviye in Sofia.

After Sofia became the capital of the Principality
of Bulgaria, almost its entire Muslim population left,
and only a few monuments of Islamic architecture,
like the Banabaghi Dâmî, still functioning as a place
of worship, were preserved. Sofia is the seat of the
Musîfluk in Bulgaria; at different times, there have
functioned also some educational institutions like the
Turkish primary school at the end of the 19th and
beginning of the 20th century, and today, an Islamic
Religious Institute. The majority of the Ottoman and
Turkish newspapers in Bulgaria—about 25, including
those of the religious institutions in the country—were
published in Sofia; three private Turkish printing
houses functioned there. Today, the newspaper Mjusjulmanin is published ...

Tradition still tells that one of the brothers of 'Othman, the town, a little to the left of the road to Lefke. This tomb has a little cupola and lies two leagues from the transition between the central plain of Anatolia and the lands on either side of the lower valley of the tributaries of the Sakarya river. The small town forms part of the fertile region which forms one of the great gateways between the Black Sea and the Aegean. Lefke and Eskişehir, and is a day's journey from each of these places (Qahsh-nâme). Sogiyd olives lies two leagues from the Sakarya river, and at the beginning of the 19th century Ewliya counted 700 Turkish houses there, and at the beginning of the 19th century it had a population of 3,004. In 1965, it had a population of 3,004.

The son of one Dimitrije who eventually converted to Islam, his baptismal name was Bayo, and he had three brothers according to Ottoman tradition, two according to the Turkish one. He was educated in the Mileva monastery where an uncle was a monk.

His career in Ottoman service and his conversion (adopting the name Mehmed) was through the devshirme, being recruited by Yeşilide Mehmed Beg at the relatively late age of 16 to 18, perhaps a sign that the recruiting officer attached special value to his recruitment. Details about Sokollu's youth appear in the eulogistic Tezkireti, or valet- or groom, of Ball Efendi, in Sheykh Siileyman of Ball Efendi, in Sheykh Siileyman. According to Mustafa Pasha (dismissed in 1544) through the intermediary of the future Mustafa Pasha, brought to Istanbul and enrolled as pages in the Ghalata palace, and then his father, converted to Islam, his baptismal name was Bayo, and he had three brothers according to Ottoman tradition, two according to the Turkish one. He was educated in the Mileva monastery where an uncle was a monk.

His career in Ottoman service and his conversion (adopting the name Mehmed) was through the devshirme, being recruited by Yeşilide Mehmed Beg at the relatively late age of 16 to 18, perhaps a sign that the recruiting officer attached special value to his recruitment. Details about Sokollu's youth appear in the eulogistic Tezkireti, or valet-or groom, of Ball Efendi, in Sheykh Siileyman.

His career in Ottoman service and his conversion (adopting the name Mehmed) was through the devshirme, being recruited by Yeşilide Mehmed Beg at the relatively late age of 16 to 18, perhaps a sign that the recruiting officer attached special value to his recruitment. Details about Sokollu's youth appear in the eulogistic Tezkireti, or valet-or groom, of Ball Efendi, in Sheykh Siileyman. According to Mustafa Pasha (dismissed in 1544) through the intermediary of the future Mustafa Pasha, brought to Istanbul and enrolled as pages in the Ghalata palace, and then his father, converted to Islam, his baptismal name was Bayo, and he had three brothers according to Ottoman tradition, two according to the Turkish one. He was educated in the Mileva monastery where an uncle was a monk.
Banabashi or Molla Djami' built by Seyfullah Efendi 978/1570-1, at present the only Muslim place of worship in Sofia (Photo: 1980s).
Great mosque, built by Mahmut Paşa, 9th/15th century (Photo: early 20th century).

Contemporary view of the same, now the National Archaeology Museum of Bulgaria.
al-Dim Barbarossa [q.v.] as kapudan paša with the rank of sanjak beg. His work with the naval forces was primarily as an administrator, the organisation of the fleet, recruitment of sailors, financial resources and the resources rather than the actual conduct of operations, this being left to the corsair chief Torghud Refts [q.v.].

In 1549 he became beglerbeg of Rümeli in succession to Semseddin Ali Paša, and in this function in 1551 reasserted the sultan's sovereignty and the rights of his protégé John Sigismund, the minor son of the deceased king of Hungary John Zapolya, over Transylvania against the ambitions of the Habsburg Ferdinand, who had sent an army under J. B. Castaldo and to whom to obtain a cardinal's hat for the alleged betrayal of the country by the Regent George Ujtešenović, called Martinucci (see A. Huber, Die Erwerbung Siebenbürgens durch Ferdinand I. im Jahre 1551 und Bruder Georgs End, in Archiv für Österr. Gesch., bxv [1889], 481-545; idem, Die Verhandlungen Ferdinunds I. mit Isabella von Sizilien 1551-1555, in ibid., lxvii [1892], 1-59; L. Makki, Hist. de la Transylvanie, Paris 1946; M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, L'Empire ottoman et les provinces 1554-1545, Paris-Cambridge, Mass. 1997, 17-47; S.M. Día, and G. Weiss, Österreich 1541-1552, Munich 1995, index s.v. Martinuzzi). Sokollu was appointed serdar of this expedition to Transylvania and the Banat, with not only his own forces but also troops from the sanjaks of Semendire and Nigbolu, Crimene and Dobruja Tatars, contingents sent by the Voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia and a force of 2,000 Janissaries. At Slankamen he was joined by the abgül (q.v.) of Mihkâl-oghlu Ali Beg [see wing-togalak] and the forces of the beglerbeg of Buda, Khâdîr Ali Paša. The army crossed the Danube on 6 Ramadan 958/7 September 1551, then the Tisza, and entered Transylvania without resistance. During the campaign, at Csând on the Maros and a dozen other fortresses, Sokollu benefited from the rallying to his side of local Serbian garrisons to whom he appealed by citing their common origin with him. At Lippa, the Habsburg garrison fled and the town surrendered, so that Sokollu could install a force of 5,000 sipahís [q.v.] and 200 Janissaries. He then besieged Stephen Losonczi in Temesvár [see TEMESVAR], but with the approach of bad weather and of Castaldo's forces, retired to Belgrade for the winter, from where he sent letters to the three nations of Transylvania and the magistrates of leading towns there invoking their loyalty to the sultan. At the end of the year he was joined by the forces which had had to evacuate Lippa. At Belgrade he prepared the campaign of the following year. In February 1552, Michael Toth, with 5,000 hayduks, seized Szeged [q.v.], whose sanjak-beg Mihkâl-oghlu Khâdîr Beg was compelled to take refuge in the citadel, but this was recovered by the beglerbeg of Buda, Ali Paša [see von Hammer, vi, 22-3]. Given the seriousness of the situation, the campaign beginning April 1552 was given to a serdar of higher rank, the second vizier Kara Ahmed Paša, with Sokollu only in a subordinate role. The army captured Temesvár and other places in the Banat in July, but in the next months a new campaign was prepared against Persia, and Sokollu was ordered to cross with the troops of Rümeli at Gallipoli and winter at Tokat.

The campaign was initially commanded by Rüstem Paša [q.v.] but finally by the sultan himself, anxious to scotch rumours of his replacement by his rebellious son Muštafa. This latter affair, ending with Muštafa's execution, delayed events for a year, with Sokollu wintering at Tokat and the sultan at Aleppo. In June 1554, Sokollu's Rumelian troops, on the left wing, distinguished themselves on the march from Erzurum to Nakhçıvân by the perfect state of their equipment, and Sokollu also took part in operations against fortresses in Transylvania. On his return Süleyman appointed him at Amasya third vizier, so that he became ex officio a member of the imperial divân.

His influence and high standing with the sultan could now only increase further. On returning to Istanbul, the sultan entrusted him in 1555 with the delicate matter of suppressing, with a force of 3,000 Janissaries sent in the direction of the Dobrudja, the revolt of a "false" (çâme) Muştafa, who claimed to be the reputed executed prince, captured by the sanjak-beg of Nigbolu, the pretender was handed over to Sokollu for hanging. He was then closely involved in the aging sultan's measures to calm the situation of rivalry over the impending succession between the two şehzâdes, Selim and Bâyezid, being sent in November 1558 to Selim with messages from his father enjoining peace and harmony and their acceptance of the sanjaks offered to them. Sokollu succeeded here with Selim (whose daughter he was to marry), whereas the fourth vizier Pertew Paša [q.v.] failed to persuade Bâyezid to exchange his governorate of Konya for that of Amasya. In the ensuing war between the two brothers begun by Bâyezid, the sultan sent an army in support of Selim into Anatolia, comprising 3,000 Janissaries and 40 pieces of cannon under Sokollu's command. In the battle on the plain of Konya on 21 Şâ'bân 966/29 May 1559, Sokollu was the architect of Selim's victory. Sokollu and Selim then pursued the refugees Bâyezid towards Persia, marching as far as Sivas, and with the prince's arrival in Persia, Sokollu was deputed to winter at Aleppo and watch for any moves by the rebellious prince, only returning to Istanbul in spring 1560 (S. Turan, Kanuniin oğlu Şehzade Bâyezid vakâ's, Ankara 1961).

In the following year, on 10 July 1561, the Grand Vizier Rüstem Paša's death brought about the promotion, by the strict rules of hierarchy, of the second vizier Seyid Ali Paša, with Sokollu in the latter's vacated place, in which his influence grew, even if still in a clandestine fashion. Then, on 'All's death on 27 June 1565, Sokollu succeeded naturally to the Grand Vizierate, thus crowning his career as a devshirme convert.

During this period, the siege of Malta, begun by his predecessor, had received a severe check. The new Grand Vizier aimed at restoring Ottoman prestige in the eyes of the Austrians, using firmness against the new Imperial ambassador Hosszúhathy, on pretext of Austrian encroachments on several fortresses in Transylvania and non-payment of stipulated tribute. A campaign was decided upon, and Sokollu, with other persons activated more by religious than political considerations, insisted that the aged and sick sultan should participate; but since the latter had to travel in a carriage or even be borne on a litter, Sokollu was ultimately responsible for the conduct of operations. It was during the siege of Szigetvár [q.v.] begun on 5 August, one day before the fortress surrendered, that Süleyman died (7 September 1565). Sokollu now acted with a skill and mastery of the situation which later became proverbial. With the complicity of his secretary Ferîdân, the sâibâ'dar Dja'far Agha and the physician, the sultan's death had to be kept secret to avoid anarchy and the complete disarray of the army. The news of his father's death was sent secretly to Selim at Kütahya, who then set out for Belgrade after securing his succession in Istanbul. In the army camp,
all sorts of stratagems were employed to perpetuate the idea of Süleyman's continuance in life, culminating in his setting off ostensibly in his coach. The news of his death was only revealed four stages out of Belgrade (detailed account of the campaign and the sultan's death in Şelâni; see also Feridün Beg, *Nizâret-i âlîâbâr*, Topkapı, Hazine ms. 1339; Ağâňı Mansûr Celebî, *Feth-nâmé-yi kal-e-Reşî-Siyasat*, Ist. Univ. ms. T 3884; *Aît, Heft maddâs, Istanbul 1316/1898-9*).

Selim, under the influence of his favourites at Küçükhâya, refused to lend himself in Belgrade to a second investiture (bâyat) before the troops and to award that post the traditional accession gift (*güder bâkîbârî*). Sokollu thought this attitude inappropriate and was able to intervene when the new sultan's actions provoked the inevitable army revolt, persuading Selim to give out some money. But a second revolt erupted when the army reached the Edirne Gate of Istanbul, on the grounds that it had not received the full amount, and the alarmed sultan, whose access to his palace had been blocked by a hay cart, had to allow Sokollu to concede everything.

Sokollu now remained Grand Vizier all through Selim's reign, making himself indispensable to the sultan, whose son-in-law he became in 1569/1561-2 by his marriage to Esmağhan, a union for which he had to divorce his two previous wives, who had given him the two sons Hasan, the future Paşa, and Kurttâşım Beg, both present on the Szigetvar campaign, and Esmağhan was to give him various children, including a son İbrahim Kâno who became kâpağî bağlî (see *T. Göktürk, cf. the refs. in the *Bibl*...*meydan-ê-yi Sigetvar*, Istanbul 1316/1898). Under Selim, Sokollu reached the apogee of his authority as the true head of the empire and maintainer of its power and grandeur. Even so, his authority was not unaffected by the whims of an intemperate sovereign and the intrigues of his enemies and potential rivals like his kinsman Lala Mustafa Paşa ([q.v.] and see S. Turan, in *Belleten*, *T* 3884; *AgahT Mansûr ul-âkhûr*, Topkapı, Hazine ms. 1339; *Mutefenika*, 1st. Univ. ms. *e-yi Sigetwar*, Niizhet Belgrade (detailed account of the campaign and the sultan's death, married a daughter of Sokollu and became Ağha of the Janissaries).

One is tempted to discern in the re-establishment of the Paşa and Sinan made *sâdâr* of the expedition coming into conflict with the governor of Egypt, Emîn Paşa, who refused Lala Müstâfa resources for the campaign; in the end, the latter was disgraced, and Sinân made *sâdâr* in his place. On the question of Cyprus, Sokollu did not wish for a rupture of the peace with Venice, foreseeing an alliance of the Repub-lic with Spain and the Papacy and a strong naval threat to the Ottomans, as in fact happened when Pius V brought about the *Sacro Legato*, the war party under Piyaâle Paşa ([q.v.]), and Lala Müstâfa and the avidity of Joseph Nasi having prevailed against his advice. His old ally, the *shahâk al-thayyab* Abu l-Suûd ([g.v.]), this time failed him, and gave a *fatwâ* in favour of violating the treaty with Venice, although he repented of this and promised Sokollu never to issue any decree against him in future (on the Cyprus campa-gin, see the refs. in the *Bibl.*). Even then, Sokollu never broke completely, during the crisis, with the Venetian *bialo* Marc-Antonio Barbaro, with whom he developed a remarkable affinity (M. Leslie, *Notes et documents sur les relations veneto-ottomanes, 1570-1573*, in *Turec*, iv 1972, 182, viii/1 1975, 117-56). Finally, he was able to get the best advantage out of what he could not avoid; immediately after the naval defeat of Lepanto (*see AYNABAHTTI*), he used the immense resources of the empire, together with his old expe-rience at the arsenal, to have 150 galleys and 8
mahones built in the winter of 1571-2, providing the kapudan paşa Kılıç ‘Alî, some months only after the disaster, with a war fleet stronger than ever (idem, *La crise de l’Empire ottoman*, Paris 1972). Also, after Cyprus was conquered, the fiscal revenues of the island fell to the Grand Vizier before these *khâşas* revenues passed to the *u필dies*, mothers of the reigning sultans.

Standing apart personally from the battles which he did everything to avoid, Sokollu was nevertheless very active in diplomatic affairs, negotiating incessantly through dragomans, notably the renegade from the Polish nobility, originally Joachym Strasz, now called İbrahim Beg (cf. A. Załęczewski, in *RO*, xii [1936], 91-118; P. Bombaci, in ibid. xx [1939-40], 129-44). It is from diplomatic reports by foreigners having business with him, especially the Imperial ambassador Verantius (cf. *Monumenta Hungaria historica. Scriptores*, vi, docs. VI, XXI), and the Venetians Cavalli, Ragazzoni and Barbaro (cf. Alberi, *Le relazioni...*) that we possess the most precise and lively physical and psychological portraits of the Grand Vizier, the "magnificent Bassa" that all could not but admire and respect. He is described as tall, well-proportioned, handsome and well-groomed, with (in 1573) a long gray beard. He was a courteous speaker, but an astute adversary, always on guard, venting on the sultan or his rivals the most brutal decisions, and capable of being haughty and inflexible. All emphasise his avariciousness for exorbitant presents, from within and without the empire. Some authorities detected a streak of vanity in him, seen in his pretensions to stem from the line of despoits of Serbia; but none of them knew of the physical courage which he had evinced at the siege of Segevtvar or in the great Istanbul fire of 1569.

His diplomatic policy aimed at assuaging conflicts with the Porte’s potential enemies: with the Emperor (hence the renewal of the treaty with Maximilian in 1568 and then, under Murâd III, with Rudolf, as well as the nomination of very reliable governors on the Hungarian and Croatian frontiers); with the Şâhid of Persia Şahşâh I (hence the sumptuous reception of the Şâhid’s envoy at Selim’s accession); with the Doge of Venice (with whom good relations were renewed in 1573); and subsequently, Tsar Ivan the Terrible of Russia. At the same time, he endeavoured to strengthen links with the Porte’s natural allies: with France (capitulations of 1569, apparently the first, since those of 1536 had never been ratified, see *İMTİYAZ", and I. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, i, Paris 1854, 90-140), and with Poland. He intervened in the election of the successor to Sigismund Augustus, and after first envisaging the candidature of the Voivode of Transylvania, who was first to have married Marguerite de Valois (embassy to France of 1569), he rallied to the cause of the Duke of Anjou, and finally to that of Stephen Bathory, by now the new Voivode of Transylvania (see A. Refi, *Sokollu Mehem Pasha ve Levhâsin ihtikâhî*, in TOEM, xxxiv; de Testa, *op. cit.*, 113, 115; L. Szadecyk, *Léction d’Étienne Bathory au trône de Pologne*, Cracow 1935; letters of Sokollu to Sigismund Augustus and Bathory in Z. Abrahomowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959). When the demands of the sultan of Achêh [q.v.] in Sumatra became pressing, the Grand Vizier and the *divân* decided to send a squadron of 19 galleys under the kapudan of Alexandria, plus at the same time troops with supplies and pay for a year, weapons and artillery, from the resources of Egypt. These measures were held back by the Vemen campaign, but put into effect in 976/1568-9 (Szlafet, *Dor olmâni Hilvâman Sumatra sferi*, in *TOEM*, x [1912], 604-14, 678-83; A.J.S. Reid, *Sixteenth-century Turkish influence in Western Indonesia*, in S. Kartodjono (ed.), *Profiles of Malay culture*, Yogyakarta 1976, 107-25; D. Lombard, *L’Empire ottoman ou l’Empire*, in *Passé turc. L’empire ottoman selon les savants de l’Occident*, Louvan-Paris 1986, 157-64; five large cannons, at least four of them cast in Istanbul, are preserved in the Home for Retired Servicemen from the Army of the Indies at Bronbeek near Arnhem in the Netherlands).

Such Pan-Islamic projects contrasted with the usual realism of Sokollu, and are seen also in the Astrakhan campaign of 1569. The southwards Russian advance had led to the extinguishing of the Muslim khânates of Kazan [q.v.] and Astrakhan [q.v.] (1556). Information from a Circassian defđâr, Kasım Beg, led the Grand Vizier to envisage the possibility of a canal connecting the Don and Volga, thus facilitating an expedition to recover Astrakhan, and Kasım Beg was appointed *şâdâr* of this campaign. The ostensible reason for this was to protect pilgrims from Central Asia en route for the Hijâjz being threatened by the infidels in Astrakhan, since the sultan was Protector of the Two Sanctuaries, but there were probably wider strategic aims envisaged: perhaps to halt Muscovite expansion southwards, to strengthen Ottoman suzerainty over Şîrînâw, Georgia and Karâbâg; and above all, to outflank Persia and open up a new route of attack thither. In fact, climatic conditions, Russian attacks on the workmen involved, as well as the Crimean Khan Dewlet Giray I’s ill-will, brought the project to nought, and exposed Sokollu to blame from the sultan downwards; but at least he managed to patch up the damaged Ottoman-Russian relations after this. Amongst an extensive literature on this project, see Ahmed Refi, in TOEM, xliii (1917, 1-14); H. Inaluck, *The origin of the Ottoman-Russian rivalry and the Don-Volga canal* (1569), in *Ankara Univ. Annals*, i (1946-7), 47-110, expanded Tkish. version in *Belletin*, xii, no. 46 (1948), 342-402; A.N. Kurat, *The Turkish expedition to Astrakhan in 1569 and the problem of the Don-Volga canal*, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xi (Dec. 1961), 7-23; Tbenningen, *L’expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569 d’après des “Affaires importants” des archives ottomanes, in Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique, viii/3 (1967), 427-46; idem and M. Berindei, *Astrakhan et la politique des steppes nord-pontiques (1587-1588)*, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, iii-iv (1979-80), 71-91; Gökbelgin, *L’expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569*, in *CMRS*, xi-i (1970), 118-23; G. Veinstein, *Une lettre de Selim II au roi de Pologne Sigismond-Auguste sur la campagne d’Astrakhan de 1569*, in *HZKM*, lexiiii (1992), 397-420.

Sokollu also wished to give help to the insurgent Moriscos in Granada, and apparently even suggested to Selim intervention in Spain rather than in Cyprus. He sent a *fermîn* to the governor of Algiers in April 1570 instructing him to give all possible aid to the rebels and one to the Moriscos themselves confirming the instructions to the *beglerbeg*. The two documents envisaged an expedition against Spain once the Cyprus campaign was over (A. Temim, *Le gouvernement ottoman face au problème morisque*, in *Rev. d’Hist. Maghrebine*, xxiii-xxiv [1981], 258-9, text of the letter to theandalusians at 260-2).

An enumeration of Sokollu’s military and diplomatic initiatives does not exhaust his work. He was at the same time, perhaps principally, a careful administrator concerned with the smooth functioning of existing Ottoman institutions. The historians say little about this more anonymous work, and it remains to be analysed in the light of the innumerable docu-
ments preserved in the Istanbul archives (reproductions of the grand vizier in his council in the Şehnâme-i Selim Râhi in the Topkapı Library, depicted in T. Artaud, The Kadırga palace shrouded by vagueness of time, in Tercüce, xxvi [1994], 124). The most well known, as well as most durable, of his activities were those as builder. The Don-Volga canal and the dream of a Suez canal (cf. von Hammer, vi, 341) are in one sense the most visionary expressions of this activity. In Istanbul, he had built or rebuilt a sumptuous Grand Vizieral palace, partly occupying the site of the future Sultan Ahmed mosque, but he had an even more magnificent palace at Uskudar. It is now also clear that his patronage and the plans of Sinan (q.v.) were behind the Ema Sultan palace at Kadırga Limanı (see Artaud, op. cit., 55-124). In the same quarter, he entrusted to Sinân the building of the mosque which bears his name, to which a medrese, a fountain and a ḥâşâyân were attached, and he also built so-called Azap kapı mosque. Finally, he likewise entrusted to Sinân the building of a small complex, completed in 1576/1576-8, not far from the Eyüp mosque in the Camii Kebir Caddesi, including the Ema Sultan mosque, a ḥâşâyân, a fountain and a mausoleum destined for his own remains (M. Cezar, Le Kulliyê de Sokollu Mehmed Pasha à Ýeyüp, in Tercüce, ii, 29-41). But he established numerous pious benefactions all across the empire, especially in those regions particularly connected with his life and career: at Sokolović; in the Banat; at Belgrade, where his waqf of 1566 comprised a vast caravanserai, covered market, etc., necessitating the destruction of three churches and some synagogues of the city (descriptions in Figenfetta, Gerlach and Ewolyâ; at Edirne and Luleburgaz; and as far away as Aleppo and Medina. He was especially concerned with such utilitarian structures as caravanserais and bridges which would facilitate traffic and communications in Rûmeli, such as the bridge at Vicregad on the Drina and other lesser known ones, e.g. at Trebinjštica in Herzegovina (Gökblûm, Edirne ve Ýaşa illan, Istanbul 1992, 508-15; A. Bejić, Spomenici osmanska arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini, in Prilozi za istorijom i školjima, iii-iv [1992-3], 229-87).

He seems to have had less renown as a patron of poets and painters, even if the poet Bâkî [q.v.] praised him in his kaşifân and if, according to the historian Lojkânnâ, when an album of portraits of the sultans was being prepared, he ordered the painters at the palace led by Nâkişh'ül-İmân to study Western portraiture (N. Atasoy, Nakkaş Osman Namli portreleri album, in Türkçesin, vi [1972], 2-12). In 1578 he commissioned a portrait of Murâd III from a painter of Verona in the Venetian embassy and is said to have asked for portraits of the first sultans to be sent from Venice. He also sponsored the Munâshâ'at-î selâfîn of Ferîdûn Beg, admittedly, more a historical than genuinely literary work (von Hammer, vii, 19-20).

Selim III's premature death on 1 Ramadan 3992/1575 December 1574 threatened, as in all succession crises, the stability of the empire. Immediately informed of the death by the sultana Nûr Bânî [q.v.], Sokollû for a second time successfully coped with this critical situation, sending secretly to the successor, Murâd III, at Manisa. On his arrival, the grateful Murâd wished to kiss the Grand Vizier's hand, but was stopped by the latter (Selâniûk applies to Sokollû here the title of atabey). Accession money was agreed for the troops; the harem women, sc. the ṣûlûde Nûr Bânû, the favourite Safiyye [q.v.]; and was followed. Thus Ferîdûn lost his place as ûçkârî and was exiled to the sanjak of Belgrade, whilst his hâtshûksa, and that of Sokollû plus the latter's ṣafqât baskı, were all executed, as was another of Sokollû's favourites, Michael Cantacuzenus, called Shêytân-oglu, "the devil's son", on the pretext of his exactions. On the pretext also of an explosion which had damaged the palace and arsenal at Buda, Sokollû Mustafa Pasha was executed and his property confiscated (October 1578), and replaced by Ýuweys himself, who now became Pasha. Sokollû's position was further weakened by the deaths of two of his old supporters, the vizier Ýiyeâ Pasha and the mufti Hamd Efendi, now replaced by his enemy Kâdîzâde. Finally, he came up against the sultan, who now wished to control all appointments personally, instead of delegating this task, as had done his predecessor.

Despite all these bad omens, Sokollû carried on imperturbably when, on 20 Şaban/12 October 1579, a petitioner dressed as a dervish stabbed him in the heart whilst he was in his hândî divân (P. Rycaut, The Turkish history, London 1687, 670-1). The assassin, of Bosnian origin, was aggrieved at the lowering of his tâmûr [q.v.], but there are doubts over this. More recently, his action has been connected with the movements of the Bosnian Hamzaws who wanted to avenge their master, Shâykâ Hamza Bali, executed at Istanbul in 969/1561-2 after a frikûd from Abu 'l-Sûrû (S. Başaşîg, Zemmetin Hıvati Boyunca i Hercegoci in Turkoj carini, Zagreb 1931, 48; M.T. Okiç, Quelques documents inédits sur les Hamzawes, in Trans. 20th Congress of Orientalists, Istanbul 1951), Sokollû was mourned as a martyr, and buried in the mausoleum he had built at Ýeyp. He remains as the statesman who allowed Ottoman grandeur to throw out its last flashes of fire under the two unworthy successors of Süleyman the Magnificent.
Bibliography: The main Ottoman sources on his life and career are the chronicles of Selanikr, Peçewf and Geliboluolu Mustafa 'Ali (of last, especially his Râhû al-qâbîr, whose analyses revealing the role of personal rivalries and the networks of clientage at this time are carefully rendered by C. Fleischer in his Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman empire, The historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600), Princeton 1986), Hâdedîjî Khâlitâ'a Tuhfat-ul-kâbîr, and the panegyric from ca. 1570, the Dâwûtul-il-monâkîh (Millet 1031) cf. 'Abd-ul-Rahmân Sheref, Sokollu Mehmed Paschâbî evdet-i ahâvî se 'âlîsî hakikâtî wa 'âlîmâtî—Dâwûtul-monâkîh, in TOEM, xxix [1332/1914], 257-65). Amongst Western sources, as well as those the travellers mentioned above, there are the Venetian relations (E. Alberi, Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti durante il secolo decimosesto. Serie III. Le relazioni degli stati Ottomani al Senat, i, Florence 1840, ii, 1844, iii, 1855; Gerlach's Tagebuch, 1573-1578, Frankfurt 1674; and the reports of the Imperial ambassadors; Marco-Antonio Pugafetta, Itinerario, London 1585, who was in the 1568 embassy of Vranic and Teufenbach from Maxymilian I. The biographies of Sokollu include, apart from outdated ones, a study based on the Venetian documents, M. Brisch, Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Groswesire, Gotth 1899, 3-70; and A. Renkî, Sokolli, Constantinople 1924, but Von Hammer's history, with vol. vi and vii of the Fr. tr. by J.-J. Hellert covering the period in question, based on a broad span of Western and Oriental sources, remains the irreplaceable basic work, resumed by Kramers in his El'art and amplified for a number of points by the copious IA art. Mehmed Paşa of M.T. Gökbilgin, considerably used in this present article. The book of R. Samârdzî, Mehmed Sokolovcî, Belgrade 1971, Fr. tr. M. Begić, Mehmed Sokolovitch. Le destin d'un grand vizir, Paris 1994, is the most substantial work on him at present, amplifying his biography by a use of unpublished documents from Ragusa, Venice and Vienna, but its aim is not wholly scientific, since the author envisages the educad readling public of his own land and includes some very Serbocentric explanations, moral reflections and psychological extrapolations, and sometimes trips up over Ottoman realities (see the review by Veinstein, in Turcica, xxvii [1995], 304-10).

(S. VENSTEIN)

SOKOTO (Sâk-kwato in Hausa, Šâkata in Arabic), a city in north-western Nigeria. It was established first as a camp in 1223/1808, then the following autumn as a ribât, by Muhammd Bello (q.v.), the son of the Shaykh 'Uthmân b. Füdî (q.v.), in the fourth and final year of their djâhid against Gobir. In 1230/1815, the Shaykh, now ill, moved to Sokoto from Sifawa. On his death in 1232/1817 and with the election of Muhammad Bello as Amir al-Mu'minin, the city became the headquarters of the "Sokoto Caliphate". The Shaykh was buried in the garden of his house in Sokoto and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage (ziyarat) at the insatiation of his daughter Asma', it became a focal point for organising pious women, who became known as 'yan tari. Although the city remained the most important town in the area, Wurno, 20 miles to the northeast, was also used by several caliphs as a ribât and capital instead of Sokoto; it is where Muhammad Bello is buried. The city of Sokoto stands high on a bluff overlooking Sokoto river at its confluence with the Rima river. Nearby are springs, the discovery of which was one of the karâmât of the Shaykh. The city was mud-walled, with eight gates (like Paradise, people said); the walls were extended ca. 1230/1815 towards the west so as to accommodate the Shaykh and his companions. The core of the city originally centred on Muhammad Bello's house, a few blocks from the eastern end of a wide ceremonial avenue; the palace therefore faced west in the traditional manner with, at the rear, an eastern doorway for slaves. The open space in front of the palace had the mosque on the south side and, further away to the north, the market place (and place of execution); Muhammad Bello's officials— the vizier and the magga Ngoài—had their houses on his right (north), while the two others, the gâlâmûna and the magga rafî, were on his left. The Shaykh had his own mosque beside his house in the new quarter on the west side of the town.

"Sokoto Caliphate" is the term used since ca. 1965 to denote the state set up by Shaykh 'Uthmân following the successful djâhid of 1218-23/1804-8 which overthrow both Muslim rulers (who were accused of condoning non-Islamic practices) and some non-Muslim chiefs. The state was made up of a series of emirates, often formed by foreseement (al-mintâ), and it would have taken a 19th-century traveller four months to traverse the state west to east, and two months from north to south. It was the largest autonomous state in 19th-century sub-Saharan Africa and (by the second half of the century) home to a sophisticated commercial network that traded throughout western and northern Africa. In 1227/1812 the state, already large, was divided into four quadrants, the north and east coming under Muhammad Bello, the west and south under the Shaykh's brother 'Abd Allâh; under them, the Ubandoma and the army commander 'Afi Jedî governed the northern segment, and Abubakar and Bukhari (both sons of the Shaykh) the southern segment. 'Abd Allâh b. Füdî and his descendants ruled their half of the state from the small city of Gwandu, some 60 miles southwest of Sokoto. The hinterlands of the two capitals abutted on each other, together forming the spiritual core of a far-flung Muslim community.

The city of Sokoto was surrounded by a closely settled hinterland only about 25 miles wide and 40 miles long; the whole territory was defended against raids by a line of ribâts and frontier towns (tâhâr). No taxes apart from zakât were paid by residents of this hinterland; the population was supported by farm work and herding carried out by slaves and by taxes sent in twice a year by the emirates. The area never specialised (as did the emirates of Kano or Zaria) in trade or craft production, nor was it noted for its military strength and captives for export (as was Adamawa). It was only after ca. 1850 that the Amir al-Mu'minin had a small standing army of his own. Instead, the area was famous for its scholarship and poetry; over three hundred books were written by the leaders of the djâhid, while other 'ulamd* focused on the practice of Sûfîm. The Kadîrîyya was the official tâhe, the Topânehîyya was introduced by al-Hâdedîjî 'Umîr al-Füdî when he was in Sokoto (ca. 1246-54/1830-8), but only after ca. 1261/1845 did it win public acceptance in emirates outside Sokoto. Expectation that the end of the world was imminent, and that the Mahdí was soon to appear, was widespread throughout the hundred years of the caliphate's history; in the political and intellectual turbulence of the decade 1261-71/1845-55 many tried to migrate eastwards in anticipation; many more left at the end of the century as European imperialism put pressure on Muslim states, with the result that over a million
of their descendants ("Fellata") are today in the Sudan, many of them originally from the Sokoto area.

On 15 March 1903, Lt.-Col. Thomas Morland led a force of some 700 Hausa soldiers to open ground outside the southern walls of Sokoto and there defeated the army of the Amir al-Mumin Muhammad al-Tahir. The British colonial Commissioner, Frederick Lugard, then proclaimed British sovereignty over Sokoto and its emirates and appointed another Muhammad al-Tahir as the new "Sultan". Sokoto became just a provincial capital within colonial Nigeria, rather isolated with neither railway nor tarred road. In 1956, with the attainment of self-rule, and in 1960 with full independence, the Sardauna of Sokoto became Premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria. Under him, the notion of a modern "Sokoto Caliphate" was born; through it he and his party sought to foster both a sense of unity and the ideals of good government, based on a common Islamic morality yet tolerant and forward-looking. With his assassination on 15 January 1966, the dream of a revived "Sokoto Caliphate" faded, but under its long-serving Sultan Abubakar (1938-88), Sokoto remained a source of political and spiritual leadership out of all proportion to its economic role in the Nigerian state.

**Bibliography:**

**ŠOLAK-ZÄDE, Mehmed Hemdem (?-1068/1658),** Ottoman historian and musical composer. Very little is known about the life and career of Šolak-zade. Described as "old" at the time of his death, he was perhaps born sometime around the year 1000/1592. He died in Istanbul in 1068/1658. His father may have been a retired solak-bashi, whose connections gave his son an early entree into the Ottoman imperial household, with which he remained closely associated. The makhlus Hemdev reflected his status as "constant companion" to Murâd IV (1623-40) during at least the latter part of that sultan's reign (Ewliyâ Celebi, *Spvâihat-nâmeh*, İstanbul 1314/1896-7, i,
509). According to Ewliya Celebi, Solak-zade was a talented musician and an expert player on the mişkar (pan pipes). Fourteen of his compositions are documented (M.K. Özergin, IA art. "Solak-zade, Mehmed HAMDENI (Solêde), x. 750).

He is known principally for his history of the Ottoman dynasty, untitled, known simply as Taṣrîh-i Solak-zade (1st ed., to reign of Bayezid I only, Istanbul 1271/1854; 2nd complete ed., Istanbul 1299/1881). Written in a fluent, but generally unrhetorical prose style, the History is a compilation acknowledging a range of earlier Ottoman sources but thought to depend mainly upon the Taḏkar al-tevâriḵ of Khošja Saḏar al-Din [q.v.] (up to the reign of Selim I) and then upon the chronicle of Hasan Beg-zade [q.v.], out of 773 on the reign of Murad IV, and concludes with events in the year 1053/1643. Solak-zade gives little personal information or opinions in his work, except in the introduction where he acknowledges an obviously influential patron, Khošja oda-bashi Hasan Agha, who encouraged him to compile the work for presentation to Mehemmed IV (Tdrikh, 2-3).

The second edition includes as preface a kaṣida of 92 couplets entitled Fihrist-i şahān ("Index of sultans"), a brief listing of the names and dates of the Ottoman sultans to Mehemmed IV (1648-87) with their principal attributes and achievements. As a separate work, the Fihrist was extended by other writers.


(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

SOLOMON [see SULavin N B. DAWCO]

SOMALI, the name of a people of the Horn of Africa, and SOMALIA, SOMALILAND, the geographical region there which they substantially inhabit.

1. Ethnography
2. Geography
3. History
   (a) To 1880
   (b) 1880-1960
   (c) After 1960
4. The role of Islam in Somali society
5. Language
6. Literature

1. Ethnography

The Somali people may be divided into two major socio-economic groups: nomadic pastoralists and sedentary agriculturalists; in addition to these are people who live and work in the towns. The sedentary agriculturalists live primarily along and between the two main rivers the Shabeelle and the Jubba whilst the nomadic pastoralists live in the surrounding areas, namely the northern, western and south-western regions. The pastoralists rear camels, sheep and goats and some raise cattle in certain suitable areas. Horses were also traditionally raised in certain areas, although with the advent of motorised transport their use is now more limited. The camel, sheep and goats constitute the mainstay of the pastoralist economy, being well suited to the semi-desert environment (particularly the camel) of much of the Somali territories, and the animals provide milk, meat and skins to their owners. The camel has also traditionally been the major unit of wealth to the pastoralists, a fact which is reflected often in the way in which a nomad who has no camels is regarded as having little wealth. Among the pastoralists, there is a division of labour for domestic duties with the men being responsible for the camels and the women and young children responsible for the sheep and goats and other domestic chores. The sedentary agriculturalists grow a variety of crops, particularly sorghum and maize but also sesame, beans, cotton and sugar cane, as well as fruits such as bananas and mangoes.

This difference in socio-economic activity is reflected in the way in which people identify themselves within the society. The whole of the Somali nation is divided into a number of clan groups, with the major division between the agriculturalist clans confederations such as the Digil and Rahaynweyn, and the pastoralist clan groups, the Dir, Isaaq, Hawiye and Daarood. These major clan groups are divided into clans and sub-clans, etc., and all individuals know their place in this lineage system, being able to recite the line of their ancestors back to eponymous clan founders. People of the Dir clans live predominantly in the north-western regions of the Somali territories. The Isaaq people live in the central northern regions, the Hawiye live in the area around Mokdshu [q.v.] and then among the camel) of much of the Somali territories, although this is not to dispute the fact that there has been contact between the people of the Somali areas and Arabia.

Among the nomadic pastoralists one of the most important lineage levels is that of the diya-paying group (Ar. diya [q.v.] "blood money, wergild"), such a payment-being known in Somali as mag and paid, traditionally in livestock, when a member of another diya-paying group is injured or killed. It is the responsibility of the whole diya-paying group to pay the compensation on behalf of one of its members. This system of compensation is defined between different lineages in the oral system of Somali customary law, xer,
(Ar. transcription, ḏari, through which other contractual and "legal" aspects of life are also encoded. Marriage tended in the past to be outside the ḏay-a-paying group among the pastoralist nomads, and was used on occasions as the basis for establishing political ties between clans and/or sub-clans. In the southern agricultural communities, given that the Digli and Rahanweyn social groups are more confederacies than lineage structures and that the clan units are based less on lineage membership but more on common agricultural land, it is these territory-based groups of people which form the equivalent of ḏay-a-paying groups in these areas. This is connected with the way in which people may become adopted clients of these clans, which hold certain areas of land, part of which the incoming person is then able to farm. In the past, in addition to Somalis, these incomers have included people who are of a different ethno-linguistic background to the Somalis, such as people of Bantu language-speaking or Oromo-originating speaking. Over the course of time, these adopted clients become more or less assimilated into the clan, and marriage has always tended to be within these groups. In general, marriage among the Somalis is as a whole is polygynous, with a man being able to marry a maximum of four wives according to Islamic practice. Marriage is contracted before a shekil or waadad and involves the giving of wealth on both sides. The groom's family gives the bride wealth, some of which may be returned as dowry among the pastoralists. Among the agriculturalists the house is normally provided by the husband's family. The central part of the whole marriage ceremony is the meher (Ar. mahr [q.v]).


2. Geography

The Somali people live in a large area of the eastern Horn of Africa which includes the countries of Somalia, including the self-declared Republic of Somaliland (unilaterally declared an independent republic in 1991), eastern Ethiopia, the south-eastern part of the Republic of Djibouti [see qaboorti] and eastern and north-eastern Kenya. Turning first to the geography of the northern regions, the coastal strip is a hot, dry region known as guban "burnt" in Somali, a reference to its great heat in the xagaa season. Just inland from this is a range of hills and uplands known as oogo and go"u rising to some 9,000 feet in the west (near Harar [q.e]) and 8,000 feet in the east. These hills are the continuation of the eastern branch of the rift valley hills which follow on from the Somali territories to the Chercher Hills of Ethiopia and the southern Ethiopian highlands of Arussi and Bale, from which descend the two major rivers of southern Somalia. Although a little above these hills are the main habitat of the incense trees and this area has been involved in that trade for many centuries. Inland from the go"o begins the plateau area, which is known as the badaad by the northern Somalis and is a vast area of scrub land which forms an important grazing area for camels. South of the badaad, the land gradually lowers towards the south-east to the coast of the Indian Ocean and is watered by the two main rivers the Shabeelle (literally "with leopards") and the Jubba. The Shabeelle is the more northerly river, rising in the northern half of the Arussi mountains and, after a brief northerly flow continues south-east to the town of Balead (Bal'ad) some twenty miles from the coast. Here it turns to the south-west and flows parallel to the coast before sinking in marshes near the town of Jilib and near the lowest reaches of the Jubbas, which it may join if the water flow is great enough [see further, qabeelle]. The Jubba itself rises in the southern edge of the Bale Highlands and flows south east to the town of Luuq (Lök), where it turns in a southerly direction straight to the Indian Ocean. Both of these rivers have a constant flow of water dependent almost entirely on the rain from the highlands, there being fewer and drier tributaries further downstream from the highlands. High floods take place twice each year according to the light and heavy rainy seasons in southern Ethiopia. This is fortunate for the agriculturalists because Ethiopian heavy rains fall during the jiiilaaal season (mid-June to mid-September), which is the driest season further downriver in the Somali territories, so the high flood and sometimes the overflowing of the rivers can be utilised for growth of crops during this season.

This southern region inland from the eastern Indian Ocean coast is divided into four zones, which are found in the following order from the coast of the Indian Ocean to the interior: firstly the movable sandbanks (Somali: baased [ba'ads]) on the shore; then the hills or short plains of white and hardly consolidated sand (Somali: carro cad [arro 'ad] "white land"); next, the flinty red sand scrubland, vegetated in the most part by acacia trees (Somali: carro gudud [arro gudud] "red land"); then the alluvial ground along the rivers, known in Somali as carro madow (arro madaw) "black land", which is comparatively rich and fertile, hence the use of this land for agriculture. There are four main seasons in the Somali territories, given here with their approximate month equivalents: jiiilaaal (qiiitil) (December to March), gu' (April to June), xagaa (haxaa) (July to August) and dag (September to November). The weather during these seasons varies according to the area, jiiilaaal is the hottest season over most of the area, apart from the northern regions where the xagaa season is the hottest. Thus for most regions jiiilaaal is the toughest season for people to live through with no rain and the wind coming predominantly from the north-east (the north-east monsoon). The following season of gu' is the most attractive of the seasons, with rain falling in all areas providing pasture for the livestock and ripening crops for the agriculturalists. Given gu' as the "season of plenty", it is important socially as being the season when people tend to come together and when dances and celebrations take place. Among the pastoralists, young people, in particular, come together after having been separated, the young men returning with
the camels which have been taken to jiilal grazing lands. The xagaa season, the first of the south-west monsoon cycle, is characterised by dry cool weather over most of the areas except in the northern regions, where it is very hot, especially in the north-west where the temperature may rise above 50°C on the guban coast. During the dayr season there is also rainfall, which in the northern regions tends to be light.

Bibliography: I.M. Lewis, A pastoral democracy, London 1961 31-55; idem, Peoples of the Horn of Africa, London 1969, 56-66, M.P.O. Baumann et alii. (eds.), Pastoral production in Central Somalia, Eschborn, Gehlen Verlag 1989 (a recent synthesis of data). Work has been written on specific aspects of the geography of Somalia which is scattered in various books and journals, for example, see articles in T. Labahn (ed.) Proc. of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies, iv, Hamburg 1984, 325-41, 343-61, 363-8; for further information the reader is advised to consult the relevant sections in one of the bibliographies on Somali studies, e.g. P. Carboni (ed.), Bibliografia somala =, Studi somali d. Rome 1983, or M.K. Sabad (compiler), Somalia. A bibliographical survey, Westport, Conn. 1977.

(E. Cerulli-[M. Orwin])

3. History
(a) To 1880
Somali legends may have Islamicised the history of the people by tracing their origin from 'Akil b. Abi Ṭālib (q.v.), a cousin of the Prophet. Prescinding from the question whether Hamitic populations may have come into Africa from Asia, there is no doubt that the present Somali peoples occupied their present territory by various groups following and pushing on one another, with the African coast of the Gulf of Aden as the primary dispersal area. These groups, related to other groups in Ethiopia, later developed into what are denominated tribes. The dates of these movements are not known, and they are not likely to be, for they are the movements of cattle herders. They did not enter an empty land, but pushed Bantu groups southward. Of these some pockets survive, and especially in the Bajun Islands. They cannot be antecedent to the general Bantu dispersal, which was not completed before A.D. 500. Subsequent groups have continued to push southwards, and even in the 1990s have caused friction between Ethiopia and Kenya.

The first literary reference to the coastal area is an observation of the sun in low altitudes mentioned by Agatharchides of Cnidus in the 2nd century B.C., but commercial contact with the Somali coast would have developed long before. In the ancient world religious rituals have employed frankincense and myrrh at least from the 3rd millennium B.C. In Somalia two species of frankincense and the greater number of species of myrrh are indigenous. The Hadramawt area in which they grow in southern Yemen is small (cf. map in L. Casson). Recently, S.C.J. Munro-Hay has reported frankincense trees near Aksum, in Ethiopia. Since these commodities grow nowhere else in the world, Somalia has long had a permanent place in world trade, from ancient times until the present. Neither the Ethiopians nor the Bajun Islanders among the Somalis are seamen, but never more than fishermen. They have consistently relied on Arab middlemen and transporters. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, mentions, at. A.D. 50, a number of towns on the Somali coast that were identifiable, possibly not Zayla', but Assab; Malao (Berbera); Mundu (Heis); Mosyillon (possibly Bandar Kasm); Akananai (possibly Alula). In A.D. 79 Pliny likewise recorded the "spice port and promontory... Barbaroi": it was Cape Guardafui, beyond which frankincense no longer grows. Archaeologically these places are unexplored, but H.N. Chittick's British-Somali Expedition of 1967, which was aborted by local misunderstanding, succeeded in identifying Roman pottery from Tunisia.

J.S. Trimingham has analysed the Arab geographers and travellers from al-Khwarazmi (232/847) onwards. Their interest lies rather in the Bilād al-Ẓanjān and the sea route to Ḍanbālī (Pemba) and the gold land of Sūmba (q.v.). Thus they say little of the Bilād al-Barbara, despite the obvious trade route to the northern and eastern coasts of Somalia. They depict a trading system based on ivory, gold and slaves, in that order; they ignore the trade in frankincense and myrrh in the same way that further south they ignore the trade in mangrove-wood from the coasts of Kenya and Tanzania, age-long in providing roofing timbers in southern Arabia and the Gulf.

A Chinese scholar, Tuán Ch'êng-Shih (d. 863) knew the Somali coast as Po-pa-li; it produces only ivory and ambergris. Much later Chao Ju-Kuan, trade commissioner on Ch'iu-an-chu-fu (Zaytum; see al-Snūr 3) in Fukien province, speaks of Po-pa-lo as having four departmental cities. He seems to have spoken from personal contact with traders, but also to have relied on a work by Chu Ch'ü-fei dated 1178. Says Chao, "they serve heaven and do not serve the Buddha", which J.J.L. Duyvendak interpreted to mean that the original folk were Muslims. (We do not know when Islam first penetrated to the Somali coast, but it was already present on the adjacent Kenya coast by the 8th century, at least in small pockets.) These people produce camels and sheep, dragon's saliva (a reference to the dragon's blood tree of Socotra rather than to ambergris?), elephant and rhinoceros ivory, much putchuk, liquid storax gum, myrrh and tortoise-shell. Chao knew also of ostriches, giraffe and zebra. Contemporary import records also include strings of pearls, aromatics and "incense."

There is no evidence that the Chinese visited Africa before the voyages of Ch'êng-Ho in the 15th century. Nevertheless, Duyvendak quoted Chu Ch'ü-fei in regard to Chung-li, which he identified as Berbera. The people of Chung-li, he says, go barefoot and bareheaded. Only ministers and the royal courtiers wear jackets and turbans as a mark of distinction—presumably conforming to Islamic custom. Among other commodities, he knows of the production of incense.

Direct contact began only after 1431 with Chêng-Ho's voyages in the Indian Ocean, with a view, it seems, to promoting Ming trade. The fleet sailed down the African coast as far as Malindi and Mombasa. It visited Makdinghû [q.v.] and a place which Duyvendak said was the "Arabic Habash, Abyssinia" called Ha-pu-ni. From its position on the Chinese map, it is followed by a clear reference to Socotra and then to Aden: could it not be Ras Hafun? Duyvendak also recorded the arrival in China of a giraffe from Bengal in 1414. The animal is not found in Bengal or India. He remarks that the Chinese name for it, kî-lin, is the way that a Chinese would pronounce the Somali name for it, giri.

In 1934 A.T. Curle visited the ruins of twenty-one ruined towns and settlements in northern Somalia, making notes of surface finds which subsequently were identified in the British Museum. Finds near Zayla' on Sa'd al-Din island led him to believe that the site had been occupied for 2,000 years. It had for long been the principal port for Ethiopian exports, until
the French built the railway from Djibuti to Addis Ababa, thus diverting trade. Inland, a group of thirteen towns and settlements on the Ethiopian-Somali border disclosed groups of 20 to 200 houses and the remains of mosques. The settlements were all situated from 5,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. Another group centred round Eil Humo and Eik, 120 miles inland south of Berbera. A fourth group was in Ethiopia. The houses were stone-built, and the mosques elaborately planned at all the sites. The cemeteries however, contained no tombs or inscriptions. There were sherds of Sung and Ming celadon from the 12th to 15th centuries and blue-and-white Chinese wares of the 16th and 17th centuries. There were also some sherds believed to have an Egyptian connection.

Finds of local currency in billon and copper have already been reported [see MAQDISI]. In the northern area no local currency has been reported. Two pieces of Kayit Bay of Egypt (872-901/1468-96) have been recorded from Derbi Adad. There have been numerous reports of coins from Eik, but the only pieces recorded are two gold disks of the Ottoman Selim II (974-82/1566-74). A small number of Chinese cash have been reported from the eastern coast, but not in the profusion found in Zanzibar. Inscriptions on tombs and in mosques have been catalogued for the eastern coast by the writer and B.G. Martin [see MAQDISI]. Two refer to individuals with a Persian lakab, no strong argument, however, for a Persian connection.

Curle's survey has been supplemented by an all too brief survey of southern Somalia by H.N. Chittick and another by H. Sanseverino, and of related sites at different times by T.H. Wilson on the Kenya border and related sites in Kenya by M.C. Horton, as well as in Pemba, Tumbatu and Zanzibar. The surveys in southern Somalia were necessarily very cursory, having regard to local conditions. For Chittick nothing is acceptable earlier than the 14th century. This view is highly questionable, because T.H. Wilson and, independently M.C. Horton, have identified finds of Sasanid-Islamic pottery at no less than twenty-six Kenyan sites, at which the surface characteristics are similar to those of Somalia. It would be surpassing strange if the Somali sites will not prove to belong to a common trade pattern with neighbouring Kenya, common over several millennia.

Inland, for many centuries, as Curle noted, trade in the towns had been in the hands of Arab and Indian merchants. The Somalis were content to conduct camel transport, the brokerage of stock brought to market, and petty trading. In the interior from the early 15th century up to colonial times the history has been of intermittent conflict between Ethiopia and Somali tribesmen. Until 1950 the latter never coalesced to form a unitary state: thus their history is scattered about in articles in this encyclopedia s.v. Adal, Ball, Berbera, the Dandalki tribe, Dawaro, Makdishu and Shungwaya. In 1402 the Ethiopians took Zayla' after a siege, but did not occupy it for long. Throughout the 15th century there was a constant series of raids and wars, Christian Ethiopia on one side, Muslim Harar [q.v.] and Zayla' on the other. It was in the intervals of peace that the towns described by Curle would appear to have flourished. In 1503 Ludovicò di Varthema visited Zayla' "in Ethiopia" [sic]. He described its commerce in glowing terms, with gold, iron and black slaves sold at low prices, for markets in Arabia, Persia, Cairo and Mecca. Early in his reign, the Negus Lebna Dengel (1503-40) sent merchants into Somali country, trading in gold, musk and slaves, and selling them in Aden. In 1516 the Portuguese burnt Zayla', shortly followed by the Ottoman Turks, who established a customs house and a small fleet. In 1527 Lebna Dengel invaded Adal. It provided a casus belli for Ahmad Grafi [q.v.], who laid Ethiopia waste in 1544. A full account is given by Shihâb al-Dîn Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Kâdir Futûh al-Habâba [see AJMAD GRAFI]. The Muslims were finally defeated in 1575, and left only with the coastal towns. After their successful siege of Mombasa in 1696-8, the sultans of 'Ummân imposed a somewhat vague authority over the whole coast. It was effective only after Sayyid Sa'id's [q.v.] move to Zanzibar in 1840, and never penetrated inland. Garrisons were set up at Makdishu, Marka and Barawa. This brief period ended when the sultan ceded areas to France and Britain in 1884, and to Italy in 1889. A curious survival of the Zanzibar period is the title of the Makdishu Museum, the Gorea. It had formerly been the residence of the 'Ummân governor. The word stems from the Swahili Geniza, the earliest sultanic palace-fort in Zanzibar, its name being derived from the Portuguese word p Letra "church", the building from which it had been adapted.


F. CURLE [G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE]

(b) 1880-1960

The 1880s saw the establishment of British, French and Italian protectorates in various parts of the Somali territories as well as the expansion of the Ethiopian empire into Somali territory under the Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913). The British, who had had an interest in the northern regions of the Somali territories for some time as an area supplying food for their port at Aden, established the Somaliland Protectorate in 1887. This followed the departure in 1884 of Egypt from parts of the northern Somali coast and was also motivated by the British desire to stem French expansion in the region. In the same year, Leonce Lagarde had been appointed governor of Obock, on the northern coast of the Gulf of Tadjourah, and French Somaliland was declared a protectorate (this region was inhabited by 'Afar people [see DANKALI] in the north and west as well as Somalis in the southeast).

Disagreement with the British regarding the border between the two protectorates led to an Anglo-French agreement in 1888 defining the boundary, and
in 1892 Djibouti [see DJIBUTI] became the capital of French Somaliland. In 1889 Italy acquired Somali areas on the north-east and south-east coast, including Makéri, and in 1892 the Sultan of Zanzibar ceded some important ports to the Italians for 25 years. In 1889 Italy, whose interests were now wider than just the southern ports and their hinterlands signed the treaty of Ucciali (Waq'ale in Amharic) with Ethiopia which, following the taking of Harar [g.a.] in 1887, had moved into the Somali territories to the east and south-east of that town. The Amharic and Italian interpretations of this treaty differed, the Italians seeing Ethiopia as essentially an Italian protectorate whereas to the Ethiopians communicating with other countries through Italy was optional. It was in this light that Italy entered into negotiations with the British, signing a protocol in 1894 that defined British and Italian spheres of interest. Following the Battle of Adwa (Adowa) in 1896, however, at which the Italians were defeated by the Ethiopians, the British began to talk directly with Menelik II, signing a treaty with him in 1897 which allowed Somali pastoralists to use grazing lands between the boundaries between the British Protectorate and Ethiopia. Thus it was that by the end of the 19th century the boundaries in the Somali territories were essentially set and the Somali people were divided between the British, French, Italian and Ethiopian spheres of influence.

This division, in fact, split not only the Somali people as a whole but individual clans, for example, in the north-west the Ciise ('Ise) clan inhabited parts of British Somaliland, French Somaliland and Ethiopia, and are still divided by the boundaries between the corresponding modern states of today.

Although a number of treaties had been signed with various Somali clans by the European powers, there was little Somali influence in the developments which had taken place. This was to change during the next 20 years with the rise of Sayyid Muḥammad 'Abd Allāḥ Ḥāssān [g.a.] and his Derwish movement. This movement rose against the British, Ethiopians and Italians, and it was only in 1920 that it concluded, with the expulsion of the Sayyid and his remaining followers to Ethiopia and the subsequent death of the Sayyid (see MUḤAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀḤ ḤĀSSĀN for further details of this campaign). Given the fact that missionary activity was one of the factors which led the Sayyid to start the campaign, the British authorities prohibited all such activity in British Somaliland, a regulation which was strictly adhered to, French Somaliland was little affected by the campaign, however, and in 1917 the rail link between Addis Ababa and Djibouti was completed, gradually eclipsing the importance of Zaylac (Zayla' [g.q.]) as a port. This helped the development of the town of Djibouti as a cosmopolitan centre, whose main sources of income were the duties and earnings from trade via the railway and through the port; apart from livestock, salt was the only natural resource available in the territory and was exported primarily to Ethiopia. Following the opening of the railway, a road was built in British Somaliland from Berbera [g.a.] to Hargeisa [g.a.] and on to the Ethiopian border to help trade through the port of Berbera. In 1921 the British introduced direct taxation on livestock, which met with much resistance and resulted in the death of the Burco ('Bur'o) district commissioner in a riot following which the tax was revoked. The governor from 1925 to 1931, Harold Ktemaster, however, tried to provide some development assistance to the nomadic population as well as to farmers, who over the previous few years in the west of British Somaliland, had developed plough cultivation, particularly of sorghum, under the influence of Šũfū brotherhood agricultural communities and other farming communities in neighbouring areas of Ethiopia. Later, in the 1920s a serious drought led to some further development in the area of water resources. The British, however, were unsure of what to do with Somaliland, and after ruling out a number of other possibilities decided to retrace. In Italian Somalia, on the other hand, one of the main factors was the advent in Italy of a Fascist government under Mussolini in 1922. The first Fascist governor, Cesare de Vecchi, subsequently intended to bring the whole Italian region under direct rule (some of the inland and northern parts, such as the Sultanate of Hobyo, were virtually independent despite nominal Italian rule) and, despite Somali resistance, the territory was brought together and divided into seven provinces. The Italians set up many agricultural projects producing sugar, bananas and cotton, for which forced recruitment of labour was common and, in addition, embarked on road building.

The later 1930s were marked in the whole region by Italy's ambitions to create an East African Empire which was to include Ethiopia. A gradual encroachment was made into the Ethiopian-ruled Somali territories, and by 1934 plans had been instituted for the Empire. The catalyst for the opening of the real advance of Italy was the Walwal incident of 1934. This incident occurred when the Ethiopian-British boundary commission was to inspect grazing facilities for British-protected Somali clans over the border from British Somaliland in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian escort arrived at Walwal ahead of the commission to clash with Italian-led troops. This clash became the pretext for the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. In the Ethiopian Somali territories, the invasion was led from Italian Somaliland by General Graziani and, despite Ethiopian resistance, the invasion of that country was virtually complete by 1936 with the taking of Addis Ababa. Italian Somaliland now included the Somali territories which had been part of Ethiopia, and so all these Somali territories were administered as a whole by Italy. During the time of the Italian East African Empire, the Somalis were subjected to Fascist discriminatory laws and had no power in the government of the region; in addition, trade was controlled by the Italian authorities. Increased urbanisation was another feature of this period, which in turn led to a political consciousness of a modern nationalist tendency which was suppressed by the Italian authorities. At the same time, nationalist feeling was developing in British Somaliland where various political organisations were set up. With the beginning of the Second World War, the Italians further expanded their empire with the capture of British Somaliland in 1940, if only for a brief seven months, after which it was retaken by the allies whose assault started from Kenya in the south in January 1941 and was supplemented by an expedition from Aden in the March. French Somaliland, whose governor supported the Vichy régime, continued to pose a threat to the British, but following capitulation of the régime, which now declared for Free France, a short-term agreement was signed.

After the restoration of Emperor Haile Sellasie in Ethiopia in 1941, there followed negotiations on how to deal with the ex-Italian colonies. In 1942 the British Military Administration of the region came to an agreement recognizing Ethiopian independence which was revised in 1944, although even after this second
agreement Britain still administered the Somali-inhabited regions of Ethiopia. Following the redevelopment of agriculture and trade, one of the important moves during this time of British administration was the furtherance of political organisations which had been suppressed under the Fascist régime. These included Italian and, increasingly, Somali organisations, one of the most important of which was the Somali Youth Club, founded in May 1943, which developed rapidly and changed its name to the Somali Youth League (SYL) in 1947, when it had branches in all the British-administered Somali territories. Another important political formation of the time was the Hizbia Digil-Mirifle Somali (HDMS), formed in 1947 out of the Patriotic Benefit Union, with its power base among the sedentary agricultural population of the central regions. In January 1948 the Four Power Commission dealing with the ex-Italian colonies, made up of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and France, arrived in Makdishu and discussed the situation with the various interested parties, including the SYL, the HDMS as well as the Italian societies. The four powers, however, failed to agree among themselves, handling the final decision of what to do to the General Assembly of the United Nations, who, in November 1949, placed what had been Italian Somalia prior to the invasion of Ethiopia under United Nations trusteeship for ten years, to be administered during that time by Italy, following which the country would gain independence. It was in 1948 also that most of the Ogadeen (Ogadžón [p.e.]) area (leaving aside the north-eastern region known as the Haud and the Reserved Area) was handed back to Ethiopia, despite strong resistance on the part of the majority of the Somali inhabitants and the reluctance of the British, who had supported a plan proposed by the British Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, for the creation of a Trusteeship of the Union of Somali territories. It was later in 1954 that the Haud and the Reserved Area came under Ethiopian rule, and it was this move in particular which sparked a greater political consciousness in the British Protectorate and also led to the organisation of another political party, the National United Front (NUF). In 1960 the NUF, along with the SYL, the Somali National League (SNL) and the new United Somali Party (USP) contested an election and later that year, on 26 June, the Protectorate became fully independent. In Italian-administered Somalia, given the ten-year term of the Trusteeship, moves were more quickly made towards eventual independence, including a general election to a legislative assembly in 1956 in which the SYL won most of the votes, with the HDMS finding itself as the main opposition. Somalia became an independent state five days after British Somaliland, and six days following that, on 7 July 1960, the two newly-independent states united after having undertaken negotiations towards this end for some time. During the early 1960s, the matter of the other Somali-inhabited territory, the eastern part of the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, was a major concern to the newly-independent state of Somalia. In French Somaliland, following an election in 1958, the country remained an overseas territory of France, finally gaining full independence in 1977.


(c) After 1960

In April 1960, the British government decided to terminate its authority over Somaliland, allowing time for possible unification with Italian Somalia, the independence of which had just then been scheduled by the United Nations for July 1960. That same month, representatives of the two territories met in Mogadishu and agreed on the unification of the two Somalias into a single democratic and parliamentary state, to be led by an elected president responsible to a parliament, also to be elected but initially composed of members of the two existing territorial assemblies.

On 26 June, British Somaliland became independent and was united with Somalia, to form, on 1 July 1960, the Republic of Somalia. This was a deviation from the inviolable principle of the intangibility of colonial frontiers, in the name of ethnic unity.

'Abd al-Raḥīd 'Alī Ṣhirrāmke, the leader of the Somali Youth League (SYL), originally dominated by Darod (Daa rrood) and Hawiye (Hawiyiye), which since 1947 had campaigned for the unification of lands inhabited by Somalis ("Greater Somalia") and for independence, was summoned to form a coalition government. This coalition combined, besides his own party, two northern parties unrepresented in the South: the Somaliland National League (SNL) with Muhammad Ḥājjī Ibrāhīm Igal and the United Somali Party (USP), representing respectively the Isaaq (Isaqs) and the Dir and Darod. The choice by the Assembly of Aban' Abdule 'Ismān as President of the Republic was confirmed in 1961 by a conference.

Problems of unification

Concluded in a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm, unification of the British and Italian colonies was bound to raise serious problems. Although both populated by Somalis, they had hitherto experienced few mutual contacts. Everything separated them: the usage of English or of Italian, administrative traditions, judicial systems, etc.

Their fusion altered the situation of each group. The Isaaq of the SNL, the majority party in Somaliland, became an insignificant group in the context of a unified state such as Somalia. They were naturally drawn towards accommodation with the southern opposition party, the Greater Somali League (GSL) of Ḥājjī Muhammad Husayan, pro-Arab and pan-Somali. The Darod of the USP, on the other hand, found themselves in tune with their fellow-tribespeople of the SYL. As for the Dir, they were torn between their Issaq neighbours and their Hawiye traditional allies.

The difference in importance between the two territorial entities also led the administrative classes of former Somaliland to expect that they would naturally monopolise all decision-making functions, not only at the national but also at the regional level.
The results of the first popular consultation—the referendum on the Constitution—of June 1961 clearly illustrated these divisions: adopted with a large majority by the electorate of former Somalia, the text was approved by less than 50% of the electorate of former Somaliland. The constitution erupted immediately when in December of that year a group of British-trained police officers mutinied in protest against the appointment to senior posts of Italian-trained police officers brought in from the south.

After 1962, the political landscape changed, reflecting the difficulties of unity but also demonstrating the desire of all to maintain it. At the beginning of the year, the attempt by Hāǧdiǧ Muḥammad Husayn to exploit the discontent of the north by launching a new party, the Somali Democratic Union, consisting of the GSL and elements of the SNL hostile to the leadership of the former Prime Minister Igal was on an overseas visit, President Shirmake was assassinated by one of his bodyguards. Igal

Illustrated these divisions: adopted with a large majority by the electorate of former Somalia, the text was referendum on the Constitution—of June 1961 clearly in from the south.

December of that year a group of British-trained police ministers, including Igala, resigning in May, succeeded in attracting to themselves, besides members of their own movement, a Hawiye faction of the SYL and creating a new organisation, the Somali National Congress (SNCN).

Somali nationalism was pan-Somali. It stressed as the first objective of its programme the aspiration to gather within a single political entity all Somali people, those who had been placed by colonial politics under the authority of the British in Somaliland or in Kenya (Northern Frontier District, NFD) of the Italians in Somalia, of the French in Djibouti (French Coast of the Somalis, which was to become in 1967 the French Territory of the Afars and Issas, then in 1977 the Republic of Djibouti) or of the Ethiopians in Ogaden (Ogaadeen), five regions symbolised by the five points of the white star (on a blue background) of the Republic's flag. The Constitution of 1961 recorded this aspiration in its preamble: "the Republic of Somalia seeks to promote the union of Somali territories by lawful and peaceful means". Somali governments, caught in the snare of nationalism, would henceforward be obliged to make constant demands for self-determination, and the new Prime Minister Igal, forming a government for its policy relating to the Kenyan NFD and the Haud, France for its occupation of Djibouti and the USA for its active support of Ethiopia. The exception was Italy, whose nationals retained a decisive economic role in the land. In pursuit of allies, Somali leaders found themselves obliged to turn towards the USSR and China. In 1962 the Russians, intent on exerting dominant influence in the Red Sea region, agreed to lend money, to equip and train the armed forces and to assist with the implementation of all kinds of development projects. From 1969 onwards, the Chinese in their turn supplied substantial civil assistance.

The SYL had an overall victory in the municipal elections of 1965, also in the legislative elections of 1964. With the aim of revitalising internal politics, President 'Isrman chose a new Prime Minister, 'Abd al-Razzāk Hāǧdiǧ Husayn. Concerned with efficiency, the latter chose his ministers without regard for tribal and regional balance. Discontented, members of his own party formed an opposition movement under the leadership of the former Prime Minister Shirmake. Though sincere pan-Somalis, 'Isrman and Husayn favoured giving priority to internal problems and issues. Furthermore, Husayn obtained the confidence of the Assembly with great difficulty, only succeeding with the aid of supporters outside the SYL.

On the occasion of the presidential elections of 1967, President 'Isrman paid the price of his errors: Shirmake, who had led the country in the period of militant nationalism, was elected. The new President chose as Prime Minister Igala, who had returned to the SYL after 1964. A man of the north, an Issa, the new Prime Minister hoped to put Somalia's relations with its neighbours on an amicable basis and to concentrate on problems of economic and social development. By acting in this way, he too risked discrediting the one ideal capable of inducing the Somalis to forget their tribal divisions: irredentism. In the municipal and legislative elections of 1969, the electoral system, a series of defections and the game of post-electoral coalition-making, guaranteed his party 120 seats out of 123.

But this was a hollow victory, since the state was running out of control. Corruption and nepotism were rampant, and the Assembly no longer even pretended to be a forum for the exercise of the traditional Somali virtues of conciliation and dialogue. Lack of direction, widespread intrigue, insecurity and government ineffectiveness aroused discontent which was particularly intense among intellectuals and the military, a discontent which aggravated further the resentment felt by those, the majority, who believed that in improving relations with Kenya and Ethiopia, the government had betrayed its mission. Rumours of a coup d'etat began to circulate.

The Somali Revolution

An unexpected event hastened the resolution of this looming crisis. On 15 October 1969, while the Prime Minister Igala was on an overseas visit, President Shirmake was assassinated by one of his bodyguards. Igala...
hurriedly returned to organise the election of a new President. On 20 October, the party chose as its candidate Ḥarāḏī Ṭimār Boqor, one of his close associates. He was thereby assured of retaining his post as Prime Minister.

The following day, the Army took control of Mogadishu and a Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) was immediately established, taking the measures which were normal in these circumstances: detention of members of the former ruling clique, suspension of the Constitution (it was to be officially abrogated in February 1970), suppression of the Supreme Court, closure of the Assembly and prohibition of political parties. The Supreme Council announced its intention to combat tribal nepotism and corruption and to promote a just society where all would be guaranteed access to social and economic progress. In foreign policy, Somalia, renamed the “Democratic Republic of Somalia”, would honour its commitments and support peoples fighting colonialism. On 1 November, the list of members of the Supreme Council was made public: comprising 25 officers, it was presided over by General Muhammad Siyad (Siyad Barre), commander of the Army since 1965.

The military caucus which had overturned the democratic régime subsequently defined its action as a Marxist revolution. But despite the presence of Soviet advisers in the Army (in implementation of the Somali-Soviet military accord of 1963), there is no evidence that there was Soviet backing for the coup, and Soviet-trained junior officers received no preferential treatment. In October 1970, to mark the anniversary of the coup, Siyad Barre, who in spite of the corporate power supposedly wielded by the Supreme Council was very much “the strong man”, announced the adoption of scientific socialism (in Somali: kanti-wuudda qalbi ku dhan) as the ideology of the state. This ideology sought to integrate the tribal element into the theory of class-struggle, and acknowledged Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse Tung as well as Mussolini and the Kur’ān. Declaring himself a pragmatist, Siyad Barre remained fairly flexible on the ideology of his movement, which he reckoned was compatible with Islam. This view was not shared by all.

The Supreme Council discharged certain responsibilities formerly allotted to the President, the Council of Ministers or the National Assembly, and was assisted by a Council of Secretaries of State mainly composed of civilians. Siyad Barre monopolised the most important functions and encouraged the development of a personality cult. Officers were placed in charge of the major public organisations in order to assure the state’s control over the economy, finance, commerce, transport, etc. Regional and local administration was also taken over by the military, civilian functionaries being “re-educated” or dismissed. Administrative sub-divisions were re-arranged in order to nullify the influence of tribal assemblies. In 1976, the single party proclaimed in 1971 came into existence under the title of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) and the Supreme Council was transformed into its central committee. Theoretically, this was a return to civilian rule, but in fact power remained in the hands of the same group of officers.

An important measure in the nationalist and pan-Somali policy of the revolutionary government was the adoption of a system for the writing of the Somali language. In 1971, the Supreme Council revived the Committee for the Somali Language which in 1962 had proposed the adoption of the Latin alphabet, and entrusted to it the task of preparing a grammar, a dictionary, texts and a programme of adult education. But it was only in 1972 that the Council announced that Latin transcription had been adopted and would be applied throughout Somalia from 1 January 1973. The hopes of those who wanted Arabic to be the official language were dashed. An impressive campaign aimed at improving literacy was then launched.

The economy was nationalised and shaped according to the Soviet model with the aid of Russian advisers. New agricultural initiatives were developed in the south with the aid of Arab investment, while in the north and in the region between the great rivers state collective farms were established. Stock-breeders were “invited” to settle in southern areas where irrigation was promised. The drought of 1974-5 was exploited by the revolutionaries to expel this process. Nomads were thus directed towards state-owned farms and 300,000 (?) of them were transferred from north to south, with Soviet assistance and installed in “co-operative” villages. This assault on traditional ancestral life-styles was also intended to undermine the tribal system. Although itself based on an inter-Darod alliance of the clans of Marehan (Mareexaan) and Ogaden (Siyad Barre’s power-base) with the Dalbahante (Dubba-xante) clan, the revolutionary government vigorously denounced tribalism and numerous activities and customs defined as “tribal” were punished under the law. But the social and economic disorders created by scientific socialism had the paradoxical effect of making tribalism the last refuge of Somalia. The events which were to follow the fall of Siyad Barre were to prove this clearly.

After fifteen years of socialist experiment, the Somali economy was in a disastrous state, exporting, at the very most, only cattle to Saudi Arabia and bananas to Italy. With a GDP of 260 dollars per inhabitant per year the Somalis (55% stock-breeders, 22% arable farmers in 1986) counted among the least developed peoples of the world. Aware of the parlous condition of the economy, the government decided on a limited programme of liberalisation which did not have time to bear fruit.

The only successes of the régime were those which it had recorded in the development of education, with the writing of the Somali language, and in the improvement of the status of women. But these secular achievements found no favour in religious circles, the younger members of which were influenced by fundamentalism. Somalia hostile to the policies of Siyad Barre, described as “counter-revolutionaries”, were watched, hunted, tried and in some cases executed. Since the inception of his régime, in April 1970 and in May 1971, Siyad Barre had been denouncing conspiracies against himself hatched by members of the Supreme Council.

Foreign policy was closely linked to internal policy. In 1974, as a means of tempering his dependence on the Soviet Union, Siyad Barre took his country—as a purely political move—into the Arab League, whose richest members supplied him with aid and offered him new markets. For reasons of nationalism, he supported the Somali guerrillas in the Ethiopian Ogaden, and for reasons of self-interest the separatist struggle of the Eritreans, both these campaigns being directed against Addis Ababa.

Ethiopia had been much weakened by the collapse of the régime of Haile Selassie in 1974-5. Siyad Barre waited for the opportunity to exploit this situation and avenge the humiliation of 1964. In the summer of 1977, Somali troops crossed the frontier and advanced as far as the gates of Harar. But in a spectacular reversal of policy, the Soviets changed the rules
of the game. In a region where South Yemen was already within their sphere of influence, it was in their interest to support Ethiopia rather than Somalia, which was proving itself unstable and unpredictable. Accordingly the changed sides: supported, Siyad Barre appealed for the support of the Americans, who showed no inclination to intervene. Henceforward the Somali offensive became a rout. The country was swollen by refugees (a quarter of the population in 1980) whom the economy, destroyed by droughts and "scientific socialism", was incapable of feeding. Siyad Barre was seen as incompetent and as a traitor.

After the fiasco of the Somali offensive and the expulsion of Soviet advisers which ensued, political instability worsened. Siyad Barre had a number of generals executed, scapegoats for the defeat, and in April 1978 he was confronted by a revolt on the part of officiers (most of them belonging to the Majerteyn), a clan allied to the former régime, seventeen of whom were executed. The inhabitants of the Ogaden withdrew their support for the régime, and opposition movements, inaugurated in other countries, made their appearance, including the Somali Salvation Front (SSF) (with Majerteyn majority) which united in October 1981 with the Somali Workers Party (SWP) to form the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia (DFSS). In April 1981, the Somali National Movement (SNM) was founded in London by members of the Isaq. This party advocated a mixed economy and a neutral international policy and some of its members favoured the secession of the north. The same year, the dismissal of the Minister of Defence, 'Ali Samantar, caused discontent in the Army. The following year, the first acts of armed struggle on the part of the SNM unleashed ferocious repression in the north. Isaq and Majerteen were excluded from all posts and privileges.

The drought of 1983-4 and the guerrilla war drove groups of nomads into shanty-towns in such numbers that for the first time in its history, Somalia saw its urban population exceed its nomadic population. Illicit trading of all kinds and the misappropriation of international aid, in which the most senior of state-men were implicated, increasing nepotism, more-or-less systematic recourse to a politicised police force, etc., spoke eloquently of the corruption of power.

In May 1988, Italian mediation led to the signing of an Italo-Ethiopian treaty which made official the Italo-Somali territories (operation "Provide Hope"). George Bush, due to the US presidency to Bill Clinton on 11 January 1993, wanted to conclude his term of office with a success. This not being forthcoming, he ordered an initial withdrawal of American troops. In March 1993, the representatives of fifteen Somali armed factions met in Addis Ababa to sign a cease-fire agreement. To ensure its application, the UN launched the operation UNOSOM II (Resolution 794 which, at the instigation of the USA, called for military intervention under American leadership. The task-force, comprising 40,800 soldiers from a score of different nationalities soon occupied 40% of Somali territory (operation "Provide Hope"). George Bush, due to the US presidency to Bill Clinton on 11 January 1993, wanted to conclude his term of office with a success. This not being forthcoming, he ordered an initial withdrawal of American troops. In March 1993, the representatives of fifteen Somali armed factions met in Addis Ababa to sign a cease-fire agreement. To ensure its application, the UN launched the operation UNOSOM II (Resolution 794, adopted 26 March). Holding General Aydid responsible for cease-fire violations, United States forces tried in vain to capture him during the summer of 1993. But after the deaths of eighteen Rangers in an ambush, in October, President Clinton decided against any further action and announced that US forces would be withdrawn by 31 March 1994. Although deprived of direct American assistance, the UN continued to operate in the country until 31 March 1995.

The secession of the north

The anarchy which developed in the south from January 1991 onwards enabled the former Somaliland
to acquire de facto autonomy under the control of the SNM, the movement which had unleashed armed struggle in the northern provinces in 1982. An assembly of Elders, representing the leading families of Somaliland, was held in Burao six months later. There, the president of the SNM declared the abrogation of the Act of Union of 1 July 1960 and the independence of the "Republic of Somaliland." The dogma of pan-Somalism proved to be less potent than that of the intangibility of colonial frontiers. This event coincided, approximately, with recognition of the independence of Éritrea, another return to colonial frontiers. The secession of former Somaliland passed almost unnoticed; however, international attention being concentrated on the situation in the south of the country.

The SNM comprised those whose primary objective was to depose Siyad Barre and others who had always envisaged succession of the north in response to the oppression and economic neglect (genuine but magnified in the public consciousness) suffered by this region since 1960. The Elders, who fulfilled a significant popular "representative" function, prevailed over those who, having continued to play a political or economic role in the south, would have been prepared to accept a federation. "Abd al-Rahmān Ahmad 'Alī Tur became president of the new state. Since then, Somaliland has attempted to rebuild itself, without however escaping struggles between factions and clans.

Henceforward, Somalia needs not only to repair the damage caused by the headlong collapse of its traditional economic and social structures, by years of drought, famine and catastrophic displacement by oppression, civil war and the ruin of its pan-Somaliland dream; it must also cope with the dire effects of a clumsy and ineffectual international intervention.

ritories, particularly the British, from 1898-1920.

A regular feature of the religious calendar among
the religious practices, particularly in the
ritories, particularly the British, from 1898-1920.

A regular feature of the religious calendar among
the religious practices, particularly in the
ritories, particularly the British, from 1898-1920.

A regular feature of the religious calendar among
the religious practices, particularly in the
ritories, particularly the British, from 1898-1920.
in south-west Somalia has been described as an "Islamic mini-state amidst surrounding chaos and anarchy" (Hussein, 219).

- The language spoken in south-west Somalia has been described as an "Islamic mini-state amidst surrounding chaos and anarchy" (Hussein, 219).
- Prior to this, written communication was mostly carried out in other languages.

- The Omo-Tana languages include Rendille, Bayso, Dasenech and Elmolo spoken in the region of north-west Kenya and south-west Ethiopia; whilst two of the most important Lowland East Cushitic languages are 'Afar and Oromo, which are spoken by the two major groups of people neighbouring the Somali to the west in the Horn of Africa.

- Somali itself, may be regarded not so much as a single language, but rather a collection of closely-related dialects. According to Lamberti (1986, 14-32), there are five major dialect groups of Somali: the Northern group of dialects spoken predominantly by the nomadic pastoralists; the May and Digil groups spoken by the sedentary agriculturalists living between the two main rivers, the Juba and the Shabelle; the Benaadir dialects, spoken along the southern coast (and also in parts of southern-central Somalia) and Ashraaf, a dialect spoken just in Marka. There are a small number of other language-speaking minorities: dialects of Oromo are spoken in parts of the south-western regions and in the southern part of the Lower Juba region and Af-Boon (also known as Aweera), an endangered Cushitic language, is spoken in an area between the town of Jilib and the coast (as well as in neighbouring parts of Kenya). There are also speakers of northern dialects of Swahili: Ki-Bajuni is spoken along part of the coastal strip in the region of the lower Juba and especially in the town of Kismaayo and Chi-Mwini (= a dialectical form of Standard Swahili Ki-Mwini "the language of the town") is spoken in the town of Barawe, Brava) and also along the adjacent coast and the Bajun Islands.

Somali has a rich verbal morphology which, aside from the inflectional suffixes, includes a number of derivational suffixes which alter the argu- ment of the verb. These include a causative or transitivizing suffix, -i, which may be affixed to a verbal root, and a middle voice suffix, -a, which often has an autotransformative or an intransitivizing meaning. Whereas the vast majority of verbs inflect by means of suffixes, a small number of verbs mark person by means of prefixes, mark tense by means of stem-internal vowel mutation and have a number marker suffix. In Standard Somali there are five such verbs: mina 'come', yaqin 'know', yidhi "say", yihi "be in a place (only with inanimate subjects)" and the idiomatic verb yahay "be". The nominal morphology is characterised by a number of deverbal and denominal derivation suffixes as well as defining, demonstrative and possessive suffixes. The status of adjectives in Somali is a matter of dispute among linguists, some seeing them as a separate part of speech which is used with the verb yahay, others regarding adjectives as a distinct verbal group. With regard to syntax, one prominent feature is the system of focus marking which has been shown to be syntactically cognate to cleft constructions used in some other Afroasiatic languages of the Horn of Africa. Prepositional expressions are also interesting from a syntactic point of view: it is possible to use a possessive construction to express such things as "under the table": miiska hoostiisa, literally "the table its underneath"; but most prepositional expressions are rendered using four preverbal prepositional particles, given here with approximate mean- ings: in (to, for), ku (in, at, instrumental), ka (from, about) and la (with). These preverbal prepositional particles are found in most of the other Omo-Tana languages but not in less closely-related Cushitic languages in which certain case markers and postpositions are cognate. Of phonological interest is the system of tonal accent or pitch accent, in which certain grammatical distinctions are made by the position of accent which is realised as a higher tone phonetically.

Despite the fact that Somali is essentially a cluster of dialects, Standard Somali (sometimes called Common Somali) has developed over the last few decades, based on the Northern dialect group. This dialect group has developed in this way because it was already being used to a certain extent as a lingua franca throughout the Somali-speaking areas and also because much oral poetry was, and still is, composed in it and this poetry, when good, often became well known over a very wide area, thus helping to disseminate a certain competence in the dialect. Standard Somali is now the language of written and broadcast media and it is this use, especially in radio, which over the last few decades has continued the development of this standard language and made it widely known to speakers of other dialect groups.

The widespread use of written Somali only began in 1972 when an official script was introduced by the government at the time. Prior to this, written communica- tion was mostly carried out in other languages.
For a long time, Arabic was used in this way by those who knew it well enough and it continues to be used by some Somalis today as a written medium. In addition to the use of the Arabic language as such, the Arabic script was used by some people to write the Somali language itself, although this did not become very widespread. The European colonial languages, English, Italian and French, have also been used for written communication. In addition to the use of the Arabic script to write the Somali language, in the 20th century, a number of invented scripts were used by some Somalis today as a written medium.

The use of the Arabic script to write the Somali language, although this did not become very widespread. The European colonial languages, English, Italian and French, have also been used for written communication. In addition to the use of the Arabic script to write the Somali language, in the 20th century, a number of invented scripts were used by some Somalis today as a written medium.

The selection of an official script for the Somali language was a matter fraught with problems and indecision for a long time. Three major proposals were considered, firstly the use of a version of the Arabic script which was argued for on the basis of Islam. This, though, faced the practical problem that a number of other languages such as Italian, Spanish and Arabic had used the script such as Persian and Urdu and that it was at least generally more familiar to Somalis than other scripts. The second option was the use of an indigenous invented script, which was advocated on the basis that it would be an authentic Somali script. However, the invented scripts were to a certain extent associated with particular clans and thus were not regarded by all as being possible "pan-Somali" scripts; also, typewriters and printing presses would have needed to be built from scratch, which was considered by some as impractical and expensive. The third option was the use of a version of the Latin alphabet which, practically, was suited to the language but which was opposed by the groups who supported the other options. No decision was made by the civilian regimes of the 1960s and it was the former military régime of Maxamed Siyaad Barre which officially adopted the Latin script in 1972.

Somali is written more or less as the language is spoken. Each sound is represented by a letter of the alphabet or a digraph, most being similar to English apart from the following characters which are given here with their respective symbols in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and in Arabic transcription: "c" (Arabic: ‘, IPA: t), "x" (Arabic: h, IPA: h), "dh" (not found in Arabic, IPA: d), "dh" (Arabic: d, IPA: d), or in some speech IPA: f), "kh" (Arabic: kh, IPA: k), "kh" (Arabic: k, IPA: k), "sh" (Arabic sh, IPA: f). Long vowels and geminate consonants are both written as digraphs.

Following the acceptance of this script, Somali was made the national language of the then Democratic Republic of Somalia and urban and rural literacy campaigns were implemented. Although following these the literacy rate may be assumed to have improved, at the present time, with civil war and great upheavals in the Horn of Africa, it is assumed to be very low (in 1985 the adult literacy rate in Somalia was 12% according to the African Development Report for 1991 published by the African Development Bank). Since 1972, much new vocabulary has been introduced into the language; some has been coined from existing Somali words by compounding or semantic shift, and some borrowed from Arabic (from which borrowing has taken place for a long time) or from the colonial European languages.


6. Literature

Prior to the writing of the language, Somali literature was, with some very few exceptions, composed, retained and performed solely in oral form. Poetry has always been the most important type of literary expression, but, from the 1940s onwards, theatre became important and, following the acceptance of an official Somali script in 1972, prose fiction also developed. The Somalis themselves distinguish between two main genres of poetry, ranging from children's songs through work songs and dance songs to poetry handling more serious themes, the latter being classified together as maanso (mawqo) (sometimes referred to as "classical poetry" by English-speaking scholars), whereas the work songs, etc., are classified together as hes. Within these major groups there are genres of poems and songs which are distinguished by four major factors: the subjects they treat, the context in which they are recited, the metrical structure of the lines and the "tune" (in Somali, luq (luk)) to which they are traditionally performed. Somali poetry is alliterative, the alliterative sound being carried throughout the whole poem and there is a quantitative system of metrical structure (in Somali, syllable final consonants are not counted in the metre).

There are different songs associated with all the standard types of work among the rural Somalis such as watering camels and other livestock (each animal has its own song), driving livestock along, weaving mats, pounding grain, etc. Many of these songs are well known and the original composer anonymous, but people do also compose their own poetry in this context. This may sometimes be used by people to convey a message allusively to someone whom they would not normally be able to directly address on the matter in hand. The dance songs and poetry, of which there are many types such as dhamato and shire, are performed in specific contexts at celebrations and particularly when young people come together to dance at certain times of the year; again, many of these songs and poems are anonymous but may also be composed by individuals who then perform them in the dance.

Turning to the maanso type of poetry, this is all composed by named individuals, and before reciting a poem of this type the reciter must say who is the composer of the poem and must then recite the poem verbatim. There is no professional class of poets among the nomads; anyone who has the skill is able to compose poetry and those who are very good become well known and gain a great deal of prestige. Among the southern, mainly agriculturalists, the situation is different in that there are specific recitors of poetry, laashih (pl. laashino), who often recite in an extemporised manner. Unfortunately, the work available to the academic community on this poetry is very sparse, and consequently what is to be said below on poetry pertains primarily to the pastoralist nomads
and the modern types of poems which have developed from that tradition.

Given the oral nature of the literature, the earliest examples of poems which are known are from the latter half of the 19th century. Some of these poems are those by Raage Ugas Warfaa (Râge Uğas Warfa) (ca. 1810–ca. 1880) which are still remembered with great respect, such as the poem he composed in response to the marriage of his fiancée to another, Alleyp dumay “At nightfall”. Among the pastoralist nomads there is no history of epic poetry, although among the agriculturalists there are poems which are passed on from one generation to the next and which recount aspects of clan history. From the turn of the 20th century, many poems have been remembered, particularly those of the most famous and prestigious poets; and when the Somali language was first officially written in 1972 many of these poems were soon transcribed, thus keeping them for posterity, although those which have survived to the present time will only be a small proportion of the total amount of poems composed. One of the most important poets whose work is preserved in this way is that of Muhammad ‘Abd Allâh Hassan (q.v.), whose work has been collected and, as has also the work of his contemporaries. Looking at the work of more than one poet within a particular context is particularly important, as Somali poetry is very often composed to address a particular situation and a poem composed by one person may be replied to by another poet, as was often the case with the poetry during the Dervish campaign. At times, poems may be replied to and the replies themselves solicit a response; in such situations a silsilad (Ar. silsila “chain”) may develop in which a whole chain of poems is composed, all alliterating in the same sound. Despite the fact that many poems comment specifically on issues, others handle general issues or may be in praise of a person or indeed a well-loved horse.

During the late 1940s and the 1950s, the new genres belco and haddii developed, which dealt more specifically with the theme of love but which developed into an important vehicle for the expression of developing nationalist, anti-colonial feeling. Of particular importance in this development was the poet and musician Cabdullaahi Qarshë (“Abd Allâh Karghë”), who was the first Somali to introduce musical instrumental accompaniment, the lute, to this poetry. It was during this time also that Somali theatre developed, with the composition of plays by playwrights who took theatrical forms from the European plays which they saw and developed them, using Somali poetic forms as the basis of the play text. This poetry was learnt verbatim by the actors, who then improvised the linking parts of the play in spoken prose under the guidance of the playwright. In addition to simple recitation of the poetic parts, some were sung with a musical accompaniment, and these songs often became very popular and were broadcast over the radio, as indeed were the whole plays. The plays themselves were generally initially performed in the theatres in the major towns and were then taken on tour around the country.

At the present time, poetry continues to be of great importance in Somali culture, with poems addressing the contemporary situation avidly listened to by many people through radio broadcasts or via audio cassette tapes. Many modern popular poems are also often recorded with a musical accompaniment as songs. Three of the most prominent poets of the present time are Maxamed Ibrahim Warsame “Hadaarwi” (Muhammad Ibrahim Warsame Hadrawi), Maxamed Xaaishi Dhamac Gaariye (Muhammad Hadi Dhamma’ Gaariye) and Cabdii Aadan “Cabdi Qays” (“Abdi Adan “Abdi Kayy”), all of whom have composed a wide variety of poems, including ones addressing the political situations they have lived through as well as love poems and poems on other themes.

Although most poetry which is widely known is composed by men, there are women also who compose poetry. Given the male-oriented system of memorialisation used in the past, very few older poems by women are now known but from more modern times, due to the use of radio and audio cassettes, women’s poetry is more widely known. For example, Mariam Xaaji Xasan (Maryam Haji Hassan) composed poetry in opposition to the former regime of Maxamed Siyaad Barre (Muhammad Siyad Barre) which was broadcast through an opposition radio station based in Ethiopia under the name of Crrawweello Ararsame.

Religious poetry in praise of the Prophet or saints or dealing with didactic themes is composed in both Somali and Arabic. Of the Arabic poems, most are written and retained in manuscript form and some have also been published in book collections. Among the best known are those of Shaykh Uways and Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Zayla’i’t (see above, 4.), some of whose poems have become very well known and may be recited at religious celebrations such as al-Zayla’il’s poem popularly known as al’Ayniya on the account of the rhyme in ‘an (see Bibl.). Religious poetry is also composed in Somali, with some early examples having been written in this language using a version of the Arabic script. A more modern, well known composer of religious poetry in Somali is Sheekh Gaqaq Cabdulaah Shaam (Shaykh ‘Akiib “Abd Allâh Djama’).

Prior to the introduction of the official script for Somali, prose literature was confined to oral narra- tives of folktales and to hagiographies of saints, some of these being written in Arabic. Prose literature in the form of novels and short stories in Somali is the product of the adoption of the official script (see above, 5.). Some of the earliest novels include those by Faarax Maxamed Jaamac Cawl (Faraah Muhammad Djama’ ‘Awl) (1937-91) who wrote three novels, including Aqoordar waa u nacab jacaal (Mogadishu 1974), which was translated into English as Ignorance is the enemy of love by B.W. Andrzejewski (London 1982). Another well known writer of prose fiction is Maxamed Daahir Afaqr (Muhammad Tahir Afaqr), whose novels were first published as serials in the newspaper Xiddiga Ooqoob (“The October Star”). The novels of Faarax M.J. Cawl concentrate on didactic themes in a more historical context, Aqoordar waa u nacab jacaal tak- ing the theme of illiteracy set in the context of a true story from the time of the Dervish movement. Those of Afaqr, on the other hand, treat the urban life of Makdiin in the 1970s and the vulnerabilities of vari- ous people in that particular society under the regime of the time. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a num- ber of other writers wrote novels and short novels which were published in Makdiin, but in more recent years, following the civil war and the destruction of many facilities, prose fiction publication has become very difficult, although there has been some, e.g. Waddaddii waalibabarka (“The road of grief”) by Xuseen Sheekh Bixii (Husayn Shaykh Bih), which was recently published in Addis Ababa (1994) and which addresses the embroiled situation among the Somalis during the early 1990s. As in other parts of Africa, there has also been some writing of fictional literature and poetry
SOMALI — SOMAY

727

in the colonial European languages, English, French and Italian. The best known of these writers is Nuuruddin Farax (Nuuruddin Farah; in his publications his name is spelt Nuruddin Farah), who has written a number of novels in English which are very well known in the Western world.


(M. Okwen)

**ŠÖMA,** a Kurdish district of Persia lying between the Turkish frontier (modern i'l or province of Hakkärî) and the western shore of Lake Urmia, hence falling within the modern Persian után or province of West Aghbärâyûdân.

In *Kurdish,* *šöma* means *“view”* (cf. in Persian *sâma* “terminus, finis, scopum”; Vullers, ii, 352). To the north, Šöma is separated from the basin of the Zola Çay (Şiherîn, Salmâs [q.v.]) by the mountains of Bere-di, Ündalîk and Ağhân; on the east the canton of Anzal separates it from Lake Urmia; to the south-east lies the Şaykh Bâzîrd, range to the south the canton of Brêdost; to the south-west the peak of Kûtlû; towards the west the ravine of Bânegû runs into the interior of Turkish territory. Šöma is sometimes used to include the cantons of Şiherîn and Anzal-Bâla. Šöma is watered by the northern tributaries of the Nâzu Çay, several of which drain the main valley, and one (Hassanî, Berdûk) comes from the ravine of Bânegû. They unite east of Berdûk, flow towards Brêdost, where they are joined by the tributary from the valley of Bûzîrgû and then, joining the Nâzu Çay, enter the lake north-east of the plain of Urmia [q.v.].

According to the *Şaraf-nâma* of Şaraf al-Dîn Känd Bîldist [q.v.], Şöma and Brêdost were at first governed by scions of the Kurd Hasanîya dynasty (*Hasanwayhids*) [see *Hasanwayyz*] who had taken refuge in the north after the defeat which the Buyid Shams al-Dawla [q.v.] had inflicted in 405/1014 on Hilâl b. Badr. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the *Şaraf-nâma* mentions a member of the family, Şâhîzîrân b. Şułtan Ahmad, who for his exploits was granted by Şâh Isma’il Şafawî the cantons of Şöma, Tegervar and Dîl but later went over to the Ottoman sultan Selim. His descendants, who were under the ushî of Wân, broke up into various branches. The last mir of Şöma mentioned by the *Şaraf-nâma* is Avilîy Bêg (from 985/1577).

When in 1565/1654 Ewîlyâ Celebî [q.v.] visited the country between Wân and Urmia, the strong castle of Ghaîzî–kîrân still stood on a cliff commanding the plain of Urmia, while the western part of Şöma was occupied by the Pînînîyîîh tribe (which now lives in Turkish territory). The lord of Berdûk was called Çolak (“the one-armed”). Mir ‘Allîz, the strong castle stood some distance below (asghâhîy) Kûl-a-yi Pînînîyîîh, which may be identified with Bânegû (3-4 miles above Berdûk).

It is not very clear whether the mîrs of Şöma who, shortly after the visit of Ewîlyâ Celebî, erected several curious monuments, were of the same tribe of Pînînîyîîh. At Berdûk is a mosque of white and black stone and a cemetery with the tomb of Nazar Bêg, son of Ghaîzî Bêg (d. 1071/1660). His son Sułtan Täkî Sułtan, whose title shows that he had consolided the power—for sułtanlik means a fief for which one has received investiture—built the very imposing and picturesque castle near Bânegû. A reconstruction of the old Kûl-a-yi Pînînîyîîh probably also dates from his time (1078/1667). On a rock at the entrance to the tower can still be seen the remains of a rudely carved inscription *sâhih malîk—Sulütn Murad b. Sulütn* (q.v.). Below the fort is an *‘ibdat khana* built by a certain Zâî-i ‘Adu (1103/1691?) and a mosque. The style of these buildings recalls that of the castle of Mahmûdî (*Khoshab*) east of Wân (cf. Binder, 126-8). In 1136/1736 the hereditary chief of the sandik of Şöma, Khâtîm Khand, as a reward for his services received from the Ottoman government the adjacent cantons of Salmâs [q.v.], Kerêlkazzan (?), Karabash and Anzal (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 211).

In the 19th century the Şabak [q.v.], encouraged by the Persians, gradually occupied Şöma. According to Derwîsh Pasha, Bânegû was destroyed by ‘Âlî ‘Aghâ Şabak (about 1257/1841). In 1851 ‘Âlî ‘Ismâyîl was still able to speak of a “hereditary ruler of Şöma”, Parraw Khand, who had also seized Brêdost. In 1893 the Şabak killed at Gunbad the last representative of the family of mîrs, a certain Kûlî Khân.

Among the antiquities of Şöma may be mentioned:

1. the citadel of Žandîr Kûfî (between Şöma and Salmâs) which must correspond to the *Şabâklîtlî* building of *Karmy-yaftî*, mentioned by Ewîlyâ Celebî (iv, 281) the name of which (*alâz Farhâd kapû*) is found in Blau, in *Peterm. Mitt.* (1863), 201-10; 2. a carved stone out of the rock on Mount Kûtlû; 3. similar chambers where the Nâzu Çay enters the plain of Urmia. All these monuments must date from the Urartian period (cf. Minorsky, *Kelashîn*, in *ZVOIRA*, xxiv [1917], 190).

Şöma had a significant Nestorian Christian population, and Şöma-Brêdost was a Nestorian diocese under the archdiocese of Shamîrîn [q.v.]; see M. Chevalier, *Les monastères chretiens du Hakkârî et du Kurdistan septentrional*, Paris 1965, 230, and see map 1.

**Bibliography:** *Şaraf-nâma*, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 296-300; Ewîlyâ Celebî, *Siyâhet-nâme*, Istanbul 1315, iv, 277-83; Derwîsh Pasha, *Rapport officiel du comissaire pour la délimitation turco-persane en 1269/ 1852*, publ. without title, Istanbul, Matbaî-i amire (iv, 281) the name of which (*alâz Farhâd kapû*) is found in Blau, in *Peterm. Mitt.* (1863), 201-10; 2. a carved stone out of the rock on Mount Kûtlû; 3. similar chambers where the Nâzu Çay enters the plain of Urmia. All these monuments must date from the Urartian period (cf. Minorsky, *Kelashîn*, in *ZVOIRA*, xxiv [1917], 190).

**M. Okwen**
SONMÁTH[seeSOMNÁTH].
SONÁRGÁ’ÓN, Subarnagrama in Sanskrit, a
famous mediaeval capital city and trade centre
in eastern Bengal at the juncture of the rivers
Lanka, Brahmaputra and old Meghna and about
14 miles south-east of Dhaka and 3 miles east
of Narayanganj. Though the city existed in the early
13th century during the time of the Hindu dynasties
of Sena and Deva in East Bengal, it started flour-
ishing only during the time of Balban T rulers in the
13th century, when Leo Africanus noted it as the language of
Valátá, Timbuktu, Jenne and Gao (and, implausibly,
Mali). But, except in Gao it was, at that time, little
more than a language of administration resulting from
the incorporation of those areas into an expanded
Songhay state from the 1460s. Prior to the expan-
sion of the Songhay state the language was mainly
spoken along the banks of the Niger from Gao south-wards, but for how long we have no way of telling.
The origins of the isolated pockets of Songhay speech are
likewise a matter of conjecture, but a plausible
hypothesis is that the eastern ones, at any rate, resulted
from the activities of Songhay-speaking merchants.

2. People. The name Songhay applied to a people
does not appear in the literature until the late 15th
century with the “Replies” of al-Maghfīl [q.v.].
The name Zerma (and a parallel form, Zabhera) appears
even later; there is a single passing reference in an
anonymous chronicle of the mid-17th century (see
Ta’nkh al-Fatásh, “Deuxieme Appendice”, 334). Arab
writers from the Mediterranean lands of Islam had
known of Kawkaw/Gawgaw as the name of a town
(Gao [q.v.]) and a people, and there is no reason to
suppose that these people were not Songhay speakers
ancestral to those who inhabited the area in the 16th
century and still do today (but see Lange,
Les mws de Gao-Sarn et les Almoravides). A problem remains, how-
ever: there is no known etymology for the name
Songhay, and the name is scarcely used by speakers
of the language to designate themselves (see Olivier
de Sardan, Conceptes et conceptions songhay-zarma, 340).
The Ta’rikh al-Fatásh and the Ta’nkh al-Sudán (both
mid-17th century) use the term to refer either to the
ruling oligarchy (ahl Songhay) or to the region of Gao,
or occasionally to the empire as a whole. Although
modern anthropological literature has used the term
Songhay-Zarma in englobing fashion, the people
themselves use more particularist terms such as
Sorko—villagers; goabi (or gabibi)—“black body”, cul-
vitators (in Timbuktu especially denoting ex-slaves);
sorka—fisher folk, boatmen; goase—hunters; Sobance—
descendants of Sunni ‘Ali; Maamar haama—descendants
of Askiya Muhammád; arma—descendants of the Sa’dían invaders of 1591; etc. The Zarma have tra-
ditions that would make them immigrants from Mali,
but these would refer only to groups that came
from the Inland Delta and established themselves as
local chiefs, perhaps at more than one time. In the
late 19th century, "Zabarma" adventurer carried out extensive slave-raiding among Grunshi populations in north-west Ghana, and under the leadership of Babatu established a slave trade and was part of the area that was ended by French and British colonial expansion (see N. Levitzion, Muslims and chiefs in West Africa, Oxford 1968, 151-60).

Pre-colonial Songhay society recognised three social statuses: free, servile and slave. The free were the chiefs and the mass of the cultivators and herders, and such slaves and servile people as had achieved free status. The highest status groups were the Sohance, the Sorgofa and the sirfay (shurafī, also termed sharif), the arma (sharīfī), and the sirfay (shurafī, also termed sharif) —descendants of the Prophet. Servile groups comprised people who were attached to, and performed certain services for, free men, in particular those of the chiefly class during the period of the Songhay empire. In some cases, they were probably remnants of earlier conquered peoples; in others they were artisans, musicians and griots (geere) whose functional if not their physical origins go back to the Mali empire of the 13th-14th centuries (see Tal Tamiari, The development of caste systems in West Africa, in J. African Hist., xxxii [1991], 221-50). In theory, they were not slaves and hence could not escape their status by being emancipated, though in fact slaves may have been assimilated to them; Songhay rulers obliged them to observe endogamy (see Hunwick, Studies in the Ta'rikh al-fattashī, II). Songhay society recognised that slaves in the second generation (hursa, in French "captifs de case") were on the road to freedom, and by the fourth generation they were assimilated into free society as gabbī.

Being strung out in a thin line around the river, the Songhay-Zarma were interpenetrated and hence culturally influenced by many groups: Arab, Tuareg, Fulbe, Manding and Hausa. Like these groups, they have been strongly affected by the religious culture of Islam (in the 11th century, al-Bakrī, K. al-Madīdī aṣa'īl-mamādūd, ed. de Slane, Paris 1857, 183, noted that none but a Muslim could rule at Kawakaw). In the early 17th century, Ahmad Bābā al-Timbuktī [q.v.] in his Miḥrādī al-sul'amīd (ms.) classified the Songhay as among the wholly Muslim peoples of Bilād al-Sūdān. However, indigenous religion, magic and possession cults have remained strong in Zarma country down to the present time (see Rouch, Religion et magie, and Stoller, Fusion of the worlds).

3. History. Songhay chroniclers recognise three dynasties: the Za (or better Zuwa/Zuwa), the Sunni (or Shi, originally probably pronounced Son-ṭi) and the Askia dynasty. Of the first we really know no more than the list of rulers' names given in the local chronicles; royal tombstones discovered at Gao-Sané suggest a short-lived dynasty in relationship with the Almoravids of Spain and their Sanhasilā cousins of the southern Sahara in the late 11th/early 12th centuries, but the relationship of these rulers to the Za remains problematic. Some later inscriptions include the title zuwa. The Sunnis were probably originally vassals of the Malian rulers who conquered the Middle Niger in the later 13th century [see Mal]. The Ta'rikh al-fattashī glosses the title with koi banandi/khalīfat al-sul'amān, indicating a subordinate relationship. By the mid-15th century, Mali had withdrawn from the area, and with the advent to power of Sunni 'All in 889/1484, a period of Songhay expansion began. During the next eight years (892-900), the Malians conquered a broad swathe of territory around the Niger from the borders of Kebbi (Kabi) in the south-east to beyond Jenne in the south-west. His brutality towards certain of the scholars of Timbuktu during that city's conquest in 873/1468 stirred up animosities that were exacerbated by al-Maghīlī's judgement that he was an unbeliever (kafīr), and are reflected in the local chronicles.

On Sunni 'All's death in 898/1492, his son Abū Bakr (Bukar Dā'u) succeeded him, but he was soon overthrown by one of 'All's generals, Muhammad b. Abī Bakr [q.v.], of mixed Soninke-Songhay parentage, who took the dynastic title of askia (r. 898-935/1493-1529). He expanded Songhay into a veritable empire, making lands as distant as Gao on the Senegal river (hatsa ed. de Slane, Paris 1857, 183, noted that none but a Muslim could rule at Kawakaw). In the early 17th century, Ahmad Bābā al-Timbuktī [q.v.] in his Miḥrādī al-sul'amīd (ms.) classified the Songhay as among the wholly Muslim peoples of Bilād al-Sūdān. However, indigenous religion, magic and possession cults have remained strong in Zarma country down to the present time (see Rouch, Religion et magie, and Stoller, Fusion of the worlds).

Songhay was the largest of the medieval empires of West Africa, but both its size and its administrative style imperilled it. Succession under the askia generally passed to brothers, but in no fixed order; the strongest carried the day, especially if he was present at Gao on his predecessor's death. Regional governorships and other high offices were mainly distributed among the askīa's sons, and sometimes his brothers, and competition was fierce. The state had a sound agricultural base in the fertile lands of the river Niger and in the Inland Delta, and slaves ran plantations to feed the royal household and its soldiery. A well-developed river transport system ferried foodstuffs, soldiers and officials, and the Sorko who manned the boats were the askīa's "property" (mamādūd lahu). Trade with North Africa provided luxury items (European swords, cloth, paper, etc.) while gold and slaves were high value exports. Rock salt from the central Saharan mine at Taghaza was (and remained until recently) a lucrative item of trade, cut into ever smaller pieces and serving as a currency for smaller items, while gold dust was used for larger transactions. The askīa period also marked a high point in the fortunes of Islam, and especially of Timbuktu [q.v.] as a centre of Islamic scholarship. Askīa Muhammad made the pilgrimage in 902/1497 and received a diploma of authority as a lawful amīr from the fātimī Aḥmad b. Kawkāw. He established cordial relations with the men of religion, making them gifts and granting them privilege. During his reign and those of most of his successors, the moral authority of the scholars and holy men of Songhay served to mitigate the despotism of the rulers.


2. People. J. Rouch, Les songhay, Paris 1954 (ethnographic monograph with annotated bibliog-
SONGhay — SOUTH AFRICA


SONKOR, SUNKUR (T.), one of the many words in Turkish denoting birds of prey. In the modern Turkic languages, and probably always, it means the gerfalcon, falcó gerfalcón (Sir Gerard Clauson, An etymological dict. of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 838a). Mahmūd al-Kaṣhgharī says that it was a raptor smaller than the tajhrīl (Dīwān tughrīl al-turk, tr. Atayal, iii, 381).

The term became frequently used as a personal name in mediaeval Islamic times, both alive and in such combinations as Abu/Kara Sonkör "White/Black Gerfalcon", cf. J. Sauvaget, Noms et surnoms de Mame- louks, in jã, ccxxxviii (1950), 37 no. 22, 52 no. 163.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

SORGUC [see TULBAND].

SOUTH AFRICA, Islam in.

1. The community.

Although there is evidence that small groups of Arab or African Muslims reached its northernmost regions, Islam was established in the country during European colonial occupation. The first group of Muslims were brought to the Cape during Dutch rule, while the second group arrived during the British occupation of Natal in the 19th century.

The first group, inappropriately called Malays in South Africa, came from the range of South-East Asian islands, Borneo, Makassar and Madagascar. Beginning in 1658, they came as political prisoners, slaves and convicts. There were prominent religious scholars among them, like Abidin Tadā Tjoesoep of Makassar (d. 1699), known as Shaykh Yūsuf, and Šāh Aḥmad Salīm of Tidore (d. 1807), known as Tuan Guru. The graves of these and other contemporary religious figures are dotted throughout the Western Cape. Shaykh Yūsuf's tomb in Faure has become an identity symbol for the Muslim community, while the other tombs also play a prominent part in its mystical orientations.

The second group were Indian indentured workers and traders from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Gujrat. Traders played a prominent role in the establishment of institutions, the first mosque being built in 1844. These traders then invited religious functionaries, imāms and 'ulamā', to serve them. Among these early Muslims there were also two mystics whose tombs have become sites of veneration in Durban. The first, Shaykh Ahmad, is said to have come to Natal in 1860 as an indentured worker. Magdīdd b. Badsha Peer ("enraputured saintly saint"), as he is popularly known, was released from his term of indenture, and then hawked fruit and vegetables in the Durban mosque market until his death in 1886. The second, Shāh Ghulām Muhammad Šūfī Šiddīkī, alias Soofī Saheb, established a more enduring tradition. Sent to South Africa by his Chishti master Habīb al-'All Shāh, Soofī Saheb arrived in this country in 1895. According to tradition, he discovered the grave of Badsha Peer and established the celebration of his death anniversary (wūr). Soofī Saheb also encouraged the development of other folk practices as symbols for distinguishing poor Indian Muslims from Hindus.

In addition to this Asian composition of Muslims, there were also smaller groups from Africa, partly consisting of migrants from African countries like Malawi in the north, and partly from a steady flow of converts from indigenous peoples. On a smaller scale, there have also been conversions, especially in the Cape, of Europeans to Islam. These diverse origins and different histories notwithstanding, Muslims in South Africa increasingly regard themselves as a national community. Islam in South Africa is marked by a range of institutions established in the 19th century and continuing unabated. Mosques, madrasas, modern Islamic schools, colleges, welfare and youth organisations, are all the more remarkable considering that Muslims constituted only 1-2% of the estimated total population of 43 million. The institutionalisation of Islam began in the Cape at the beginning of the 19th century, when Tuan Guru established the first mosque after an 1804 ordinance allowed the free and public practice of religions other than the Dutch Reformed Church. Scholars in the Cape continued to establish mosques and schools wherein they played a leading role. In Cape society, they were also intellectuals for slaves and Free Blacks. Their valuable role shone through educational activities, and other important community services like name-giving ceremonies, marriage and death rites. Cape religious leaders also adopted the Arabic script to write religious texts in the Afrikaans of the Cape.

From the second half of the 19th century, an increasing number of these scholars studied at Arab
Prominent scholars like Shaykh Sālih Adams, Shaykh Mahdi Hendricks, Shaykh Ahmad Beharden, and Shaykh Shakir Gamieldien, played a crucial role in religious education. Cape Muslim leaders are also organised in scholarly fraternities. The Moslem Judicial Council (est. 1945) is the largest, but the Majlis al-Shura al-Islami and the Islamic Council of South Africa also enjoy prominence. These groups serve the community, and thereby claim its allegiance, through the provision of education, community counselling and religious services.

The institutionalisation of Islam in the northern regions of South Africa has, however, been markedly different. Generally, mosques, schools and welfare organisations employ īmān and 'ulāmā in their capacity as religious specialists. In response, religious scholars in the northern regions have defined themselves in terms of Islamic legal and theological criteria. Most of them have studied at institutions in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, reflecting Islamic trends there. The Jamiatil Ulama Transvaal (est. 1952) and Jamiatul Ulama Natal (est. 1952) together with the Council (est. 1945) is the largest, but the Majlis al-Shura al-Islami and the Islamic Council of South Africa also enjoy prominence. These groups serve the community, and thereby claim its allegiance, through the provision of education, community counselling and religious services.

Anti-apartheid activists among Muslims in Natal, like e.g. Ismail and Fatima Meer, threw in their lot with the anti-apartheid movement. The Muslim youth movement, the Muslim Youth Movement (est. 1957) and Claremont Muslim Youth Movement (est. 1970), played a crucial role in fostering the aspirations of youth who demanded a more modern understanding of Islam. They also insisted that Muslims at all levels of government, are signs that Muslims in South Africa are divided in terms of their political allegiance. No single party enjoys their undivided support, including the Islamic parties that were formed to contest the first democratic elections in 1994. A lively debate, which can sometimes be acrimonious, rages about the new state. Many 'ulama' and activists like Achmat Cassiem argue that the Muslim community should vigorously maintain its independence and authority in the service of a pure Islamic order. Dissident voices from the Call of Islam and the Muslim Youth Movement respond that an Islamic ethos can be created through and within the development of a new South African nation. For the vast majority of Muslims, however, these debates do not restrain their political expressions within trade unions, professional organisations and trade organisation.
SOYÜRĞHÂL

ikțâ'. There is, however, a certain lack of precision in the use of the term (see H. Busse, *Ubersuchungen zum islamischen Rechtswesen*, Cairo 1959, 97-111, for a discussion of it). The *soyûrgûhâl* was invariably a personal grant.

It is not always easy to determine whether *soyûrgûhâl* is being used in the sources for the *ikhtânâtes* and *Timûrîd* periods in the sense of "favour" or more specifically as a provincial grant (see e.g. Oldjeytu's document of Asadâbâd near Hamadân to Ây Doghî, *urîyây-i Asadâbâd-i bâh-i Ây Doghî *soyûrgûhâl* farmûd, Hâfez Abrû, *Dhâjî-i namâ-yî takwûnî-i râdîhândâ*), ed. Khân Bâbâyânî, Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 95; and Abâka's granting of eight districts with immunity to Atabeg of Lurîstân, *Perîzûn-i u rûhîyar-î soyûrgûhâl-i â farnûd, Mu'în-i Din Nâ'tânâzî, Mantuqâbâb-i takwûnîkâr* ed. J. Aubin, Tehran AHS 1336/1957, 45, and cf. *ibid.*, 206, 209. See also B. Spuler, *Montgelant* Berlin 1985, 275.

In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, *soyûrgûhâl* is sometimes found in conjunction with the term *hâdât* (see Derrînî, *op. cit.*, 490, 493-4). *Akbâr al-Razâ'î*, Samarkandî states that *soyûrgûhâl* were renewed annually by Timûr's *divân* unless they were *hâdodâhârî* (*Matlûl* al-selâ-dâyâm, ed. Muhammad Şâ'âfi, Lahore 1949, ii, 1037. See also Isfârîzî, *Râvâdî-dârâyê*, ed. Muhammad Kâzîm Imâm, Tehran AHS 1339/1960, ii, 436, and Hosein Modarressi Tabatabâ'i, *Farmânî-yâyi Turkmânânâ-yi Karî Koyunluyâ-yi ak Koyounluyâ, Kum AHS 1352/1973-4, 71, n. 1). The phrase *brî karan-i hâdodâhârî* in a *farmân* dated 893/1486 in idem, 105, clearly has the sense of a "permanent basis".

Under the *Timûrîd* states, the *soyûrgûhâl* in the sense of a provincial grant was not clearly distinguished from the *tuyûl* [*q.v.*]. Both were used to signify the grant of a district or provincial government or its taxes, with or without immunities. *Abd al-Razzâq* records a document issued by Djahanshâh Kara Koyunlu, *urîyây-i Asaddod-dîr bi Ây Doghî soyûrgûhâl farmûd*, 436, and Hosein Modarressi Tabatabâ'i, *Farmânî-yâyi Arasbdrân*, ed. Muhammad Shaft, Lahore 1949, ii, 206, 209. See also B. Spuler, *Montgelant* Berlin 1985, 275.

Under the White Sheep Turkomans, the grant of districts with immunities was still known as a *soyûrgûhâl*. An example of this is Kâsim Beg's grant to Isfandîyar Beg, dated 903/1497-8, for the *ulâk* of Âqâgil, which was his home-ground (*aghâl*), and the villages of Baghân and Hînt as a "permanent soyûrgûhâl and permanent gift" with immunity from the entry of government officials (*dar basta*) and from a great variety of dues (Modarressi Tabatabâ'i, *Farmânî-yâyi turkmânânâ*, 113-16; see also Minorsky, *op. cit.*. Increasingly under the White Sheep and the Safawîs, the term *soyûrgûhâl* appears to have been applied to pensions, either in the form of a money grant on the taxes or a grant of immunity from the interference of government officials in land belonging to the beneficiary, who was frequently a member of the religious classes. It is not clear how they differed from the grants of immunity known as *mâşîf* and *muşallâmî* unless it was that the latter were temporary (but renewable) grants while *soyûrgûhâls* were life grants or hereditary grants. They were essentially grants of "grace", retaining the original sense of "favour" or "gift" and phrases such as *soyûrgûhâl-i abâdî wa ihsân-i sarmadi* occur in the documents (cf. the documents, dated 1115/1704, quoted by Lambton, *Tâmel Soyûrgûhâls*, in *BSOS* xiv/1 [1952], 44-54). In the *farmân* issued by Ya'qûb Beg in 893/1488 granting immunity from land taxes to the *waqf* lands of the *manşûriya madrasa* in Shîrâz, the founder Ghiyâth al-Dîn Manûšir is given as a *soyûrgûhâl* 3 *tûmans*, made up of 9,000 dinârs in cash and 2 *tûmans* and 1,000 dinârs in kind (Modarressi Tabatabâ'i, *op. cit.*, 104).

A *soyûrgûhâl* dated 875/1471 issued by Uzun Hasan in favour of the sayîd *Abd al-Ghâfir* grants him permanent immunity from land and other taxes (*mâşîf wa muşallâmîhî-dî wa waqfî*) and dues in one of the districts of Rûdîkût belonging to Tabriz (Busse, 151-3, also in Modarressi Tabatabâ'i, *op. cit.*, 74-6). It is described as an *nîmîn-i abâdî wa soyûrgûhâl-i sarmadî* (152), the implication of "favour" or "gift" being thus retained. A *farmân* of Tahmâsp I, dated 966/1558-9 shows, if it is authentic, that *soyûrgûhâls* were, or might be, hereditary.

The grant is to the descendants of *Shâhâd Zâhid-i Gilânî*. It gives them the taxes of Lûrâ, Hadîr and Cânîsh in Mughânât as a permanent
SOYURGHAL 733

Soyurghal (soyurghdl-i abadi wa ihsdn-i sarmadi), thus implying, as in the case of the grant to 'Abd al-Ghaffar, that the grant was a favour, and also that these districts had been held in hereditary succession by the Zahidi Sayyids. It also mentions that the grant districts had been held in hereditary succession by Koyunlu practice in 'Irak and Fars in the years 894-888/1483-4 (Shaykh Husayn Zahldl, Mukaddama-i bar shindkht-i asndd-i tdrikhl, Tehran AHS 1362/1983-4, 72). Several documents granting soyurghals on properties connected with the Safawid shrine at Ardabil in favour of officials and senators of the shrine have been published by B.G. Martin (Seven Safawid documents, in Documents from Islamic chanceries, ed. S.M. Stern, Oxford 1965). The first of these is a grant of 6,000 dinars by Isma'il I on Kazadzl in Khalkhal as a permanent soyurghal to Kamal al-Dln Husayn Ardabfl, together with the villages of Awmanik and Sultanabad, in the tax districts of Ardabil, with immunities from taxes (ibid., 193). A third document, dated 1000/1592, issued by Shah 'Abbas, states that Kazadzl was the soyurghal of the descendants of Kamal al-Dln Husayn Ardabfl and that money had been wrongfully taken from the peasants of Kazadzl by a certain Shah Kull Aka (ibid., 196-7). A fourth document, dated 1016/1607, also issued by Shah 'Abbas, states that the soyurghals of the descendants of Kamal al-Dln amounted to 8 tumdns, 8,390 dinars (ibid., 201-2). This was a considerable increase on the sum originally granted to Kamal al-Dln. It appears from the document that the soyurghals of Ardbarbzdndn had been suspended from the beginning of the year 1009/1600, but the descendants of Kamal al-Dln had requested the confirmation of their soyurghals and so it was restored. The reasons for the suspension of soyurghals in Adbarbzdndn is not mentioned, and the effectiveness of the measure is not known. Another instance of the suspension of soyurghals by Shah 'Abbas is recorded, when he ordered Allahwirdl Khdn, the beglerbeg of Fars, to investigate the titles of those who held soyurghals and to resume those whose holders did not have a valid title (Rahnmdm-yi kthb, iii, year 9, 349, quoted by Bstndn Pttrz, Spstns va uktshd-i safavest, Tehran AHS 1362/1983-4, 72).

Originally, under the Safawids the grant of a soyurghal took the form of a nishdn. Shah 'Abbas changed the procedure to a parawndn with the introductory formula farmn-i humydn. Shah 'Abbas' soyurghals have a valid title (Rahnmdm-yi kthb, iii, 311-43). The documents were sealed on the back with the royal (humydn) seal and the (nashf-i soyurghal) seal, while the (khfm) seal was placed in the margin at the end of the document. (Kdm-Makhl, Mukaddama-i bar shindkht-i asndd-i tdrikhl, Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 82), and the words farmn-i humydn were inscribed in the form of a tughrd on the
document (ibid., 194). Soyurghâls were drafted by the
mangât al-mamûdî (ibid., 234). Copies were kept in
the royal registars (daftâri-i hâdîd) in the royal secretariat
(ibid., 290); see also Minorsky, Taqaddurat al-mulakî, 71, 77.
A commission was paid to the beneficiary on receipt of a
soyurghâl to the wakll of the supreme diwân
(Taqaddurat al-mulakî, 85) and to the wazir of the supreme
diwân (ibid., 86). The sadr-i a'zâm received one-tenth
('usr) and one-twentieth of all soyurghâls, i.e. 15%
(ibid., 86). It is not stated whether these commissions were
one-onle payments made at the time of issue or annual payments. The mîrûr of the royal secretariat and
the keeper of the royal seal also received com-
misions (ibid., 89) as did various other officials, presumably at the time of the issue of the grant.
It is not unlikely that in the disorders that occurred
on the fall of the Safawids, and from time to time
thereafter in the 18th century, that many of those who held soyurghâls converted them by usurpation into
private property. However, under Nâdir Shâh there
seems to have been a tendency towards a resump-
tion of soyurghâls and tuyâls (Lambton, Landlord and
peasant in Persia, 129). In the 19th century, the term
soyurghâl ceases to be widely used. Allowances and
pensions continued to be granted, but they were no
longer called soyurghâls; where they involved grants of
territory or immunities on landed property they were
called tuyâls.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

SPARTEL, a cape forming the extreme north-western point of Morocco, and of Africa, 7 or 8 miles west of Tangier, the ancient
Amphelusia Promontorium. Al-Idrîsî does not mention it;
al-Bakrî knows of it as a hill jutting out into the sea,
30 miles from Arzila [see aš'tâ] and 4 from Tangier,
which has springs of fresh water and a
mosque used as a ribât. Opposite it on the coast of
al-Andalus is the mountain of al-Aghârî > Trafalgar. The name Igbartâl (probably connected with the Latin spartus = places overgrown
with eucalyptus) given it by al-Bakrî is not known to the
natives.

Bibliography: Bakrî, Description de l'Afrique Septen-
tionale, Algiers 1911, 113. (G.S. COLIN)

ŚRĪ WĪDĪJAYA [see ZĀBAQ].

ŚRĪNAGAR, a historic city of Kasmîr, and one of considerable antiquity (lat. 34° 08' N., long. 74° 50' E., altitude 1,600 m/5,250 ft), now the sum-
capital of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the
Indian Union (population 1981: 586,038, the great
majority of them Muslims).

1. History.

According to the Râjaṭratangî, the city was founded by
Ašoka in 250 B.C. and became known as Srinagar,
the city of Sîr or Lakhmînî (the goddess of fortune). It stood at the site of the present village of Pandrethan,
some 3 miles above Srinagar on the road to Djamî.
According to Kalhana, the city contained lofty build-
ngs reaching to the clouds. Srinagar was the capital
till about the middle of the 6th century A.D., when
a new capital Pravarapura was founded, but Srinagar
continued to enjoy its existing position. Huien Tsang
(Xuan-Zang), who visited Kashmir in 631, mentions
two capitals. Hindu rulers frequently transferred the
capital from place to place (Râjaṭratangî, Stein, 444-5).
During Muslim rule, the city of Srinagar was termed Kasmîr
(Bernier, 397); Mirzâ Haydar, Abu l-Fadîl and
Djabhângâr, however, called it by its original name.
The Muslim rulers founded a number of quarters in Srinagar,
known as Râjamânpura, Alâ’d al-Dîn pura, Kâfî
al-Dîn pura, etc. In 1819 Srinagar was conquered by
Randjît Singh, and the Sikh rulers restored its origi-
nal name.
The Mughal rulers took a keen interest in the con-
struction of buildings and the development of gardens in
Srinagar. Akbar reached Srinagar on 21 Radjâb
997/5 June 1589 for the first time. He ordered the
construction of a bastioned stone wall enclosing the hill.
During the time of Djabhângâr, there were about
800 gardens in the neighbourhood of the Dal lake
Abu l-Fadîl remarks: "Srinagar is a great city and has long
been peopled ... Most of the houses are of wood, and
some rise up to five storeys. On the roofs they plant
bilâps and other flowers, and in the spring these rival
flower gardens" (Akbâr-nâmâ, tr. iii, 827-8). Bernier
turns to the valley as the "Paradise of the Indies".
After the Mughals the Afghan sand the Sikhs ruled
over Srinagar. Moorcroft and Trebeck found Srinagar
a "confused mass of ill-favoured buildings" (Travel, ii,
127-8), where insanitary conditions and over-popula-
tion often led to epidemics. Before the accession of the
Mâhârâjâdî Râjînâsh (r. 1856-65), Srinagar
had been destroyed by fire sixteen times. Urban
improvement took place after 1886 when the first
Municipality Act was passed.

In the Muslim religious life of the region, the fol-
lowing four developments are of special significance:
(i) Rîhânîa, the first Muslim ruler of Kasmîr, built
the first mosque in Srinagar, known as Bud Masjid,
on the site of a Buddhist temple. (ii) Sayyid 'Alî Hamadânî,
popularly known as Shâh-i Hamadân (d. 786/1385),
established his mystical centre in Srinagar,
which became a focal point in the spread of Islam
in Kasmîr. (iii) Sultan Sikandar b. Hindâl, called
But-shikan (792-813/1390-1410 [x.a.]), built the DJâmî
Masjid, and his son Zayn al-Abîdîn built the khamâkâh
of Sayyid Muhammad Mâdanî. (iv) In 1110/1699,
the mîrîy mahârîk (sacred hair of the Prophet) was
brought to Srinagar from Budîjpur by a Kasmîrî
erchent Khân-i Nûr al-Dîn Ijâbârî, and was placed
in a mosque, which became known as Êjadrtâl
mosque; thereafter the Êjadrtâl assumed a central
place in Muslim religious life in Srinagar.

The geographical location of Srinagar added to
its importance as a centre of trade and industry.
According to Stein, Srinagar enjoyed facilities of com-
munications which no other place in the region could
offer. The river Dîhelam has been the main artery of communication. Equidistant from Djamâmû, Ravâ
pindi, Leb and Gîlît, Srinagar commanded the trade
routes between India and Central Asia. Under Sultan
Zayn al-Abîdîn, many new arts and crafts, like stone-
polishing, stone-cutting, glass blowing, gold and silver
leaf-making, papier-mâché, the weaving of shawls, car-
pet weaving and calico printing, were introduced into
Srinagar. The shawl industry became particularly
famous; according to M. Dauvergne, it dates back to
the time of Babur. The first shawl which reached
Europe was brought from Egypt by Napoleon. The
colour and metal-working of Srinagar were famed.
Beautiful ceilings of pine-wood, known as khâtâm-band,
decorate houses and shrines. Zayn al-Abîdîn's patron-
age attracted to Srinagar master-craftsmen from Samar-
kan, Bukhârâ and Persia.

Bibliography: Kalhana, Râjaṭratangî, tr. Sir Aurel
Stein, 2 vols., London 1900; Alberius's India, tr. E.C.
Sachau, London 1914; anon., Bahârîstân-i-wâlîîî, ms.
Research Library, Srinagar; Abu l-Fadîl, Akbâr-nâmâ,
tr. R. Beveridge, Calcutta 1906-8; Djabhângâr,
Tûzûk, tr. Rogers and Beveridge, London 1909-14;

734 SOYURGHÂL — SRÎNAGAR

2. Monuments and gardens

i. General considerations: The city of Srinagar (also called, in the Muslim sources, Kâshî, like the valley) is built along both banks of the river Dhelan (in Kâshî called Behat; Sanskrit Vitasta) and covers also the area between the river and the Dal lake, traversed by a net of canals. Integrated into this urban landscape of an unstable topography are two hills, the fortified Hari Parbat and the Takht-i Sulayman (for a map see best Stein; also Bates, 353). The residential areas on both sides of the Dhelam are linked by wooden bridges (kadal), introduced in the Muslim period; one of the earliest being the Zayna Kadal, ascribed to Zayn al-Abîdin (823-75/1420-70) (Tabâtabâ'i, fol. 91a; Stein, 153). The residential architecture, too, is essentially in wood and characterized by its multi-storeied constructions, reflecting an ancient local tradition, alluded to in the Râgtarangam (Kalhana, iii, v. 559), and continued by Muslim builders. Zayn al-Abîdin's wooden palace had, according to Mîrî Haydar Dughlî (429, cf. 425), as many as twelve storeys. In the Mughal period, however, the royal buildings and those of the well-to-do were constructed in stone (Inâyât Khân, tr., 125), a local grey lime stone which takes polish like marble. Stone was continuously used for the religious architecture of Kashmir, but Muslim religious buildings were more often constructed in the vernacular wooden style (Bernier, 398). Characteristically, they are composed of a cubical body surmounted with a stepped pyramidal roof, topped by a spire sitting on an open pillaered element; the form is used for both tomb-shrines (ziyârât) and mosques (figs. 1, 2). Roofs are typically covered with birch and turf, and planted with tulips or irises, producing stunning effects during the time of their bloom (Djahângîr, tr. ii, 144-5; Inâyât Khân, tr., 125). The wooden constructions were highly susceptible to fires, bringing about frequent reconstructions, which causes problems in dating (see also indica vii. Architecture. xi. Kâshî; Masâjid. ii. B. Kâshî).

ii. Sultanate. The earliest surviving buildings of the Muslim period are largely built of stone and brick. The oldest are found in the quarters around the Hari Parbat. The complex of Madârîn (also Madani) Şâhib, situated in Zadbal, consists of a gate, tomb and mosque. The mosque (dated 948/1444-5) follows the basic vernacular wooden type (delineated above but for its main body, which is built in masonry (fig. 1), integrating elements of the pre-Muslim style of temple architecture, such as a portal with trefoil arches and fluted columns (front view in Nichols, pl. 58). The gate is a 17th century Mughal brick addition, robbed since 1918 of most of its excellent tile decor (dated by some authors wrongly to the 15th century), brought here—according to the stylistic evidence—from Lâhawr, the Mughal centre of tile production; part of the tiles are kept today in the Pratap Singh Museum of Srinagar (Hirananda Shastri, Annual progress report of the Archaeological Department Jammu and Kashmir State for the Vikrama year 1974 (A.D. 1917-18), 3; cf. Nichols, pl. 81). The (heavily restored) tomb of the mother of Zayn al-Abîdin, designated also as the tomb of Zayn al-Abîdin or "Badshâh", below Zayna Kadal, follows an entirely different style, imported from Khurâsân or Central Asia (fig. 4). The octagonal structure with angular projections at four of its corners topped by turret-like domed kiosks surrounding the central dome, (the interior dome being supported by a transition zone of 16 arches), shows a brick exterior decorated with small blue glazed moulded plant motives (for this type of wall-facing in Central Asia, see L. Golombok and D. Wilber, The Timurid architecture of Iran and Turan, Princeton 1988, cat. no. 18), testifying to the Timurid inclinations of its patron (for which see Abu al-Fadl, 1ii, tr. 383). The conspicuous Kâlâmah of Şâhib Hamadân (died in 786/1384 according to the inscription over the doorway), on the right bank of the Dhelam, represents, as it stands today, an elaboration of the basic vernacular wooden building type (often illustrated, e.g. Kak, pl. 6). The DIAMIT Masjid, founded in 795/1392-3 (according to Djahângîr, tr. ii, 142) on the site of the old city temple, and rebuilt several times, after being destroyed by fires, the latest in 1085/1674, integrates vernacular units as prayer hall and gates into a large courtyard mosque on a four-ion plan, formed of wings with tall wooden pillars. (fig. 2; good plans and elevations of both monuments in Nichols). The southern gate of the Dâmmî Masjid has an epigraphic edict of Şâhib Djahângîr (1037-68/1628-58) (S. Moosvi, Administering Kashmir, An imperial edict of Shahjahan, in Aliyar Ind. of Oriental Studies, ii/2 [1986], 141-52).

iii. Mughal period. Mughal building activities began soon after the final conquest in 1586, when Akbar built fortifications for a new city, called Naganagar (Djonârâda, 426-7) or Nagar Nagar (inscription dated 1006/1597-8 on Kathî Darwaza; tr., Kak, 89) around the Hari Parbat. The citadel on the hill (dantâl Khâna-yi Kâshî) was completed by Djahângîr (1014-37/1605-27) (Tûzuk, tr., ii, 139, 150-1) but altered in the later periods (fig. 3). Today it consists of two oblong enclosures, set at an angle to each other, of which the upper one seems to be the site of a garden laid out by Akbar, refashioned in 1620 and renamed Bâgh-i Nûr Mîzâ by Djahângîr (ii, 151, 161-2); a building with traces of painted wall decoration was still standing there in 1986. Also of Djahângîr's period is the Patthar Masjid or Naw Masjid in the city (fig. 5; plan in Koch, fig. 91) (according to its inscription, rescued in 1207/1792-3 from being used as a granary), which is an early example of a distinct Mughal imperial mosque type, with an oblong, arched prayer hall formed of bays arranged on a grid pattern and covered by vaults, which express the elaborate netted patterns of the period in the local stone. The mosque of Akhîn Munûl Şâhib (1061/1651), Inâyât Khân, 458; plan in Soundaraj, fig. 5) on the southern side of the
Hari Parbat, between the outer wall and the citadel, also introduces Mughal mainstream traditions (fig. 6). Its compact five-bay prayer hall is integrated into a courtyard building composed of three more wings with only partly interconnecting rooms; the plan has a close parallel in the mosque of Shahjahanabad (Old Delhi) 1900; Francois Dhill (983/1575-6; ASI, Memoir, ix [1921], pl. 2). The Hari Parbat mosque formed part of a larger complex to which belonged also the hamamam situated to its north east (dated 1059/1649; tr. of inscription, Kak, 91), created—like the terraced Parr Mahall outside of the city (fig. 7) by the famous Kâdirî Shâhî Mulla Shâh Bâdadkhâshât (Abûnä Shâhî Mulla Shâh) and his imperial disciples, Dârâ Shukoh and Dâjahmârâ (q.v.), the children of Shâh Dâjahmâr (q.v.) (Koch, 96, 117; Asher, 215-6).

The glory of Srinagar is its Mughal gardens, about which we are best informed by the historians of Shâh Dâjahmâr, who name about seventeen in the vicinity of the city, on the banks of the river, and in and around the Dal lake (Lâhâwî, i/2, 24 ff.; Inâyat Khân, 125-7). The most famous are the Shâhîmîr (fig. 8), Nisâhât and Çashmâ-i Shâhî [see ßûstân. ii Muçhal Gardens; MUGHALS. 7. Architecture]. Architecturally planned gardens of note usually fell back after the death of their owners to the emperor, who either kept them for himself or bestowed them on members of his family or the nobility. The same garden would thus pass through a chain of owners, which led to repeated remodelling and renaming. The gardens of Srinagar fell into disuse during the A找回ñ (1752-1819) and Sikh periods (1819-46); restorations were carried out under the Dogras, in particular by Mâhârâjâ Râmârî Sîngh (1856-85) assisted by his governor Wâzîr Pânnu (R.C. Kak, Annual report on the Archaeological Department Jammu and Kashmir State for 1976 (A.D. 1920), 1), with much arbitrary rebuilding and alterations; their original outline, architecture, and planting still await systematic reconstruction.

Bibliography (including references given above): To date there is no systematic documentation of the Islamic architecture of Srinagar; the information about its buildings and gardens has to be pieced together from original sources; from secondary literature, much of which is, however, outdated; and from on-the-spot investigation.

1. Original sources (in chronological order).

The town's significant Islamic monuments include Tipu's Masjîd-i 'Allî and the Dârây Dâlwant garden and palace; for details, see MAHISUR. 2. Monuments. In 1971 the town had a population of 14,153.

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India*, xxii, 1980-81; Mohibbul Hasan, History of Tipu Sultan, Calcutta 1971; and see the bibl. to MAHISUR.

(S.E. BOSWORTH)

SU (T.), the common Turkish word for "water", originally su (which explains the form sù before vowel-inital possessive suffixes, e.g. suyu "his water"), the form still found in South-West Turkmen, in Ottoman orthography su. The word is found frequently in the Orhön inscriptions, often in the phrase yer su = "territory", i.e. an area containing both land and water in the form of rivers, lakes, etc. (see Sir Gerald Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 783-4). In Central Asia and in the Turkicised northern tier of the Middle East, su is a frequent component of hydronyms, e.g. Ak Su, Kara Su.

(Ed.)

SU BASHI (T.), an ancient title in Turkish tribal organisation meaning "commander of the army, troops". The first word was originally su, with front vowel; no proof has as yet been adduced for

736 - Srinagar — su bashi

SHRANGAPATTANAM, Europeanised form SERINGAPATAM, a town of South India (lat. 12° 25' N., long. 76° 42' E.). In British India, it came within the princely state of Mysore [see MAHISUR, MYSUR], and is now in the Mysore District, the southernmost one of the Karnataka State of the Indian Union. It is situated on an island in the Cauvery River to the north-north-east of Mysore city.

Named after its shrine to the Hindu god Sri Raâga (Vishnu), it became in the 17th century the capital of the Hindu Raâgas of Mysore and then, after 1761, of the Muslim sultans Haydar 'Alli and Tipu Sulhtan (see I.D. BLOOM, Travels in the Mogul Empire 1656-68, tr. A. Constable, London 1891, repr. New Delhi 1971; and see the bibl. to MAHISUR.

(C.E. BOSWORTH


the suggestion that the word was originally a loan from Chinese (see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dict. of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 781*).

Su appears frequently in the Orkhon [q.v.] inscriptions and probably in the Yenisei ones also. In the former, we find the phrase "su basli" which means "make a military expedition", and the title "su bashi" also occurs (see Talat Teken, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish, Bloomington-The Hague 1968, index at 370*). In Mahmud Käshgâri [q.v.], "su bashi" is glossed as *qund (Disaw lavag el-turk). Tkish. tr. Atalay, i, 208-9, Eng. tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkish dialects, Cambridge, Mass. 1938-4, ii, 258*, and in the Kipuç Türk (Turk) of the 8th/14th century, "su bashi" is defined as *rab al-asar* (M.T. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar, Leiden 1894, Ar. text 14, 30*). The spelling "s" evolves later, apparently influenced by the quite separate word *sac* "water" since we occasionally find at a later date the originally military title "sii bashi" for the official in charge of irrigation (i.e. the *mir-qi*).

Some two centuries after the Orkhon Turkish usage, "su bashi" is found amongst the Oghuz tribe in their pre-conversion-to-Islamic days. In 306/922 the Arab traveller Ibn Fadlan [q.v.] encountered in the steppes between the Aral Sea and the Ural River the *sibih al-qaysh* of the Oghuz, clearly their "su bashi"; he had under him subordinate military commanders, including the *Tarih*, the Ymâl and the *Ygh.1* (A.V.Z. Togan, *Ibn Fadlan Reisebericht, Leipzig 1929, §§ 34, 36*, Ar. text 28-31, and Excursus § 34a, Ger. text 141-2). The late Sâmanid author al-Khizarlam [q.v.] likewise, in his *Magzâ al-sûl (sic) al-qaysh* (C.E. Bosworth and Sir G. Clauson, *Al-Asrâr on the peoples of Central Asia, in TRAS [1965], 11*). Around this same period, according to Kâshgâri, the full title of *Selçuk (sic) b. Duka*, eponymous ancestor of the Saljûks, was *Selçuk Sîu (sic) (tr. Atalay, i, 478, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 356)*.

Su Bashi became a very well-known military and police title in the Ottoman empire, but it was found in Asia Minor as early as the time of the Seljûks. In the 7th/13th century Ibn Bibi (ed. Houtsma, iv, 210) speaks of a *su bashi* of the town of Kharpût or Kharbâz (q.v.) who was probably under the Rûm Selçuk sultan of Konya. Every town of any importance had a *su bashi*; when Othmân took possession of his first capital, Karâşh Haşir, one of his first acts was to appoint to the *su bashlîq* his cousin Alp Gündüz (Yavuzlu Ali-î şimân, ed. Giese, 7; Urmûç Beg, ed. Bahinger, 12).

As the Ottoman supremacy became confirmed, a differentiation of the functions and the position of the *Su Bashi* in the provinces and in the capital was introduced. In the provinces, they obtained a position in the feudal organisation, which also proves the military origin of their functions. The *Su Bâshis* had their own *                                                           (timdr), and they exercised police control over the other *spâhis* and the inhabitants of the district under their charge. Administratively, they were under the authority of an *ââyây*, who again was subject to the *sandşak* (see *sandşak*). These *Su Bâshis* had many privileges, which varied according to the different provinces; they had the right to a certain amount of the impose and the fines extorted from the people (see *Kânun-nâme-yi Ali-î şimân*, ed. 'Arif Bey, Istanbul 1930, appendix to TOEM, xii-xiv, 28).

In the capital, the *Su Bashi* became one of the powerful officers of the government, who assisted the *Câwih Bashi*, whose function is most like that of minister of police. With the Muhzîr (Mâhid) Agha and the *'Asâs Bashi*, he was responsible for the carrying out of all the judicial sentences and in general for obedience to the police regulations in the capital. Besides this, the title of *Su Bâshi* was used to designate a certain military rank in the army. (C.E. Bosworth [q.v.]).


**SU'AWI, 'ALI** (1839-78), journalist, controversial pamphleteer and political activist, born in Istanbul. His father Hüseyn Efendi is said to have instilled in him a dedication to social justice. Su'âwi's early education was at a *mû̄kkiyey* (high school). He later studied the Islamic sciences at a *madrasa*. He held various administrative and teaching posts in Istanbul and Bursa. As a teacher in Plovdiv (now in Bulgaria), he was dismissed for allegedly fomenting civil disturbances.

Returning to Istanbul in 1866, he published articles in the newspaper *Mukhûr* ("The Reporter") and gained fame also as a fiery preacher (mainly at the Shehzade Mosque). Because of his radical ideas, he was banished, in 1867, to Kastamonu, from where he escaped to Paris. With Nâmîk Kemâl [q.v.] and Ziyâ (Diya) (Başka), he re-published *Muhdir* in London as the official organ of the Young Ottoman Society. The following year, he fell out with Kemâl and Ziyâ, and turned against the Young Ottomans. In 1869 he published, in Paris, a journal entitled *'Ulam* ("The Sciences"), which carried the subtitle "Encyclopædic Turkish Journal". Later he went to Lyons, where he published a periodical called *Muwaqqalan* ("Temporarily").

Upon Murâd V's accession to the throne (1876), 'Ali Su'âwi returned to Istanbul in 1876. After a short stint as Director of the Royal School of Galatasaray, he was dismissed in 1877 during the reign of 'Abd ul-Hamîd II. On 20 May 1878, in an abortive attempt to bring Murâd V back as sultan, he led a few hundred Balkan refugees in an assault against the Cirâğân Palace, where he was clubbed to death by Hasan Pasha, the police commandant for Beshiktâş.

'Ali Su'âwi's intellectual life, prole and full of paradoxes, failed to produce a synthesis. He oscillated between his loyalty to Islam (as faith and culture) and modernisation (as a civilising and secular process). He was at once a bold progressive and a strong reactionary. Like many of his contemporaries, he came under the influence of Enlightenment ideals, about which he was often critical. His Islamic orientation caused him to challenge European concepts of popular sovereignty and separation of powers. For the Ottoman state, he advocated a constitutional government and Turkish nationalism. Near the end of his life, he became enamored of Frederic LePlay's populist ideas and set up a *Sem* u Ta'tat ("Hearing and Obeying") Society dedicated to a counter-revolutionary programme.

One of the pioneers of Turkish nationalism and the Pan-Turkish ideology, 'Ali Su'âwi played a significant role in fostering patriotic pride in Central Asian Turkic culture and in the strengths of the Turkish language. He articulated these nationalistic programme in several monographs, including *Khon en Mars* (1873). He also wrote dozens of pamphlets and books.
SÜ'AWI, 'ALI — SUBAY’

(127, according to some sources), most of which remained unpublished and have been lost. His Kâmas al-‘ulûm ve ‘ul-ma‘arif, given with the journal Ulûm, did not go beyond eighty pages; it is, however, considered one of the earliest attempts at an illustrated Ottoman encyclopedia.


**SU’AYR,** preferably to be read as Sa’îr, although the former is more common, an idol of the pre-Islamic Arabian tribe of ‘Anaza (Ibn al-Kalbî, 48-9), coming from *awd, an Aramaean eponym denoting in the Bible (ref.s in Gesenius-Buhl, 573) the land of Edom and the group of tribes living there (W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 260-1; Nöhlke, in *ZDMG*, xi [1887], 163).

Sa’îr, which followed the same evolution as *Awd, denotes in the Bible the land of Edom before its occupation by the sons of Esau. Gen. xxxvi.9 speaks of the hill country Se’îr, of the Horites, sons of Se’îr (v. 20), and of the land of Se’îr (v. 30). The names Yâkudm and Yadhkur, the two sons of ‘Anaza, whose descendants sacrificed to al-Sa’îr (Ibn al-Kalbî, 26), resemble in their formation those of Ya’ûsh and Ya’lâm, two of the numerous sons of Esau (Gen. xxxvi., etc.). On this last, al-Layth says substantially that Esau (*Îsâ, Hebrew. *‘Iyâd, son of Isaac, son of Abraham*, was buried in a small village called Sî’îr between Jerusalem and Hebron; he is the eponymous ancestor of the Râm (T.A., iv, 414).

The ‘Anaza and Bakr b. Wâ’il (Ibn al-Kalbî, 25; T.A., iii, 276, v, 58) are said to have known and to have adopted this divinity in the course of their migrations as a guarantor of the pact uniting them. As a clan name, it appears in Liyaniye as *sîr* (see G. Ryckmans. *Novus foetus*, i, 153). The text represented on camel-back at Palmyra, formerly read as *sîr* (see D. Schluumberger, *La Palmyre du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1951, 154-5) is now, however, read as *sîr*, and related to Ar. *sa’d* ‘good fortune’ (see D.R. Hillers and Eleonora Cusinii, *Palmyrene Aramaic texts*, Baltimore 1996, 415).


(T. FAHD)

**SÜBA,** traditionally but dubiously derived from Arabic *sa‘ab*, lit. a patch or track, direction, pronounced *sâb* in India; whence the term *sâba* for province coined by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 989/1580, when he created this territorial unit by putting a number of the existing sâkas or territorial divisions under each *sâb*. Some of these *sabas* like Bengal, Bihar or Gujjarât represented historic, well-organised regions; others like Ilahâbâd (Allahâbâd) or Agra were artificial creations. As Akbar extended his empire, the original twelve *sabas* were augmented: Multan (with sub-*sâba* of Kashmîr and Kandahâr), Dândeqh (Khândeh), Ahmadnagar and Beérâr. Subsequent annexations under Shah Djahan and Awarangzib led to the creation of the *sabas* of Bîdar, Bîdgîpar and Haydârâbâd, while the *sabas* of Kandahâr was lost to the Safawids. Abu ’l-Fâdi’s *‘Atnî Akbari* (1003/1599) gives an extremely detailed account of the geography, resources, revenues, *zamindar* castes, etc. of each *saba*.

The administrative machinery of the *sâba* was designed by Akbar to have the writ of the central administration run most effectively. While the governor (*sipâhîlâr, nâzîm*) was directly answerable to the Emperor, his colleagues, viz., the *diwan* (head of revenue department), *bekâtâr* (head of military administration and intelligence) and *sadâ* (in charge of pious endowments) were not subordinate to him, but to the corresponding ministers at the centre. Moreover, during the heyday of the empire (late 10th and 11th century/late 16th and 17th century), the governors and other officers were frequently transferred from one *sâba* to another. Nor did the governor have full control over the assignment of *âjmîl* ([q.v.] to military commanders posted under him, which belonged to the jurisdiction of the central *diwan*. There was, at the same time, an element of flexibility in the *sâba* administration: The Deccan *sabas* began to be grouped together under one sipâhîlâr or viceroy from even Akbar’s time onwards. This became ultimately the source of power of Nizâm al-Mulk Asaf Djâh ([q.v.]) in Haydarâbâd during the 12th/18th century.


(M. ATHAR ALI)

**SÜBÂDÄR,** the governor of a *sâbâ* ([q.v.] or province in the Mughal empire, also known variously as sipâhîlâr, nâzîm and *sabab*). Though governors of large territories (e.g. Gudjârât) were appointed before 989/1580, when Akbar organised the *sabas* of his empire, a systematic form was given to the office only after this organisation. Depending upon the importance of the *sâba*, the office was one of great status, and only high nobles (*manzulâdârs* [see *mansâb* and *mansûrâdârs*]) were appointed to it. Akbar’s experiment of appointing co-governors was soon abandoned. While the terms of office depended upon the Emperor’s will, transfers were frequent; and until well into the 12th/18th century, the Mughal court did not allow provincial dynasts to develop out of its governors.

The *sûbadâr* was not only appointed by an imperial *farmân*, but was directly subordinate to the Emperor. As *sipâhîlâr*, he was the head of the army posted to the *sâba* and responsible for maintenance of law and order. He had a role, too, in administering criminal justice. But the financial and revenue administration, being in the hands of the *diwan*, was outside his jurisdiction, since the *diwan* of the *sâba* was directly subordinate to the ministry at the centre, the *dîwân-i a’dâ*. So, too, was the maintenance of military contingents and the intelligence network, being under the *bekâtâr* (responsible to the central *mir bekâtâr*). This limitation of authority was designed to prevent the *sûbadâr* becoming too powerful. *Diwanî* abolished the *sûbadâr*’s privilege of awarding capital punishment, and prohibited any observance that might smack of royal court ritual. Constraints on the *sûbadâr*’s authority, however, began to disappear in the 12th/18th century after the death of Awarangzib.

**Bibliography:** See that to *sâba*, and also M. Athar Ali, *Provincial governors under Awarangzib—an analysis*, in *Medieval India. A miscellany*, Bombay 1969, i.

(M. ATHAR ALI)

**SUBAY’** (or *SARAY’*), *Bâng*, the name of a *Bedouin* tribe of al-Ârid ([q.v.]), the central district of Najd ([q.v.; see also *AL-HIDJ*]) in modern Saudi Arabia. They live in and around the oasis of al-Hâîr,
also called Hāʾir Subay' or Hāʾir al-Aʿizza, a dominant section of the Banū Subay'. Al-Hāʾir lies south-south-east of al-Riyadh [gaz., at the junction of Wādi Ḥanifa [gaz.] and the valleys Luḥ (sometimes misspelled as al-Luḥ or Luḥat al-Suba), located near the site of the Subay' fort (Bibliography). The valley of al-ʿAṭk [gaz.] is regarded as lying within the range of the Banū Subay' and the Banū al-Suhul, while the sweet water wells of Ḥaṣar al-ʿAṭk belong to the Khudrān, a group consisting of the al-Nabata and the al-ʿUraynāt, both sections of the Banū Subay'. The latter are also found in the borders between al-Ḥiḍāj and Naṣīrād [see the map in al-ʿArāb, Dżazfrat], while their western section regards the oasis of their capital. They are mentioned among the opponents of the al-Dawāsir [q.v.].

The Subay' tribe is also mentioned in the early years when they controlled Baniyas (1130-2, 1140-64), but recent research has shown that it was first constructed by the minor Ayyubid prince of the region, al-ʿAzm b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb, in 625/1288 (see the foundation inscription in Atiqot, no. 3984, and the evidence provided by Sibt Ibn al-Djawāl, Mirʾat al-ʿamān, vii, 625/1288, 621-2). The first stage of the construction work is represented by the imposing keep on the eastern side of the present-day structure, and may well have been instigated by al-ʿAziz’s brother, the ruler of Damascus al-ʿUzzām ʿĪṣa [gaz.]. It has been convincingly suggested that the impetus for the establishment of the fort was the desire of al-ʿUzzām, who was locked in a struggle with his brother al-Ḥāmid Muḥammad [gaz.] and likewise disturbed by reports of Frederick II’s impending Crusade, to protect the approach to Damascus from the northern Palestinian coast (see R. Ellenblum, Who built Qalʿat al-Subayhā? in Dambarthon Oaks Papers, xiiii [1989], 113-19; R. Amitai-Preiss, An Arabic inscription at al-Subayhā (Qalʿat Namrud) from the reign of Sultan Baybars, forthcoming in Atiqot which also discusses the history of the fort in the early Mamluk period. (R. AMITAI-PREISS)

Subayhā (as in “the Subayhī tribe”) or Subayhā, the name of a tribal group inhabiting the area to the west and north-west of Aden [see Adan] in the Yemen from Raʾs Ḥimrān, a few kilometres to the west of Little Aden, to the east, as far as Bab al-Mandab in the west, and inland. They are divided into five main groups as follows: Khulayfī, ʿUṯrīf, ʿAṭāfī, Muṣafīf and Burayymi. Their name is inherited from the ancient Dhū ʿAṣbah of Himyar. Writing in the 4th/10th century, al-Hamdānī, 53, says that Ladh āj has in it the Aṣbahī, the descendants of ʿAṣbah b. ʿAmr b. Ḥāridī Ḏahāb. He later, 97, notes that in his day the Subayhīs occupied an area more to the east and including Khafīr in Abyan [gaz.] which they shared with Banī Maqīd. Of the latter are the “Abādīl, the ruling family of Ladhāj. In 1882 the Subayhī engagement was ratified in Calcutta by the Viceroy and Governor-General himself, placing the ‘Abdallī and the ruling family of Ladhāj. In 1882 the Subayhīs were released from ‘Abdallī control after much hostility between the two (ibid., 20), a hostility which was to continue, at least in the early years of the century. After the Protectorate treaties of the 1950s, the Subayhīs were placed nominally under the Ladhāj sultan, although they continued to show varying degrees of independence.

Bibliography: Extremely useful on the geography and history is R.B. Serjeant, Notes on Subaihi territory west of Aden, in Le Museon, lxvi (1953), 123-31. See also Government of Bombay, Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden, Bombay 1909; ʿUmar Rida Kahhula, Muḍjam khibat al-ʿArab, Beirut 1962, ii, 632-3. (G.R. SMITH)

SUBAYTA, ISABAṬA, the Arabic name for a settlement in the Negev [see al-Nakba] region of southern Palestine, which had the Nabataean name, rendered in Greek sources as Sobaṭa (whence the Arabic one), Hebrew Shivta. It lies 45 km/28 miles to the southwest of Beerseba at an altitude of some 350 m/1,150 feet. First described by E.H. Palmer in 1870, it has been extensively excavated since the 1930s. The town flourished in Late Nabataean, Late Roman and Byzantine times as an unwalled, essentially agricultural centre, it being away from the main trade routes. The exact date of the coming of the Muslim Arabs is unknown, but was probably in the latter 630s. A mosque was built near the Southern Church, with care taken not to damage the adjacent basilica. Early Arab-Islamic coins have been found, but it seems that the town was abandoned in the 2nd/6th century or the 3rd/9th one at the latest.
SUBAYTILA, modern Tunisian Arabic pronunciation Sbeitla, conventionally Sbeitla, the Islamic and modern names of ancient Sufetula, a town of west-central Tunisia. Situated at over 450 m/1,500 feet above sea level, near abundant water resources and a wadi and surrounded by high plateaux, it is still today an important cross-roads between the north, west and south of the country.

From what is at present known, the ancient town (whose present successor only occupies some 20 ha, and this more than double that of the end of the 19th century) must have been closely linked with two other great cities: Cillium (Kassrine) and Ammaedra (Haydra), i.e. in the second half of the 1st century A.D. when the region, permanently involved in warfare against Berber tribes, was pacified by the Third Legion in Augusus under the Flavian emperors. The army was in large measure replaced by veterans who settled on parcels of land for colonisation, of which Subaytila was probably part.

Like most of the great African cities, the town enjoyed under Septimius Severus (193-211), himself of African origin, a great urban and commercial development. In Christian times, Sufetula had, by 256 at the latest, a bishop who represented it at the Council of Carthage convoked by St. Cyprian. It was affected by persecutions, the most severe of which was that of Diocletian at the beginning of the 4th century and which gave rise to the Donatist movement, a schismatic movement which enlivened African Christianity all through the 4th century. Like many African towns, from this time onwards, Sufetula had two bishops, one Catholic and the other Donatist. Both parties in the town were represented at the council summoned by the Emperor Honorius at Carthage in 411 which condemned and isolated this schismatic movement.

With the Vandal invasion and occupation of 429, Sufetula formed part of the royal domain until the Byzantine reconquest in 533. From then onwards, it became a military centre under Justinian's policy of uniting the province and defending it against the more and more pressing threats from the Berber kingdoms. The Patricius Gregory, who succeeded Belisarius, the first Byzantine governor of Africa, chose Sufetula as his personal residence and as his military base. He speedily declared his independence of the emperor in Constantinople, and subsequently had to face the Muslim armies sent from Tripolitania and headed by 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr and then by 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'Amir (al-Mansur) [q.v.], who succeeded in widening the schism.,

In 567/966-7 the chose as administrator of her property and that of her children a young man who had been introduced to her by the ważal 'Qa'far and whom she bore two sons, thus becoming an umn suwalad and taking the title of sayyida. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. b. the was born in 351/962; he was the first son of the caliph who was already 46 years old at the time. Although 'Abd al-Rahmân died at an early age (359/969-70), his brother Hishâm (born 354/965) guaranteed a successor to al-Mustansir, whose joy at the birth of this second son is recorded by the chroniclers, and illustrated by popular rhyme. The lavish gifts offered to 'Usb by Ibn Abi 'Amir contributed to the proliferation of these rumours, but the caliph continued to entrust to him all the offices of state, through the intermediacy of Ibn Abi 'Amir.


the latter who emerged victorious. With the aid of his son ‘Abd al-Malik, he took control of the caliphal palace and the public treasury on 3 Jumādā I 386/24 May 996. ‘Abd al-Malik was unmoved by the abuse hurled at him by Subh, who was forced to accept defeat. Hīdāyāh willingly acknowledged the authority of Ibn Abī ‘Amir over the country, and in 387/997-98 he participated with his mother in a ceremony intended to renew his caliphal oath and the transfer of power into the hands of al-Mansūr. Subh died one year later, on 29 Dhu ‘l-Hijjah 389/11 December 999, it was an al-Mansūr who bare-fooled, led the funeral prayers.


(Manuela Marin)

**SUBH—AZAL**, the sobriquet of Mirzā Yāhyyā Nūrī (ca. 1830-1912), founder of the Azalī sect of Bābism [q.v.]. Yāhyyā’s father was the calligrapher and civil servant, Mirzā ‘Abbas Nūrī (d. 1839). In Yāhyyā’s early childhood, Nūrī was dismissed from his government post and dispossessed of much of his considerable wealth and property. Yāhyyā’s mother died about 1844; by then he was living in Tehran under the tutelage of an older brother, Mirzā Husayn ‘Alī (Bāb) Allāh [q.v.]. In 1844, ‘Alī and Yāhyyā, then about fourteen, were among the first converts to Bābism in the capital. Four years later, Yāhyyā tried unsuccessfully to join the Bābī insurgents at Shāhīb Tabārī in Māzandarān.

Between 1848 and 1852, Bābism underwent radical changes. The clerical leadership of the earliest period was largely eradicated in uprisings, and the Bāb himself was executed in 1850. Yāhyyā, variously known as Subh-i Azal (“Morning of Eternity”) and al-Thamar (“The Eternal Fruit”), was among the first of many lay claimants to revelation. He had been composing “inspired verses” for some time, and these had met the approval of the Bāb, who designated him his successor.

In 1852, he was involved in an abortive uprising in Tākūr, planned to coincide with the unsuccessful attack on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. Escaping to Baghdad, he established himself as head of the sect and drew large numbers of Bābis to the region. His whereabouts were kept secret from all but a few, and he remained in contact with the Bābī community through intermediaries, in imitation of the seclusion of certain Shi‘ī Imāms. During this period, numerous other claimants appeared, and Yāhyyā’s policy of seclusion worked against him, particularly when the more-outgoing Husayn ‘Alī emerged as the de facto leader of the Bābī movement and finally advanced his own claims to prophethood.

In 1863, most of the Bābīs in Bābīs were removed by the Ottoman authorities to Esmā‘īl in western Tur- key. Here, the breach between the brothers became overt and ended in a permanent schism between Azalī and Bābī Bābis. Disturbed by the open hostility between these groups, the authorities exiled them, sending Husayn ‘Alī and his followers to Acre in Palestine and Yāhyyā to Cyprus.

Subh-i Azal died in Famagusta on 29 April 1912. His appointed successor, Mirzā Yāhyyā Dawlatabbād, chose the role of secular reformer over that of religious leader and before long Azalī Bābism became a spent force.

Yāhyyā wrote extensively, but few of his works have been published, and only a brief chronicle translated. Best known are the *Kūsh al-Nūr, al-Mustajżīk* and the *Mutammim-i Beyān*, a continuation of the Bāb’s unfinished Persian *Beyān*. These and other writings owe much to the obscure style of the Bāb, but add little to his thought.

Subh-i Azal considered himself the conservator of primitive Bābism, with its minutely-observed legislation, metaphysical obfuscation and rejection of established political power. But, whereas the rival Bābī faction held itself aloof from political and social involvement, several Azalī Bābīs came to play leading roles in the early reform movement in Persia. How far Subh-i Azal may have encouraged or directed this development remains a matter for conjecture.


(D. MacEoin)

**SUBH (A.),** in Egyptian colloquial pronunciation *sibha*, in Persian and Muslim Indian usage, more often *tabshī*, Ottoman Turkish *təshhī*, modern *təshhī*, rosary. It is used at present by nearly all classes of Muslims, except the Wahhābīs who disapprove of it as a *bid‘a* and who count the repetition of the sacred names on their hands. There is evidence for its having been used at first in *Sūfī* circles and among the lower classes (Goldziher, *Rosara, 296*); opposition against it made itself heard as late as the 9th/15th century, when al-Suyūtī composed an apology for it (Goldziher, *Ferdsusun an den Islam*, 1st ed. 165). At present, it is usually carried by the pilgrims (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 441), by dervishes and by many ordinary believers. For its use by the Bektashīs, see J.K. Birge, *The Bektashī order of dervishes*, London-Hartford 1937, 235 and plate 10.

The rosary consists of three groups of beads made of wood, bone, mother of pearl, etc. The groups are separated by two transversal beads of a larger size (*imām*), while a much larger piece serves as a kind of handle (*yad*, Snouck Hurgronje, in *Int. Arch. f. “SUBH — SUBHA* 741
Ethnographic, i, 154 and plate xiv, no. 12). The number of beads within each group varies (e.g. 33 + 33 + 34 or 33 + 33 + 31); in the latter case, the *imāna* and the *yad* are reckoned as beads. The sum of a hundred is in accordance with the number of Goldziher's 99 beautiful names [see Al-Asma' Al-Husna]. The rosary serves for the enumeration of these names; but it is also used for the counting of eulogies, *dikhr* and the formulae at the end of the *salāt*. Lane (Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, chs. III, XXVIII) makes mention of a *subhā* consisting of a thousand beads used in funeral ceremonies for the thrice-one-hundred repetitions of the formula *la ilaha illa 'llah*. (the context in numerous instances in the Kur'an, in particular when the expression *subhāna* is followed by the *abdihi*.)

From such traditions the following may be mentioned: "on the authority of Sa'd b. Abi Wakkās... that he accompanied the Messenger of God, who went to visit a woman, who counted her eulogies by means of kernels or small stones lying before her. He said to her: Shall I tell you what is easier and more profitable? "Glory to God" according to the number of what he has created in the earth; "glory to God" according to what he will create. And in the same way *Allāh akbar, al-hamdu lilîhā* and "there is no might or power except in God" (Abū Dāwūd, *Witr*, bâb 24; *al-Tirmidhî, De'awât*, bâb 113).

The tendency of this tradition is elucidated by the following one: Şâfiyya said: The Messenger of God entered while there were before me four thousand kernels which I used in reciting eulogies. I said: Use them in reciting eulogies. He answered: I will teach you a still larger number. Say: "Glory to God" according to the number of what he has created (al-Tirmidhî, *De'awât*, bâb 103).

To a different practice points the tradition according to which the Messenger of God "counted the *tasbhî*" (al-Nasâ'i, *Sahâb*, bâb 97). The verb used here is *'akada*; its being translated by "to count" is based upon the fact that the lexicons give it this meaning among others (but *'akada* actually refers to finger-reckoning, in which certain positions of the fingers symbolise numbers). Probably, this is based in its turn upon traditions like the one just mentioned and like the following: "The Messenger of God said to us (the women of Medina): Practise *tasbih*, *tahli* and *takbîr*, and count these eulogies on your fingers, for these will have to give account" (Abū Dāwūd, *Witr*, bâb 24; *al-Tirmidhî, De'awât*, bâb 120). According to Goldziher, in these traditions the counting of eulogies on the fingers is contrasted with their being counted by means of stones, etc. There is, however, a tradition that makes it a matter of doubt whether *'akada* in connections like those mentioned has always the meaning of counting and not its proper sense of tying.

One should take into account a tradition preserved by Iblīs b. afī (viii, 348), according to which Fātimâ bt. al-Ḥusayn used to say eulogies aided by threads in which she made knots (*ri'āyât mu'kūd fihâ*). Paralleling the Sunnî use of rosaries brought back from Mecca by the returning pilgrims, the Shi'i's often use rosary beads made from the clay of Karbalâ' [*g.v.*], where al-Ḥusayn was buried; these clay beads may on occasion be stained red in memory of the slain Imām's blood, or else green for his brother al-Ḥasan, whose body reputedly turned green after his alleged poisoning.

The term *subhā* does not occur in classical Tradition in the meaning of rosary; it is often used in the sense of supererogatory *salāt*, e.g. *subhāt al-duhdhā* (Muslim, *Musâfîrîn*, trad. 81). Al-Nawawî explains the term by *nāfilâ* (commentary on Muslim's *Sahîb*, Cairo 1283, ii, 204). Ibn al-ʿArîfī, Nîhâya, s.v. asks how it is that the ideas of *nāfilâ* and *subhā* coincide. He answers that eulogies (*subhā*) are supererogatory additions to the obligatory *salâts*. So supererogatory *salâts* came to be called *subhā*.

If Ibn al-ʿArîfī's opinion is right, the semasiological evolution of *subhā* took two directions:

- *subhā* — *subhān* (A.), a term of Kur'ānic vocabulary, *madâr* from the root *s-h-r*, but recorded solely in the form of an exclamatory (with inflection of the accusative case) and in a state of annexation, having as its complement *Allah* (cf. Kur'ān, XII, 108; XXI, 22; XXIII, 91; XXVII, 8; etc.) or some substitute for *Allah*: *rabb* (*subhāna rabbî*, XVII, 93; *subhāna rahîbî*, XXXVII, 180; *subhâna râhînâ*, XVII, 108), various periphrases (*subhâna* *'lãdî* asrî bi-* 'abdhî lâyî* XVII, 1; *subhâna* *'lãdî* *bi-yâdihi* malakâtu kußî *qâyîn* XXXVI, 83), or pronouns of recollection (*subhânakâ*, II, 32, etc.; *subhâhânâh*, II, 116, etc.). Most commonly, it is translated "Glory be to God", but see below.

- *subhā* — *subhān* (A.J. Wensinck)

**Bibliography:** I. Goldziher, Le rosaire dans l'Islam, in *RHR*, xi (1890), 295-300 = Gesammelte Schriften, ii, 374-9; T.P. Hughes, A dictionary of Islam, 546; art. Rosaries, Muhammadan, in *ERE*, x, 892-3; Helga Venzlaff, Der islamische Rosenkranz, Abb. für die Kunde der Morgenländere, 47,2, Stuttgart 1985.

(A.J. Wensinck)
preposition ‘an, the sense then being that God is "high above", "far distant" from that which could be said of Him by "associators" and other disbelievers: subhāna ‘lladhi ‘asrā bi-‘abddihū la‘yā" (and cf. also XXVII, 8; XXXVI, 36, 83; XLIII, 13), what can be seen here is a simple laudatory formula, a synonym of the expression subhānahu wa-ta‘ālā ‘ammā yuṣūrān, (XV, 98; XX, 130; XL, 55; etc.), yusubhāna bi-hamdi rabbika (XXIII, 91; XXXVII, 159), which is not really adequate, even though they have the advantage of being clear and convenient. Hamidullah is greatly admired for the excellence and clarity of his work, which is drawn up (temessuk) by "associators" and other disbelievers: Subhī’s remarks on the conduct of Ottoman diplomacy, and his accounts of the reception of foreign envoys in Istanbul. Subhī’s history is an exceptionally detailed and reliable source for the complex diplomacy leading up to the conclusion of peace between Austria, Russia, and the Ottoman empire following the three-way war of 1736-9. It incorporates the full details of the articles of peace mutually agreed to on 14 Dühādžī 1152/18 September 1739 (1198 edn., fols. 163a-167a), but what gives his history a unique importance is the account he provides of ongoing negotiations, settlement of border disputes, and the monitoring and enforcement of the terms of peace after the Treaty of Belgrade. The verbīn transcripts (siyeyet) of post-treaty commitments and undertakings provided in his history form a characteristic feature of Subhī’s work (see the examples in Bibi).

Subhī also reports on (and sometimes gives a verbīn record of) the content of the submissions of provincial governors recorded in Istanbul (cf. fol. 217a [year 1156]), wurūd-i kā‘im-i wa‘ūd-yi Bağdudd Ahmed Paşa, and he carefully notes both the tenor of discussions in council and the nature of any responses sent back to the dispatchers (cf. fol. 222a-b). Another feature is his preoccupation with all aspects of state protocol (tehirriyyāt), favouring in particular detailed description of receptions (many of which he personally attended) organised during the visits of foreign dignitaries to the capital. Thus he gives a full account of the mission to Istanbul of Nâdir ش خان in 1154/1741 and provides an exhaustive list (cf. fols. 192b-193a) of the gifts brought from Persia for presentation to Sultan Mahmūd I [q.v.]. In short, Subhī’s history—published together with the histories of Samī and Shākir which relate the events of the first five years of Mahmūd’s reign—provides the most comprehensive and reliable account we possess of the formative years of Mahāmid’s rule.

Bibliography: Ta’rīkh-i Sami wa Shākir wa Subhī, Istanbul 1198/1784 (portion attributable to Subhī, fols. 72b-238b); Djemal al-Din, At’īne-yi zurpā, Istanbul 1319/1901-2, 48-9; Mehmed Thireyā, SÖ, i, 220; IA, art. Vehār nisār (B. Kütükoglu). The following passages exemplify Subhī’s use of diplomatic correspondence: fols. 167a-168b, year 1152, sûred-i mevvād-dī temessuk; fols. 188a-189b, year 1153, sûred-i dare temessuk sûred; and fols. 237b and 237b-238a, year 1156, muḥādād-i temessuk bê-kâhūddi-i ni Muniyêt-i sûred-i temessuk-i mezwîr. (R. Morpurgo)

al-SUBKĪ, the nisba from the name of two small towns of Lower Egypt, in the mediaeval district of Manf [q.v.], now in the Manûfiyya muddiryya or province, in the southwestern part of the Nile Delta. See ‘Ali Mubârak, al-Khâkiyy al-qâlid, Bulâk 1305/1887-8, xii, 6-7; Muhammad Ramzi, al-Kâmi‘ al-gâhirî ‘l-bīlî ‘al-mu‘iryya, Cairo 1953-60, ii/2, 217.
A. The mediaeval Subk known as Subk al-Dahhak (modern Subk el-Halâlî) was the place of origin of a celebrated family of Shâfî'i ʿalâmāʾ which flourished in Mamlûk times and of which the most outstanding figures were the Shaykh al-Islâm Tâj al-Dîn Abu l-Ḥasan ʿAlî b. ʿAbd al-Kâfî (b. 683/1384) and in Damascus, and also intransigent Shâfîʾi traditionalists who were blatantly anti-Ashʿarī. Although

8. Djamal al-Dîn Abu l-Ṭayyib al-Husayn b. Tâkî al-Dîn ʿAlî, b. 722/1322, mudarris in Cairo and Damascus, in the latter also deputy kâdî; d. 755/1354, previously to his father. He wrote a book on people with the name of al-Husayn, ʿAlî (Hâджî Khalîfâ, v. 159); his correspondence is listed in Ahlwardt, nos. 8471, 24 (Wüstenfeld, Academien, no. 50; ʿAlî Mubârâk, Ḫiṣāt, loc. cit.; Hâджî Khalîfâ, no. 1899 al-Zirîlîf, Ḫâlîm, i, 171).

9. Tâdî al-Dîn Abu l-Ḥasan b. Tâkî al-Dîn ʿAlî studied in Cairo and Damascus, and early became a mudarris in Damascus and kâhîf at the Umayyad Mosque. In 756/1354 his father nominated him as kâdî, the first of many spells of office thus. In 769/1368 he was imprisoned for 80 days on a charge of misappropriating the property of a minor, apparently unjustly, but released through the efforts of friends. He died soon afterwards of plague. The surviving ones of his many works are listed in Brockelmann, II, 108-10, S II, 105-7. See on him Ibn al-Imâm, vi, 221-2; Hâʤî Khalîfâ, no. 8704; ʿAlî Mubârâk, Ḫiṣāt, xii, 8; Wüstenfeld, Academien, 40; al-Zirîlîf, iv, 385; other sources in Brockelmann, S II, 105.

Tâdî al-Dîn al-Subkî's magnum opus in the eyes of Western scholars concerned with the religious and intellectual history of earlier Islam and, above all, the history and development of the Shâfîʾi law school [see ʿSHÂFÎYYÂ], is his great biographical dictionary of Shâfîʾi scholars, the Tabâkât al-Ṣârîyya, which exists in three versions of differing size, from the kubrâ through the wasâṣa down to the wasâṣa one (kubrâ version first printed ed. Cairo 1905-6, 6 vols., defective; new ed. Mahmûd Muḥ. al-Ṭâkîfî and Muhammad ʿAbd al-Fattâh al-Ḥîw, Cairo 1938-96/1964-76, 10 vols.). In a study of al-Subkî's underlying aims in compiling this work (which had been preceded by other tabâkât works on the scholars of this law school), George Makdisi has suggested that Tâdî al-Dîn was especially following his predecessor of two centuries before in Damascus, Ibn Ṭâskîr [q.v.], in the latter's Taḥṣīn hadîb al-mufâṣṣil fî muḥâjara bī l-ʿImâm Abî l-Ḥasan al-ʿAḏârî in producing a work of Ashʿârî propaganda [see ʿASHÂRÎYYÂ]. However, he continues, al-Subkî went further and was better qualified. He was defending al-ʿAshârî and the ideas attributed to him, with the Shâfîʿi in general in his mind, as Ibn ʿAsākir was; he fully endorsed his predecessors' work, but, having superior qualifications as a fâṣîk as well as a muḥâdâhî, he aimed at producing a work resting on broader foundations (explicitly describing his ʿTabâkât as concerned with history, adhâh, law and tradition). His work is thus indeed a treasury of literary and historical information as well as theologically-legal material. He hoped in this way to convince those Shâfîʾi adherents who were nevertheless hostile to the use of kalām, rational arguments in theology [see ʿILM AL-KALĀM], that Ashʿârî rationalism had a valid role, and that the ideal was a fusion in Shâfîʿism of traditionalism and rationalism which would then make it superior to all the other maḏahîb; accordingly, al-Subkî's enemies here were such anthropomorphists as the Ḥanbalîs and also intransigent Shâfîʾi traditionalists who were blatantly anti-ʿAshârî. Although
al-Subki admits that *khalim* used wrongly can be dangerous, he asserts that the Imam Muhammad al-Shafi‘i [*q.v.*] himself used it, and that Shafi‘ism and Ash‘arism had always been inseparably linked. In his campaign against those purblind Shafi‘is who refused to recognize this, he did not hesitate to discredit the attitudes of his own old teacher al-Dhahabî [*q.v.*]. See further, Makdisi, *Ash‘arite and the Ash‘arites in Islamic religious history*, in *I*, xiv (1962), 37-80; xviii (1963), 19-39, esp. xvi, 57-79; on earlier *tabakht* works, Shafi‘î and others, see idem, *Ibn 'Arif and the resurgence of Islam traditionalisme au d* siècle, Damascus 1963, 47-58.

That such a polemic on behalf of Ash‘arism was still necessary in the 8th/14th century is, of course, an indication that Ash‘arî rationalism had not, despite the passage of four centuries, secured a majority recognition amongst the adherents of Shafi‘ism; Tadj al-Dm was apparently swimming against the tide. Such considerations as those discussed above need to be taken into account in any evaluation of the *Tabakht al-shafiyya*, as do others mentioned by Heinz Halm, the compiler was concerned above all with scholars from the main centres of Shafi‘î influence (Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Nishapur and Marv), with little or no attention to other towns and regions where we know, e.g. from historical sources, that there were significant Shafi‘î elements. Hence whole regions are either sketchily covered or not covered at all, such as Sisân, Adharbaydjan, pre-Ayyubid Egypt and Yemen. See Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der shafi‘ite Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 11-14.

Another, slighter work of Tadj al-Dm’s which has been readily accessible to Western scholars has been his *Mu‘ad al-namas wa-mubad al-nakam* (ed. D.W. Myhrman as *The restorer of favour and the restorer of chastisements*, London 1908; ed. Mu‘am Muhammad al-Nadji‘ar et alii, Cairo 1367/1948, slightly abbreviated German tr. O. Rescher, *Constantinopel 1925 = Gesammelte Werke*, Abt. II, Bd. 2, 691-855) which treats of 113 trades, professions and offices of the author’s own time, in the light of how their expostents should behave in order to recover God’s favour and secure their own salvation after having lost this.

It contains en passant a certain amount of historical information and throws light on contemporary customs and attitudes, seen e.g. in the author’s disapproval of the practice of kissing the ground (*takht al-ard*) before sultans or great amirs.

10. Muhammad b. Tadj al-Dm’s *Ali*, to whom his father addressed an admonitory *kašida*.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Myhrman on the Subki family in the introd. to his *Mu‘ad al-namas* edition, 8-35. B. Sjahhab al-Dm or Scharaf al-Dm Ahmad b. Khalil b. Ibrahim al-Subki al-Misn al-Shafi‘i of his life. He then turned his attention to celebrations at weddings. He also attacked the excesses of professional wailing women, as well as excessive *bida‘* such as excessive grief at funerals, including the use of many of the Sufi groups he encountered in Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Nishapur and Marv, with little or no attention to other towns and regions where we know, e.g. from historical sources, that there were significant Shafi‘î elements. Hence whole regions are either sketchily covered or not covered at all, such as Sisân, Adharbaydjan, pre-Ayyubid Egypt and Yemen. See Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der shafi‘ite Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 11-14.

Another, slighter work of Tadj al-Dm’s which has been readily accessible to Western scholars has been his *Mu‘ad al-namas wa-mubad al-nakam* (ed. D.W. Myhrman as *The restorer of favour and the restorer of chastisements*, London 1908; ed. Mu‘am Muhammad al-Nadji‘ar et alii, Cairo 1367/1948, slightly abbreviated German tr. O. Rescher, *Constantinopel 1925 = Gesammelte Werke*, Abt. II, Bd. 2, 691-855) which treats of 113 trades, professions and offices of the author’s own time, in the light of how their expostents should behave in order to recover God’s favour and secure their own salvation after having lost this.
popularity and strict message irked some Azhans, who tried without success to curb his activities by complaining to the political authorities. His orthodoxy vindicated, the following year he continued to spread his views via Friday sermons and published tracts.

In Muharram 1331/December 1912 he established his society, with the aim of "spreading the true teachings of religion, to enlighten the minds and save the Muslims from corrupt beliefs and low bida' and myths", embodying his ideals of strict adherence to the Sunna and open to all. The society was established its own network of mosques and published regular journals including Risālat al-Islām, still published today. Members of the society used to be distinguished by their distinctive turbans. On Shaykh Mahmūd's death, the leadership of the society went to his sons Amin Khaṭṭājāb and then Yusuf Khaṭṭājāb. When this line ended, the leadership went to the most able preachers to give the Friday sermons in mosques all over Egypt where they exhorted people to return to the basics of the Kur'ān and Sunna and abandon often deeply-ingrained popular practices. In time, the society established its own network of mosques and published regular journals including Risālat al-Islām, still published today. The society has some 680 branches with over 64,000 members.

Among Shaykh Mahmūd's publications are al-Manhal al-'adhb, Cairo 1351, which is seen as his major work; Iḥāf al-kāla'īn bi-baydān madhhīb al-salqf wa-l-khalqfī (abd al-Munṣūr Mawsu'at al-firāk) 2 vols. in 5, Cairo 1350-51; al-Dīn al-jāmi'ī, etc. The introduction to al-Manhal lists 26 works in all.

**Bibliography:** The intro. to al-Manhal al-'adhb; 'Abd al-Munṣūr al-Hifnī, Mazārat al-frāk wa-l-qandā'at al-Islāmiyya, Cairo n.d.; 'Abd al-Lāţif Mughaltīrī, Hāft al-Isldmiyya, Cairo n.d., which is an explanation of the movement and what it stands for.

(MAHĀ AZZAM)

**SUDĀN, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the modern Republic of Sudan.**

1. **History and political development.** The republic takes its name from the mediaeval Arab geographers' bilād al-Sūdān, a sub-Saharan belt of which eastern and Nilotic lands were conquered by Muhammad 'Alī [q.v.] of Egypt and his successors. This "Egyptian Sudan" came to comprise territory from the Red Sea to the western marches of Dār Fūr [q.v.], and from Nubia [see NUBA] to the African Great Lakes. Thus although the present republic has an older political identity than most African states, like them it was born of foreign conquest. In the European "Scramble for Africa", the Sudan was among the last prizes. Under Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdī (d. 1885 [see al-Mahdīyya]) and his successor, the Khalīfa 'Abd Allāh al-Ta'ā'ī, an independent state had been made of Egyptian possessions. But even in its origins, the Mahdist state was bound up in Great Power rivalry; the Mahdī's rise did not so much cause as coincide with collapse of Egyptian authority in the Sudan, and with political crises in Egypt itself that ended with British occupation in 1882. The fall of Khartoum in 1885 would equip imperialists with arguments for a British conquest that imperial strategy required anyway.

Britain's anomalous position in Egypt influenced the 20th-century political development of the Sudan. Despite British occupation, Egypt remained an Ottoman province under the Khedive and his ministers. In the light of this, and to deflect Great Power objections, invasion of the Sudan in 1896-8 was termed an Anglo-Egyptian "reconquest" of lost Egyptian provinces. Kitchener commanded a largely Egyptian (and Sudanese) army when he defeated the Khalīfa at Karāfī on 2 September 1898. The flexibility of a "two-flag" policy was evident two weeks later at Fashoda, where a French expedition under Marchand was warned off by the British for trespassing on Egyptian rights.

In the wake of "reconquest" there was therefore no question of wholly separating the Sudan from Egypt. Instead, Lord Cromer, Agent and Consul-General in Cairo, devised a "hybrid form of government" in two Anglo-Egyptian conventions that in 1899 established a formal condominium. Sovereignty in the Sudan went unsuspended. Power was concentrated in a Governor-General nominated by Britain and appointed by the Khedive; every Governor-General until independence in 1956 was British. The Capitulations, Mixed Courts and other apparatus of international control in Egypt, were excluded. Separate financial regulations further defined relations between the new regime and Egypt. In broad terms, the Condominium, at least until the 1920s and to a considerable extent thereafter, was controlled by Britain and financed by Egypt, staffed in its upper echelons by British officers and (increasingly) civilians, and in its lower by Egyptians, Syrians, other foreigners and (increasingly) by Sudanese.

But the land and its peoples were more important in determining the nature of the regime than were the war and diplomacy that created it. Defining the Sudan's borders began in the Condominium Agreement itself; the conquest of Dār Fūr in 1916 and long negotiations between Britain and France, the Congo, Italy and other powers completed it. A territory of about one million square miles resulted, with conditions varying from sand desert in the north, to savannah in a central belt and forest in the south. The population was very heterogeneous: what would soon be called the Northern Sudan comprised Nubians, Fur, Beja, and (mostly) Arabic-speaking Muslims claiming Arab descent; the South presented a mosaic of ethnic diversity without any linguistic or religious cement. Contact between the two regions had been characterised during the 19th century by the raiding and enslavement of southerners by northern Sudanese. The total population under Anglo-Egyptian rule may only be guessed; in its first decades even the existence of separate ethnic groups went largely unknown to their nominal governors.

That ignorance, and the regime's limited resources, were factors in the unequal development of the regions. Indeed, with Egyptian subventions the Sudan Government was better off than many colonial governments. But great distances and sparse population made communications difficult and transport expensive. Foreign officials' greater familiarity with the Arab-Muslim culture of the North almost invariably biased them in favour of that region. The result was considerable public investment in the northeastern quadrant of the country: Khartoum was rebuilt; a railway was extended from Wadi Halfa to Khartoum, the Gezira, al-UBayd, and to Port Sudan, which was built to supersede Suakin [see SAWAKIN] as the Sudan's principal harbour; a vast Gezira Scheme, financed by European loans to irrigate cotton in the region between the Blue and White Niles south of Khartoum, skewed the country's subsequent development. Social services were again relatively lavish in northern centres, while in rural areas and the South their provision was left up to the Army and Christian missionaries. Thus the relative backwardness of peripheral regions, most
obviously the South, was widened by Anglo-Egyptian bias and policy.

Much of that policy was set by or under Lord Kitchener. Wingate had already spent sixteen years in the Egyptian Army, latterly in charge of Intelligence, and had formed definite views. With Cromer, his superior until 1907, Wingate devised structures and set a tone that would last as long as the Condominium.

Confrontation with Sudanese Mahdist had dominated Wingate's work in Egypt; in the Sudan a fear of "fanaticism" influenced otherwise disparate areas of policy. He suppressed not only Mahdist and its surviving notables, but also any sign of disruptive heterodoxy: individual fikis (Ar. fakih) were arrested, exiled and even executed; Şi'ite tarik were denied recognition, while co-operative šaykh were loaded with privileges. Orthodox Islam was promoted: the Şari'a, as reformed, became a model; a Grand Qadi and Mufti of the Sudan were appointed, and 'ulama', never influential in the Sudan, were nonetheless given honours, pensions, and official status. In 1912 a madhhib al-timid, with curriculum closely modelled on that of al-Azhar, was opened in Omdurman to train ulama of the Ottoman Empire, introduced at the Turco-Egyptian conquest, was reimposed; in personal law, Sudanese continued their adherence to the Malikī rite. The government repaired and built mosques, encouraged the hádjī (for long an important socio-economic phenomenon in a land adjacent to the Hidjaz and traversed by the "Sudan Road" of West African pilgrims), and subsided religious education. Avoiding offence to Muslims, Christian missionaries were largely limited to the South.

Wingate's fear of Mahdist influenced economic policy. Although his own propaganda against the Mahdist state had decrèed a revival of slavery, Wingate and his lieutenants saw mass manumission as offensive to Muslims and thus as a focus for revolt; while for European audiences they championed repression of the slave trade, yet they turned a blind eye to it and intervened to prevent the manumission even of individuals. Similarly, taxes, especially in regard to lightly-administered nomadic tribes, were kept low, lest a spark be given to apprehended Mahdist tinder.

A turning-point in the history of the regime was the First World War. If the Ottoman sultan, still nominally sovereign in Egypt, should side with the Central Powers, the British feared repercussions not only in Egypt but also in the Sudan, as indeed in India and other Muslim lands. Wingate acted quickly to defuse a call to dhūhlād. Adding to war-time security measures (censorship, propaganda, arrest of enemy aliens, and so forth), he altered his religious policy. By 1914 it was clear that the ulama had little influence: Sudanese continued to look, as they had for centuries, to individual holy men (fikis) and the Şi'ite tarik for guidance, while the government encouraged the hádjī to Mecca, pilgrimage to the tombs of Sudanese saints was vastly more popular. Thus when the War broke out, the government's embrace of pliant šaykh was widened to include the son of the Mahdi, Sayyid Abd al-Rahmān; restrictions were eased in return for support of the régime, a position in any case consistent with his father's dhīhlād against "the Turks". This rehabilitation would have rapid and far-reaching political results.

Whether Wingate overreached is debatable; the Sudan remained quiet throughout the War, and, indeed, became a base of operations against the Turks and their allies. In 1916 Wingate moved against 'Alī Dīnār, sultan of Dār Fūr, who had assumed an anti-British tone and whose autonomy impeded the European position in the southern Sudan; an Anglo-Egyptian force defeated the Fur near al-Fashir, the sultan was later killed in a skirmish, and Dār Fūr came under the Sudan Government. Meanwhile in the east through personal efforts and proximity to the Hidjaz, Wingate assumed roles for himself and the Sudan in the revolt of the Şarīf of Mecca against the Ottomans.

After the War, the Sudan experienced political ferment and social dislocation. The growth of Egyptian nationalism had both paralleled and stimulated Sudanese feelings of national identity. Although limited to a tiny educated elite and tentatively expressed, these stirrings provoked an incommensurate British reaction. Fearing that Egyptian civilian cadres and army units would suborn the Sudanese, and that a potential existed for an unhappy (and even unwitting) alliance of discontented townspeople and fanatical tribes, the British hardened their position. During 1924 demonstrations, by the White Flag League and others, condemned Britain and defended Egyptian rights in the Sudan. When in November the Governor-General, Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated in Cairo, the opportunity was taken both to bring down the Wafd government of Sa'd Zaghlūl [g.] and to expel Egyptian Army units and civilians from the Sudan. In Khartoum some Sudanese soldiers died resisting that evacuation, in an episode still commemorated.

There followed a period of repression. The seeming ease with which trouble had arisen in the towns convinced British authorities that a class of secularly-educated Sudanese, like its counterpart in Egypt, India and elsewhere, was dangerous. The reaction was reflected in social policy. Ordinances extended powers of tribal chiefs, circumventing the educated; traditional Kurānī schools (kölāwās) replaced as the focus of education policy the secular primary and elementary schools that had produced "effendis"; and the scope of the latter's employment was reduced and avenues for advance closed. These changes coincided with dramatic economic developments: the Gezira Scheme, inaugurated in 1925, for several years produced good returns on a huge investment; but insect infestation and the collapse of the cotton market during the Depression resulted in destitution for tenants and financial crisis for the Sudan Government. Post-1924 quiescence was thus misleading, and bought at a price.

Moreover, Britain's freedom of action in the Sudan was limited by its position in Egypt. Violent disturbances in 1919 had led to Egypt's nominal independence in 1922 and, in 1924, to the Wafd government of Sa'd Zaghlūl, who insisted on the unity of the Nile Valley. No subsequent Egyptian government would forswear the Sudan, the status of which became, with that of the Suez Canal Zone, the focus of Anglo-Egyptian relations. Negotiations after 1924 all collapsed over these issues. It was only a shared fear of Italian imperialism, and the Wafd's need for more than rhetorical results from its nationalist stance, that finally brought progress. In a 1936 treaty, Egypt won concessions over its international status, and a symbolic return of some troops to the Sudan, while Britain secured its position at the Canal; the sovereignty issue was deferred, the signatories merely expressing continuing concern for the welfare of the Sudanese. This reference, made without consulting them, irony recinded political interest among Sudanese, and gave to the Sudan question a triangular shape that it would
While nationalist activity had subsided after 1924, changes in the relative importance of individuals and groups altered the dynamics of Sudanese politics. After his rehabilitation during the First World War, 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Mahdî had rapidly expanded his following and influence, especially in the west. As early as 1919, British officials expressed alarm; collaboration with the Sudanese had become controversial, and a rising led by 'Abd Allah al-Sihaym in Darfur in 1921 was blamed on 'Abd al-Rahmân's agents. But in 1924, when the régime felt threatened by Egyptian politicians and disgruntled townsmen, 'Abd al-Rahmân was foremost in condemning both, and he received a knighthood from the British Government. By the late 1920s, as a result of government concessions and the free labour of his followers, he was probably the richest Sudanese; by the mid-1930s, he openly vied with Sayyid Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdî for the support of established authority and opposition to Mahdist pre-dated the Condominium, for a comparable political standing. Renewed political activity after the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty both reflected and heightened that competition.

In the Second World War, unlike the first, the Sudan played a direct role. Despite a huge advantage in numbers and equipment, an Italian advance in 1940 ended the German and Italian occupation of Italian East Africa in 1941. Units of the Sudan Defence Force (the Anglo-Sudanese army created in 1925), served in several African and Near Eastern theatres. Not until the German defeat at al-Alamein in November 1942 was the Axis threat to Britain's position in the Nile Valley removed. But what British officials saw as a defining crisis of world history, some Sudanese considered a clash of imperialisms; in their view, Sudanese political advance should be accelerated, not postponed. It was with this view that in April 1942 the Graduates' Congress asked for concessions, including Sudanese independence at the end of the war. They were rebuffed, and divisions within the Congress that had led to its demands now widened into overt political parties. In 1944 the Agâkha formed the nucleus of what would become under various names the Unionists, while in 1945 the Umma proclaimed "the Sudan for the Sudanese". But Union and Independence were watchwords; superficial polarisation obscured a wide spectrum of interests.

The politics of the Condominium's last decade are thus complicated in detail but susceptible to generalisation. Anglo-Egyptian relations worsened. In 1945, at Egypt's request, re-negotiation of the 1936 treaty began, but with irreconcilable positions over the Canal and the Sudan. To break the impasse the British government, in the so-called Siidki-Bevin Protocol of October 1946, recognised Egyptian sovereignty in the Sudan. A furious reaction in Britain, and among British officials in the Sudan, wrecked the agreement. But British willingness to compromise over sovereignty whetted Egyptian appetites, imbued the Sudan Government with permanent suspicion of a "sell-out", and disconcerted its Sudanese allies, to whom the end of strategic collaboration had always been seen as independence.

The development of Sudanese politics in the post-war period was thus inseparable from Anglo-Egyptian relations. The Unionists, led by the irrepressible Isâmîl al-Azhârî, a mathematics teacher from a prominent religious family, condemned the British, withheld co-operation from successive consultative bodies, and demanded union with Egypt. To varying degrees, they saw this as a lever for moving the British; those wedded to the Unity of the Nile Valley were few, while many upheld "union" in order to preclude the Mahdist monarchy the British might impose in order to debar Egypt. For his part, 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Mahdî cooperated with the Sudan Government, and his Umma Party dominated its advisory bodies; the Egyptians were his family's historic enemies, and by collaborating he kept Egypt at bay while prodding the British towards a negotiated departure. Many tribal and religious leaders, notably 'Ali al-Mîrghânî, recoiled at a choice between Mahdist monarchy and Egyptian imperialism, and saw nominal "Union" as a way of foiling Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahmân, while disposing of his British patrons; Egyptians had after all been ejected before and could again.

Central to the machinations of the period was therefore the rivalry between the Siyâsî and the ebulent 'Abd al-Rahmân, whose revolutionary charisma of his father, was ironically the more worldly and modern; this routinisation of Mahdist ideology has been described as "neo-Mahdism", and been compared with the achievement of dynastic power in Libya and Morocco. 'Ali al-Mîrghânî, on the contrary, would be king-maker rather than king, and embodied cautious reserve and oracular reticence; his support of Unionists was always qualified, rarely certain, and sustained wholly from opposition to Mahdist.

The Anglo-Egyptian and (Sudanese) sectional) impasse was broken only after the Egyptian Revolution of 1952. The ruling junta, influenced by Muhammad Nadîb, proclaimed a willingness to allow Sudanese self-determination. Since this had been the ostensible goal of the British, who by terms of the Siidki-Bevin Protocol had lost the confidence of their Sudanese allies, the Sudan Government was suddenly isolated and to a degree irrelevant; the Sudanese parties entered into direct negotiation with Egypt, and Anglo-Egyptian agreement over terms of self-determination was reached in 1953. This called for a transitional period during which Sudanisation of the administration, and elections to a national parliament would take place. These produced a parliamentary majority for al-Azhârî's National Unionist Party; the Umma had campaigned ineptly and alienated nom-Mahdists, while other groupings—hardly parties—were regional, extreme, or otherwise flawed.

It was ironical therefore that al-Azhârî and the Unionists led the Sudan to independence. The events of 1954-5 are less significant than that result; through deft manoeuvring, favourable circumstance, rivals' mistakes, and the unlimited elasticity of "union", al-Azhârî presided as Prime Minister when the Sudanese parliament dispensed with formalities and voted for independence at the end of 1955. An independent republic was declared on 1 January 1956.

Despite this formal break with a colonial past, evidence of continuity after 1955 is striking. In two areas, nationalist politics and the affairs of the South, this would have lasting and disastrous consequences. Al-Azhârî's triumph in 1955 had been personal and tactical; the two Sayyids were the true masters of the Sudan, and it was their mutual hostility that had allowed his success. In late 1955 they had reached a truce, and in July 1956 their parliamentary supporters duly ousted al-Azhârî and elected the Umma leader, 'Abd Allah Khalîl, as Prime Minister in a coalition
of the Umma and a Unionist faction. This and subsequent manoeuvring discredited party politics. Beset by a faltering economy, and by rifts within the 'Ummists' ranks that threatened his own position, 'Abd Allah Khalil, a former officer, convoked in 1958 by an army coup that swept away the parliamentary régime. A junta assumed supreme power, which it in turn delegated to the Commander-in-Chief, Ibrāhīm 'Abbūd.

An issue of particular concern to the military régime that ruled until 1964 was the South. Largely neglected by the British under a misappalled "Southern Policy", the region had ironically at the end of the Second World War and fed ever more hostility towards British officials' demand for "safeguards" for the South in a self-governing Sudan was viewed by others as an attempt to delay independence or even to detach the region. In the first parliament, Southern representatives were overwhelmed by Northern politicians, and their votes for independence were bought with the easy promise of future considerations. Meanwhile, in August 1955, alarmed by precipitate Sudanisation—or as they saw it, Arabisation—of regional government, Southern army units rebelled. Hundreds of Northerners were killed. Neither al-Azhari nor 'Abd Allah Khalil's administration took effective steps to deal with Southern grievances; 'Abbūd's régime worsened the problem. A programme of Arabisation and Islamisation was adopted, and Christian missionaries were harassed and finally expelled. Guerrilla activity sprang up among veterans of the 1955 mutiny and others. 'Abbūd's junta responded in kind, and by 1964 there was civil war.

The soldiers' military failure brought down a régime already discredited by ineptness and repression in other areas. In October 1964 street demonstrations in Omdurman and Khartoum gained momentum from the evident half-heartedness with which troops responded. Banned political parties resurfaced, but it was an alliance of professionals, trade unionists, students and others that directed and dominated mass action. With support from the ranks evaporating, 'Abbūd and his colleagues resigned, and a Transitional Government was formed to prepare a return to democratic rule.

The Transitional Government of 1964-5 has since been seen as one of missed opportunity. The cabinet, under Sirr al-Khāṭim al-Khalīfa, a civil servant, was dominated by members of the Professionals' Front, who favoured radical democratic and socialist solutions to the Sudan's problems. Opposed to them, and outnumbered, were leaders of the old parties. The former had ideas without mass support, the latter sectarian followings without ideas. In the end, ideas were discounted; under pressure from the politicians, new elections were held in April-May 1965, before the professionals could organise. A coalition of the Umma and NUP was formed, with the Umma's Muhammad Ahmad Mahdījīb as Prime Minister; by a hastily-contrived constitutional amendment, Ismā'īl al-Azhārī became President of the Supreme Council of State. The intellectual bankruptcy of the parties and cynicism of their leaders is evident from subsequent events.

The second parliamentary régime witnessed a return to the sterile sectarian and personal rivalries of the past and, because of this, a worsening situation in the South. No party or politician would risk the electoral consequences or a rival's jeers by suggesting a generous solution to what they persisten in calling the "Southern Problem". For their part, no leader of the dispersed tribal-based rebels in the South had a following large enough to dominate the movement; successive groupings with ever-grander names reflected factionalisation. Southern politicians working within the Khartoum system had little influence, nor can it be said that any programme of federalism, autonomy, or independence for the South—had the support even of most Southerners. A multilateral conference held by the Transitional Government in March 1965 rehearsed old positions a month before parliamentary elections. Continuation of guerrilla war was expedient for weak politicians on both sides.

The base from which the second parliamentary régime began was thus as weak as its predecessor's. Debilitating inter- and intra-party rivalries were both caused by the consequences or a rival's jeers by suggesting a generous solution to what they persisten in calling the "Southern Problem". For their part, no leader of the dispersed tribal-based rebels in the South had a following large enough to dominate the movement; successive groupings with ever-grander names reflected factionalisation. Southern politicians working within the Khartoum system had little influence, nor can it be said that any programme of federalism, autonomy, or independence for the South—had the support even of most Southerners. A multilateral conference held by the Transitional Government in March 1965 rehearsed old positions a month before parliamentary elections. Continuation of guerrilla war was expedient for weak politicians on both sides.

Despite its revolutionary pronouncements, the long military régime of 1969-85 exhibits elements of continuity with previous régimes. These may be summarised as: a failure to create durable institutions; an attempt to Islamise—some would say Sudanise—the South, through peaceful assimilation or mass violence, a process seen as interrupted by British imperialism and unrealistically resisted by diehard Southerners; the dominant centre's struggle to maintain control of an impoverished and powerless periphery, not only in the South; the weakness of secular authority without sectarian support, and the concomitant failure of "new men", "professionals" and "technocrats" to assume political power; big-project economic development, an addiction induced by the Condominium's Gezira Scheme, with disastrous results; poverty; and international insignificance despite a natural position of influence as an Afro-Arab, multi-confessional, and strategically-located state. The identification of this second military régime with one man, Numayrī, is therefore convenient but inaccurate; Numayrī was adept at wringing personal advantage from a situation worsened by his survival in office, and is a notable but hardly revolutionary figure in post-Independence Sudanese political history.

Only the main events of this recent period may be described without reference to archival sources. Its leaders were Yahya al-'Azhārī, the Condominium's "prime minister", and the Mukhtār Samir al-Din Nu'man, a minor official who became Prime Minister in 1983. After an attempted coup by young officers in August 1985, al-'Azhārī stepped aside, and Numayrī was confirmed in office. Numayrī's régime ended in a military coup in July 1989, after which an interim régime was formed to prepare a return to democratic rule.
up his personal position by reaching an agreement with the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement, which had coalesced under Joseph Lagu; by the terms of the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, the South was granted a large measure of autonomy. But peace in the South was no substitute for mass support in the North; after a failed but bloody Anjir coup attempt in 1976, Numayri took steps to co-opt Sadiq al-Mahdi, the exiled Umma leader, who returned to the Sudan in 1977. Timebuying political gestures were by now a hallmark of the régime, which dispensed patronage through a Sudan Socialist Union, which a constitution promulgated in 1973 made the sole legal party. But the manifest failure of the régime’s economic policies, and the consequent resort to unpopular pre-scriptions of the International Monetary Fund and donor countries, fuelled opposition in the late 1970s and early 1980s; a massive foreign debt was accumulated, with little to show for it but half-finished and inefficient projects, repeated devaluations, and the emergence of a parasitical class of newly-rich officers and cronies. By 1983 Numayri evidently felt the need for another bold gesture: taking advantage of Southern politicians’ incompetence and venality, he declared in June the “redvision” of the South into three “regions” corresponding to the old Anglo-Egyptian provinces; in September he declared the al-Sharia, heretofore enforced only in the North, applicable to all. The cost of appeasing Northern opponents was soon evident in the South; a Sudan People’s Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/SPLA) were formed, and by 1985 full-scale civil war engulfed the region. Economic collapse and civil war set the stage for Numayri’s downfall. By late 1984 he had successively allied with and opposed every political and religious grouping of significance, from the Communists to the Muslim Brothers; in January 1985 Mahfoud Muhammad Tahha, the aged leader of the tiny Republican Muslim Brothers, whose Sudanese roots reached back to the 1940s, that party had, like others, both collabor-ated with and been suppressed by Numayri. Its leader, Hasan al-Turabi, had withstood criticism of his long support for the dictator; it was during Numayri’s rule that Turabi made of the NIF a small but cohesive party. After the 1986 elections, it was taken into govern-ment. Thus in 1989, the NIF was at first banded with the other parties, and Turabi was for a time formally under arrest. By midsummer 1995, Turabi, though widely acknowledged in—and even at times acknowledging—a leading role, still had no official position in the government.

After 1989, therefore, the Sudan was governed by a military junta drawing inspiration from the ideology of Hasan al-Turabi. There were no national elections and political parties remained banned. The president, General Hasan al-Numayr, and his colleagues renewed the war against southern rebels, declaring this a jihadd; active support of Arab and Muslim states was solicited and received. Epidemics, famine, even slavery, returned to the South, while the collapse of the Mengistu régime in Ethiopia deprived the SPLA of its main foreign bases and support, and the movement itself splintered. The war’s financial burden contributed to a disastrous economic record. Opponents of the Sudanese régime were detained without charge and tortured; thousands went into what increasingly appeared permanent exile. Accused by western governments and by its neighbours of harbouring, training, and exporting terrorists, the régime became increasingly isolated; Egypt on several occasions seemed ready to take action against the Sudan.

After six years in power, this third Sudanese military régime showed signs of going the way of the previous two. Despite its ostensible Islamic character, and the many and costly steps it took to exhibit this, the régime never enjoyed the support of more than a small minority, even of Muslim Sudanese. But opposition, while widespread, was unconcerted, both within the country and between exiles and residents; alliances of the Anjir and the SPLM, of Nuba Christians and exiled professionals, of aged Communists and Fuer nationalists, inspired in Khartoum more hope than fear. The Sudanese pattern in such cases is of mass action followed by a struggle between old parties and the partisans of change.

SUDAN

SCA, similar in numerous respects to Chadian and Nigerian (Shuwa) Arabic.

Some information exists on the Sudanese Nilotic languages. North and Central Nilotic occur in the Sudan; however, South Nilotic does not. The principal languages of North Nilotic are: Shilluk, 175,000; Dinka, 2 million (Northeastern and Northwestern Dinka may be two separate languages); Nuer, 740,000; and Luwo (Dhe Luwo), 54,000 (all 1982); while Central Nilotic has Bari, 226,000 (1978); Lotuko, 185,000 (1982); and a few members of the Teso-Turkana group, such as Toposa with 95,000 (1982). The latter is mutually intelligible with Turkana, which has 260,000 speakers in River Valley Province, Kenya.

The classification of Surma is complicated. There are a minimum of ten branches, the two most important southern Sudanese members of which are Didinga with 58,000 speakers (1978) and Murle with 60,000 (1982). These two languages have 71% lexical similarity.

Central Sudanic consists of Moru-Madi, Mangbutu-Efe, Mangbetu, Kresh, Baleldu (Lendu), Aja, Bagirmi, Yulu-Binga, Sinyar and Bongo. The internal classification of Central Sudanic remains problematic. It seems clear, however, that Moru-Madi with 88,000 speakers in Equatoria Province (1982) represents one grouping, while Kresh, spoken mainly in Raga, western Bahre el Ghazal Province, with 16,000 (1987), forms another. There are also Kresh communities in Khartoum, Wau and Boro.

NS can also possibly claim the ancient Meroitic language, written in a script coming from ancient Egyptian. The Meroitic Kingdom, extending from the third cataract in the north to the Soba area in the south, reached its height in the third and second centuries B.C. Another theory that classifies Meroitic as AA is far less probable.

NC represents two-thirds of Africa's languages. Proto NC separated into the Mande, Atlantic-Congo and Kordofanian sub-branches. The 32 Kordofanian languages are spoken in the Nuba Hills by several hundred thousand. Four groups have been postulated: Heiban, Talodi, Rashad and Katla, with the major languages Koashib, 30,000 (1989), spoken around Delami in southern Kordofan; Moro, 30,000; Tira, 40,000, around Otoro and Talodi; and Tagalí, 80,000 (all 1982), in the Tagali Range and Rashad town and hills.

A major characteristic of many NC languages is the serial verb construction, in which what seems to be a single clause is expressed syntactically by juxtaposed verbs, all sharing the same subject or agent, without coordinating conjunctions of any kind. By way of contrast, there is little which gives NS a distinctive morphosynthetic unity, except that plural pronouns are often formed by singular pronouns with plural affixation. This process, however, does not occur in NC. Many NS languages, additionally, are agglutinative or inflectional in nature.

Since the official language of the country is Arabic, and whereas there has been numerous attempts at Arabisation and Islamisation in the southern Sudan (resulting, in part, in the ongoing Sudanese Civil War), uncountable Arabic loanwords have found their way into various NS and NC languages. In addition, numerable NS and NC speakers use SCA as a second or third language, or have learned a major lingua franca of the southern Sudan, Sudanese Pigdin Arabic (so-called Juba Arabic, in actuality both a pidgin and a creole, a variety not confined to the city of Juba). Speakers of NC Banda (10,000 [1982]), for instance, speak Pigdin Arabic with non-Banda speakers. African languages have also influenced, although to a lesser extent, via substratum, the Arabic pidgins and creoles of Equatoria, Bahir el Ghazal, and the Upper Nile region.


SUDAN, BLAD AL-, literally "land of the blacks", the general name in pre-modern Arabic sources for the Saharo-Sahelian sector of Africa, that lying south of the Maghrib, Libya and Egypt and extending from the Nile to the Western Ocean in the west to the Red Sea in the east.

1. The eastern part of the Sudan.

See for this, CAD in Suppl.; DÄRÖR; KORDOFAN; NUBA; WADAY; and for the modern period, SUDAN, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the modern Republic of Sudan.

2. History of the Western Sudan.

It is by the name Bilād al-Sudān al-Qafrīt that Muslim geographers, and historians in later times, referred to this part of the "land of the Negroes", contiguous with the Sahara, between the Atlantic Ocean and the loop of the Niger or the Air. From the 8th/14th century onward, at least, the term Takrīr, which initially in the 5th/11th century denoted a city of Middle Senegal, was widely used in the Orient to denote this western, Islamised sector of Sudano-Sahelian Africa, thus competing with, and then virtually replacing, the expression "Western Sudan".

The Sudan of the Arabs—Black Africa dominated by Muslim civilisation—did not denote the entire Black continent, but only a corridor of varying breadth extending from one side of the continent to the other. Essentially, this general conception remained unchanged in the Middle Ages and has survived into the present day. In western Sudan, Islam was implanted at the point at which the caravans arrived and, in a millennium, with remarkable slowness, advanced only a few hundreds of kilometres. Besides this transverse band, and until the 20th century, the West Africa of the southern savannahs and the rain forests thus remained relatively untouched by the process.

In the early years of Islam, western Sudan represented for the Arabs the very extremity of the world. It was not zeal for proselytism but the attraction exerted by highly-valued merchandise (gold, ivory, slaves, precious wood, etc.) which in the first centuries of the Hijra brought Muslim merchants, Arab, Berber or Persian, to the gatesways of Sudan and in particular, following the conquest of the Maghrib, to its western sector. One of the first Arab texts dealing with the sub-Saharan world, that of the geographer al-Fazārī (second half of the 2nd/8th century) describes the "state of Ghāna" (which is not present-day Ghana, but a medioeval political formation bordering on Mauritania, Senegal and Mali) as "the land of gold" [see GHANA]. The image of western Sudan was thus founded on contradictions: it was simultaneously a "barbarous" and distant region, and a land of plenty.

With the exception of a few trans-Saharan explorations, the historical caliphathe neither encompassed nor attempted to occupy any part of western Sudan. Even the Almoravids, themselves veiled Berbers originally from the South of the Mauritanian desert (5th/11th century), constructed their power-base in Morocco and, while attaching the highest importance to control of the western gold route, soon lost interest in sub-
Sudanese Islam was, for a long time, confined within urban enclaves (separate districts or entire towns). These Islamic enclaves were to take considerable time in converting the surrounding populations, either by peaceful means or, from the 11th/17th century onward, by armed qabil. Generally occupied by specialist traders, they adapted well enough to their insularity and to existing balances of power, rating commercial success above issues of religion. The Muslims who lived there offered their services to the local pagan chieftains, handling their correspondence or supplying them with highly valued talismanic texts. Even when the sovereigns of local empires were Muslim, relations with African religions were not substantially different. Until the 12th/18th century, the animist countryside encircled the partially Islamised urban settlements, and the sovereigns themselves, whose “indigenous” legitimacy was initially based on respect for ancestral customs and rights, were generally prepared to fulfill their obligations as African chieftains, performing the prescribed ceremonies and sacrifices.

Western Sudan thus presents a specific model of Islamisation, distinguished not so much by a somewhat limited number of peculiar heterodox practices, but determined more by its long accepted minority status. This was a case of an “extramural” Islam, which was nonetheless to consolidate, over the course of time, its identity and its adherence to the central Sunni norms.

Unlike in other regions of the continent, such as the current Republic of Sudan with its capital Khartoum [see SdAn, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the modern Republic of Sudan. 1.], the Islamisation movement in western Sudan did not lead to a proliferation of the Arabic language, except in a few educated circles. Certain African languages, which have themselves accommodated borrowed Arabic words, in such areas as religion, days of the week, commerce and the names of persons, fulfill an intermediary function in oral preaching as in the written culture (using Arabic characters). Such is notably the case of Fulfulde, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sidjilmasa [q.v.] (south-east Morocco), which was in contact with Awlgogost [q.v.] (a Berber town of southern Mauritania) and with Ghana, about twelve days journey from the former, for a long time the principal Black metropolis in this zone. In the centre, a ramified axis linked Tripoli, Ifrikiya and Wargla to Gao [q.v.] (Kawkaw), one of the oldest Black African towns on the Niger, by way of Tadmakka-al-Sük, another Saharan depot town. Throughout the Middle Ages, the principal axes were continually shifting from west to east, following, essentially, the movement of the northern powers: Umayyads of Cordova, Almoravids, Fatimids, then Ayyûbids and Egyptian Mamlûks. A parallel shifting of powers took place in the Sudanese region, from the West (Ghana, 5th/11th century) to the east (Gao [q.v.], 9th/15th century), although it is impossible to compare accurately the role of the intrusions by trans-Saharan commerce with that of local political issues.

From the time of these first contacts, African groups were converting to Islam. In all the cases cited, it was the chiefs who embraced Islam and then imposed it on their subjects. Thus, according to al-BakrÎ, Wâra Dyâbi, king of Takrûr, “became a Muslim and installed Islamic law among his people. He persuaded them to conform, having enlightened them as to the truth. He died in 432/1040-1”. Wâra Dyâbi also achieved the conversion of a neighbouring town, that of Silla, which was dependent on Takrûr. Later, in 148/1056, his son Labû had known to have fought with Almoravids troops. Moving further east, the conversion of the king of Gao, Zâ Kosoy, is said to have taken place even earlier: “he embraced Islam voluntarily and under no constraint” ca. 400/1009-10, according to the author of the Ta’rikh al-Suddn. But even earlier than this, al-Muhallabî (d. 380/990) had noted with reference to Gao: “The king of the land declares himself a Muslim before his subjects; many among them also declare themselves Muslims”. Al-BakrÎ, writing in 460/1068, even evokes a distant allegiance to the Umayyads of Cordova: “For the royal investiture, the sovereign is presented with a seal, a sword and a Qur’ân which are alleged, so they say, to be gifts presented by the Amir al-ma’mûnin. Their sovereign is a Muslim and only a Muslim can be invested with royalty”. At the end of the 5th/11th century, a series of Muslim epigraphs came into existence in the cemetery of Gao-Sane, referring to dignitaries and royal figures who have yet to be precisely identified. The oldest of these epigraphs of Gao dates from 481/1088: it bears the name of “Makkiyya [?], daughter of Hasan al-Hâjdj”.

**Initial contacts**

From the direction of Morocco, there is mention of an expedition mounted by Harîb b. Abî Ubâd al-Fihîrî, governor of ‘Ukba b. Nafi [q.v.], “in the Sûs and the land of the Sûdân” in 116/734. He achieved, according to Ibn ‘Abîl-Hakâm, “a victory without equal and brought back gold in profusion”. This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ‘Abîl-rahmân, who was to become governor of Ifrikiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sûdân [q.v.]. This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ‘Abîl-rahmân, who was to become governor of Ifrikiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sûdân [q.v.]. This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ‘Abîl-rahmân, who was to become governor of Ifrikiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sûdân [q.v.]. This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ‘Abîl-rahmân, who was to become governor of Ifrikiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sûdân [q.v.]. This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ‘Abîl-rahmân, who was to become governor of Ifrikiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sûdân [q.v.]. This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ‘Abîl-rahmân, who was to become governor of Ifrikiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sûdân [q.v.]. This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ‘Abîl-rahmât, who was to become governor of Ifrikiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sûdân [q.v.]. This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ‘Abîl-rahmân, who was to become governor of Ifrikiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sûdân [q.v.]. This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ‘Abîl-rahmân, who was to become governor of Ifrikiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.
It is worth noting that this Islamic inscription is the oldest known in the whole of Black Africa. A few years later, the names of kings and queens appear on the same site: the three most ancient steles (494/1100, 502/1108, and 503/1110) which are said of magnificent, were imported from Almeria. The others are of local manufacture. With Gao, there is thus available a remarkable cluster of convergent sources, which render this town another major centre of Islamisation, undoubtedly older than the preceding.

Only Ghâna resisted these first conversions for a short time. It capitulated under the influence of the Almoravids, before the end of the century, in 479/1087. The time of the age of the initiates into Islam of the royal courts situated at the termini of the trans-Saharan routes. The co-existence between Muslims and non-Muslims took a remarkable form, as was noted assiduously by the Arab authors of the period, in particular by al-Bakrî; the majority of sub-Saharan cities were divided, the “town of the merchants” being separated, sometimes by several kilometres, from the “royal town.” This was notably the case of Ghâna and of Gao. The Khâridjite pioneers

The Arab sources cited above are exclusively Sunnî. There is thus total silence regarding the religious conflict which for several centuries pitted the Sunnîs of the Maghrib against their Khâridjite adversaries, most of them Ibadîs [see UAR]. For two centuries at least (ca. 130-340/750-950) the Khâridjite Berbers, masters of the power-centres of the southern Maghrib (Sidjîlama and Tâhârât) and of the Saharan routes, were interposed between the central Muslim world and western and central Sudan. Ibadî sources of the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries, at least those which have survived destruction, not to mention later sources, speak of Ibadî travellers from Tâhârât, Wandgla, Naâzâwa and Djâbal Naífasa, journeying into Tadmektât, Gao, Ghâna and other regions of western Sudan. Al-Bakrî himself notes the presence of traders from Ibadî regions in Adawkho, where they became very numerous until the conquest of the city and the Almoravid massacres of 446/1054-5. In fact, the hatred felt by the Almoravids, nomadic Shanâdja Berbers, for the sedentary Zanâta Berbers was augmented by the religious hostility of militant Sunnîs against Khâridjite heretics. Although their power was in a seriously weakened state in the 5th/11th century, the Khâridjites had hitherto exercised political and economic control of all the trans-Saharan routes. The Sufî Khâridjtîs [see UAR] of the independent city of Sidjîlama (founded 140/757) represented the principal western outlet. The Ibadî Rustamîds [q.v.] of Tâhârât [q.v.] (159-297/776-909) ruled over all the Saharan approaches, from central Algeria to Wargla, to southern Tunisia and Djâbal Naífasa. The Ibadî dynasty of the Banu 1-Khaçîtabl (306-568/918-1172), based at Zawfla, a place with a longstanding Khâridjite tradition in Fazzân, controlled, for its part, access to the Chad basin.

Some have concluded from this that the first form of sub-Saharan Islam must have been Khâridjite. The hypothesis is plausible but its proof more problematic. The only source which testifies to the adherence to Khâridjism of a Black African population is the Kâôb al-Djughrijîfya of al-Zuhrî, probably written after 539/1143, which refers to a population situated, according to the context, between Ghâna and the loop of the Niger, at a time when Timbuktû [q.v.] barely existed. On travelling through the same zone, near the Niger, in 753/1352, Ibn Baštîfa notes the presence of “white” Ibadîs bearing the name of a Malînke family, that of Saghánaghû. Thus, at the approaches to the Sahel in Tadmakkât [q.v.], vigorously Ibadî in the 2nd/8th century, an African population seems to have adopted the maghribî of its commercial associates and remained loyal to it until the Almoravid upheaval, and possibly after it. It is possible that there were other analogous cases, but Ibadîsm progressed no further in Black Africa, either in time or space.

A founding movement: the Almoravid movement

Speculations on the role of the Almoravids [see AL-MURABITUN] in Black Africa are conditioned by the mediocrity of the sources. There can be no doubt that the activities of the Almoravids to the south of the Sahara in the great centuries of the expansion of developments in the north, much better documented and more “central” for classical orientalism and European history. The Almoravid movement was, however, born on the fringes of Black Africa. The rûbî which gave it its name, if it existed, was perhaps situated on an island off the southern coast of Mauritania, or even in the Senegal river, and from the outset, contingents from Takrîr, a Senegalese kingdom, are observed giving the movement their support. But the poor quality of the available sources leaves the field open to mythologies of all kinds. For purposes of prestige, the Muslim historiography of these regions regularly seeks to trace its origins to a founding movement, or what is seen as such. Thus Leo Africanus [q.v.], in 1526, recorded claims which sought to link the empire of Mali [q.v.], born in the 7th/13th century, to Abû Bakr, the cousin of Yusuf b. Taïthîn, the Almoravid sovereign, but the chronological and geographical distance, as well as the knowledge which is available regarding the origins of Mali, are sufficient refutation of these pretensions. Similarly, traditions make Ndyàday Ndyay, the legendary founder of the dynasty of Waalo, a Senegalese kingdom, a son of the same Abû Bakr, but more than two centuries separate the era of the former from that of the latter. The genealogy of Aîmad Bâbâ [q.v.], the great scholar of Timbuktû [b. 953/1356], dating back through nineteen generations to Abû Bakr, is no more convincing.

Returning to the known facts: the movement of the Murâtîbin, which led, for a century, to the constitution of a vast north-south empire, from Senegal to the Ebro, marked the rise, under the guidance of the Lamtûna tribe [q.v.], of the Shanâdja Berbers, veiled nomads of the Mauritanian desert, at the expense of their Zanâta rivals. In the economic sphere, this was reflected by seizure of exclusive control of access to West African gold: the map of the empire is shaped by the western south-north routes which transported the gold to North Africa. In the religious sphere, it marked the victory of the Maghrîbi Sunnî circles, from which it had emerged, over Khâridjite and Shî‘i disidence, then active in the Maghrib and the Sahara.

Ibn Yâsin, the stern visionary who, despite nomadic reservations, had determined the organisation and the doctrine of the Murâtîbin, died in battle in 451/1059. The titular amîr of the Lamtûna henceforward took up the mantle, in the person of Abû Bakr b. ‘Umar, nominated as successor to Ibn Yâsin and head of the community. It was after the foundation of Marrâkûsh [q.v.], according to one of the available sources, that Abû Bakr chose to return to the desert to maintain order and unity in the cradle of the movement. He delegated his authority in the north to his first cousin Yusuf b. Taïthîn, destined for an illustrious future, and became until his death, in 480/1087 (with varia-
tions in date according to sources), the leader of the southern wing of the movement, establishing his capital at Azukkî, in the Mauritanian Adrâr.

Developments at this time to the south of the Sahara are not so well known. As regards the inhabitants of Ghâna, al-Zuhîr relates that in 469/1076-7 they became Muslims in the time of the Lamtûnâ and were distinctive in their Islamic. While numerous generations of textbooks have given 1076 as the date of a conquest and a destruction of Ghâna by the Almoravids, contemporary commentators, although far from unanimous, tend to call into question both the conquest (the text of al-Zuhîr is indecisive) and the destruction (archaeology of the site of Kumbî-Sâleh, the presumed site of ancient Ghâna, rather shows evidence of a revival in the town's prosperity until the 8th/14th century). The Soninke capital would thus have become Muslim under the Almoravids, and al-Zuhîr, some fifty years after the event (539/1143), confines himself to eulogising the fervent Islam of its population, which included "ulamâ", fiqhî, and sophisticated readers of the Korân. Some years later, in 548/1154, al-Harîrî, who described Ghâna as a magnificently Muslim city, entirely Muslim, and sovereign claiming Sharîfian ancestry, through al-Hasan b. 'Ali, and acknowledging the primacy of the 'Abbâsîd caliph. Al-Zuhîr also relates how the people of Ghâna appealed for the aid of the Almoravids, of Abû Bakr in fact, "seven years" after their own conversion to Islam, i.e. ca. 476/1083, in rendering "Muslim"—meaning, in this instance, Sunni—the population of Ta'dmakkat and of another city in the region. Finally, Yâsîkî, who compiled his Mi'alâm al-baladîn in 617/1220 on the basis of earliest sources, tells of a close and doubtless ancient alliance between Zâfûnî/Fafûnî, another important Soninke kingdom, situated to the west of Ghâna, and the Almoravids, and notes the extreme deference shown by the latter towards their king on the occasion of a visit to Marrâkûsh. These various items of evidence show that the Almoravids, far from playing on an insoluble rivalry between nomadic Whites and sedentary Blacks, were capable from the outset of benefiting by firm alliances in Black countries, more specifically in the various Soninke kingdoms which encircled the southern boundaries of its empire and admitted the Maghribi caravans. As the first Islamised ethnic group of the region, the Soninke subsequently became a seed-bed of Muslim traders and teachers who diffused Islam throughout the surrounding regions.

After the death of Abû Bakr, in 490/1097, Almoravid memories continue to nourish the genealogical claims of various local nomads who thus claimed descent from him or from the eminent imâm al-Hadrâmî, the jurist of Azukkî (d. 489/1096). A distant prototype, although never claimed as such, of the West African gâhî, the 11th/17th and 13th/19th centuries, the Almoravid movement appears as a unifying, if not founding development, on the fringes of the Soninke world and in the neighbouring Sahelîan regions. It has also taken on, as a result of its reverberations, the dimensions of a creation-myth, often repeated and always in demand.

The age of the great Sudanese empires

The western Sudanese empires—with the addition of that of Kanem-Borno, in the Chad region of central Sudan—which so fascinated the newly-independent African states in the 1960s, are much better documented. These empires had nothing at all of the centralisation which is normally associated with this type of formation. These were vast superstructures, operating within shifting frontiers, in a world where control of people rather than of land, was seen as crucial. It was a matter of great families, mounted warriors and commercial networks. The mass of the peasantry, socially stratified according to ancestry, essentially pursued their economic interests, while deploring the frequency of such infractions of law, beyond the boundaries of their recognised outlets. These courtiers were also predators. In order to augment the influx of costly merchandise of Maghrib, Europe, and more distant regions, the empires extended their prestige as well as supplying them with the instruments of power (horses and, later, fire-arms), the leading groups of these empires raided and pillaged, where possible, beyond the boundaries of their recognised tributaries, or at the expense of internal or external adversaries. In principle, adherence to Islam was protection against capture and reduction to slavery, but this was a fragile protection which counted for little when weighed against the interests of the powerful. In the Mirajî al-asâdîd, a work composed in Timbuktû in 1024/1615, Aḥmad Bâbî replies to a merchant from Twât [a.e.] who has consulted him about the legal status of slaves who are natives of various regions of Sudan. He recalls the obedience to Islam of a number of Sudanese states and, consequently, the illegality of enslaving Muslims originating from these empires, while deploring the frequency of such infractions of the Sharî'a.

These empires conducted business dealings over vast spaces and contributed to the creation of new identities. The hierarchical and administrative models which they established left lasting traces; thus titulatures and functions initiated in Mali or in Bornu radiated through all the neighbouring countries, and tributary states took them over for their own purposes, retaining them in their own political systems when they became independent of imperial rule. On the other hand, the effective protection afforded to medium and long-distance trade, noted by Arab observers, led to an urban development which is nowhere more perceptible than at the loop of the Niger, where a chain of ancient and modern towns is to be found, under the successive control of Mali and of Songhay: Ja (Dia), Djenne, Timbuktû, Gao, etc.

Being privileged partners of the Arabo-Muslim world, these empires merited numerous mentions in the Arabic sources of the time, which contributed to endowing them with an "Arabised" aspect. In most cases, Maghribi and Egyptian travellers were acquainted only with the capitals and the major cities and were only partially aware of the social realities. Local Arab sources (alţawâb) help to diversify the information available, but it should not be forgotten that they emanated from urbanised families, with both scholarly and commercial interests, which themselves lived according to this openness to the Arab world, to such an extent that sometimes, as at Timbuktû, they were more Arabised than African. The Islam that was then
practised was an Islam of the court, of cities, of chiefs and merchants, still inadequately implanted and sometimes capable of offering only weak resistance to the "pagan" reactions of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. As long as the Islamisation of the higher echelons was not matched by popular Islamisation, the entire process remained limited in its effects, even if there was even a gradual vulgarisation of Islamic concepts, values and practices.

At the time that the 'Abbâsîd caliphate in Baghdâd came to a tragic end under the onslaught of the Mongols, the Islamised empires of West Africa, on the contrary, entered a phase of ascendency. Following the collapse of Ghana which, as mentioned earlier, was inherited by the Songhay regional hegemony (on the fringes of Mali and Mauritania), seems to have been dismembered during the Almoravid era (the capital city of Ghana remaining for its part, over a period of several centuries, a commercial centre of the highest importance), a new empire emerged from the local struggles, much further to the south, centred on the gold-mines of Bure, the fluvial axis of the Niger and the trade routes originating from the western and central Sahel. The mythical founder of this empire, Sunjata/Soundjata Keita (early 7th/13th century), originating from a milieu of societies of hunters endowed with both physical and magical powers, is celebrated by a highly-structured epic tradition, the dating of which is still the object of controversy. His adherence to Islam, vigorously contested by his adversaries (including the Algerian reformer Askiyd [q.v.], who espoused the cause of Timbuktu, and the "Muslim party" of the region, espoused by the son of Sonni 'Alî as a dynasty, that of the Askiyâ [the meaning of this title is still unknown]), was thus challenged for a century. Thus the Songhay empire had barely been constituted when it became the focus of a struggle between the educated and commercial élite of Timbuktu and the warrior power of Gao. Between the new and the old town, between the two systems of values, tensions, even under the Askiyâ, were recurrent. The two Tarîkhs (al-Suddn and al-Fatârî), which espoused the cause of Timbuktu, clearly reflect this mutual polarisation. In particular, the character of Sonni 'Alî as a beneficiary of the strengthening of ties with Egypt, as his advisers (including the Algerian reformer Askiyd [q.v.], and their ideals. The Askiyâ Muhammad, who began his reign with performance of the pilgrimage (between 901/1496 and 904/1498) and appointed numerous "slaves" as his advisers (including the Algerian reformer from Tlemcen, al-Maghîlî [q.v.]), corresponded well to the ideal of sultan whom they preferred. For the most part, Muhammad's successors pursued the same policy. An Islamic framework was established in the central provinces of the empire: creation of mosques and schools, appointment of kâds, of imâms and of teachers. In spite of political vicissitudes, the Songhay empire thus represents an important phase in the Islamisation of western Sudan.

The system of Sudanese empires came to an end, in western Africa, with the Moroccan conquest. Ahmad al-Mansûr [q.v.], ambitious sovereign of the new Sa'dîan dynasty, in his efforts to ward off European attacks, sought to create a vast African empire which would enable him to exert direct control over sources of gold, salt and slaves. Songhay and Morocco were specifically at odds on the issue of the salt-mines of Taghaza [q.v.], in the mid-Sahara. After an initial unsuccessful attempt, Moroccan troops led by a Spanish convert to Islam, the Paña Dîdard, took control of Gao, then of Timbuktu, in 999/1591. Moroccan pasha, increasingly detached from the mother-country, were to govern the principal towns of the loop of the Niger until 1249/1833. This marked the end of the prosperity of the region and of the power of its urban élites. Ahmad Bâhî himself spent fourteen years in detention in Morocco.

"Imperial Islam" had been dealt a mortal blow, and animist regional hegemonies were soon to be seen taking its place. But what Islam had lost at higher
Cultural and linguistic transfers were accomplished without any difficulty in these scholarly networks, which were themselves merged and blended, in the same families, even in the same individuals, with the commercial networks. A generic name, that of Wangara, which features in the Arabic sources, denotes these circles specialising in commerce. These Wangara were the precursors of the migrants and traders who were to be known at a later stage, in the world of the Malinke and in neighbouring countries, by the name of Jula. The Wangara did not belong to a single ethnic group: the term is generic and is applied to all families incorporating all the ethnic groups of the region (Berber and Negro), such as that of the AkTt, or in search of education. Thus at the end of the 9th/15th century, he had welcomed the Askiyâ Muham- mad, with whom he maintained a correspondence. It was he who was responsible for the very rapid diffusion of copies of the Ta'rikh al-Fattash (q.v.). Al-Suyûti himself was one of the co-authors, and which achieved classic status to the south of the Sahara. A judicial work of great importance also reached western Sudan, by way of Timbuktu, during the same period. This was the Mukhtarar of al-Khalil b. Ishâk (q.v.), a well-known summary of Malikî jurisprudence. By the end of the 9th/15th century, a range of studies was thus firmly established in this town. In the absence of madrasas as such, the education provided in Timbuktu was based on various initiatives, mosque-schools in particular, the best known being that of Sankore. This mosque attracted large numbers of students and teachers. It was directed by the imam, who was often also the kadi of the city. Two inter-related families, the Akit and the Anda ag-Mukhtar, supplied Sankore with its principal teachers. The fact that the Mukhtarar (composed before 776/1374) was introduced so late underlines what had long been the provincial nature of Timbuktu, as a local centre. But once it was fully developed, the scholars of the town and of the loop of the Niger, who kept themselves informed by means of cross-desert traffic and seized every opportunity to...
SUDÁN, BILÁD AL-

consult visiting intellectuals, had no doubt attained a very respectable level of competence by the standards of the period, which was that of a literature of textbooks accompanied by abundant glosses (khawāthid) and commentaries (ghuraf).

Another cultural aspect of Islamisation which deserves mention is the aspiration of scholars and of royal dynasties towards noble, i.e. eastern, origins. The Islamised dynasty of Gāhānā, as has been seen, declared its descent from al-Ḥasan b. 'All; the Keita of Mali claimed descent from Bilāl, the Prophet's muzzizin; and the Sufis of Kanem claimed Sayyid b. Dā'ī Yazan [q.v.], a Yemeni hero, as their ancestor. Many other examples could be given. The ghurafīqī (pl. of ghuraf), reputedly of the blood of the Prophet, were endowed for this reason with unqualified prestige. The Ta'rīkh al-Fatāwā relates how Mansa Mūsā made efforts to attract authentic shāfi'ī to his court, but succeeded in adding to his entourage only a few freedmen of the tribe of Kūraysh, while the Aṣkāsī Mūhammad, for his part, was able to recruit a nephew of “the prince of Mecca”, Māwālī al-Saqqī, who took up residence in Timbuktu in 925/1519. The history of these events is evidently apologetic, but it shows by what symbolic means the West African Islamic community was then seeking to take its place in the umma and to obtain titles of recognition and legitimacy which would be accepted in the central lands of the Arab world. The significance attached to these contacts with the East also illustrates the growing importance of Egypt in the African Islamic world. Until the 8th/14th century, the Magribī, the first progenitor of western Sudan, held the advantage. From the time of the pilgrimage of Mansa Mūsā, Egypt, which since the Fāṭimīds and the fall of the ‘Abbāsid caliphate had become the metropolis of Sunnism, occupied a central position, reinforced by its status as a necessary stage on the pilgrimage route. Islamised Western Sudan henceforward was following, more or less, the Egyptian model.

Ṣūfism and the brotherhoods

In the mediaeval period, the brotherhoods had not yet effectively penetrated the Sahelo-Sudanese realm, but saintly individuals and bearers of Sūfī ideas were beginning to make their appearance across the desert. The Kādiriyah [q.v.] was the first brotherhood to become widely diffused to the south of the Sahara. Claims or reconstructions contained in Kādirī sources have led some authors to adopt a fairly early chronology, for example making al-Maghfīrī (c. 900/1500), a vehicle of this interpretation, the first brotherhood to be formed. This hypothesis is based on the attainment of the brotherhood's ghuraf, and winning renown throughout the region. But Sūfī influence must have preceded the desert before the institutionalisation of the Kādiriyah. This period of “Ṣūfism without brotherhood” is one of the most obscure phases in the history of the African Islamic. A case investigated recently by H.T. Norris is that of a holy man of Air, arriving from the Maghīrī c. 900/1500, the legendary figure known by the name of Sīdī Mahmūd al-Baghdādī, who was killed at some time during the first half of the 10th/16th century on the orders of the sultan of Agādēs and the fīšīkāt of his court. Al-Baghdādī, whose teaching has been preserved by an oral tradition put into writing at a later stage, principally taught the recitation of the dhikr and the practice of ḥukūmah (solitary retreat). He left a community and disciples, whose traces were to survive for some time. The most famous of these was his nephew, al-Malīk al-Sūfī, who founded the first Sufi school in 925/1519. The Kādirī, then, after the supposed arrival of the holy man, an educated Berber prince of Mecca, Mawlay al-Saklīf, who took up residence in the town of Tādāmakkt, was dispersed between Niger and Air in the late 9th/15th century, were responsible for spreading Sūfī influence. But the time of the brotherhoods was yet to come, and these initial developments were confined to the world of Saharan scholars, Berbers for the most part.

Conclusion

The concept of western Sudan is applied especially, in history, to the mediaeval period. It is associated with the first penetration by Islam, with trans-Saharan trade and with the imperial political formations known as “Sudanese empires”. This western Sudanese space was subsequently the setting for new political experiences: re-activation of non-Muslim political systems (Bambara, Moors), then, from the 17th century onward, principally at the instigation of Fulbe scholars, outburst of a series of localised dhikrī, reformist movements which once again called into question the strategy of co-existence between Muslims and animist culture: 1138/1725-6, Futa Jalon, in Guinea; 1174/1760, Futa Toro (Middle Senegal); 1804, foundation of the caliphate of Sokoto, in northern Nigeria; 1818, Māsān in Mali; 1852, al-Hādjīdī ‘Umar, in Guinea-Mali-Senegal. Another period, other methods, another history. The term “Western Sudan”, which derived its origin and its pertinence from the external Arab viewpoint on an earlier period, then became too generic and inappropriate to denote a space where political differences were constantly accentuated, in contrast with the European conquest (from the mid-19th century) which was arising.

konevskii istorii Afrike yuzhnoe sabet' Moskow-Leningrad, 2 vols. 1960-5; Ch. de la Roncière, La découverte de l'Afrique, cartographes et explo-
Lagos 1974.

2. M. Arabic sources (or Arabic in origin) in translated or bilingual editions. Bakērī, Fr. tr. M.G. de Slane, Description de l'Afrique


3. Languages across the whole geographical Sudan.

The Arabs brought Islam to Bilad al-Sudân as traders in gold, ivory, and slaves. Already by the end of the 7th century A.D., many Arabic dialects were spoken in the great Sudanese markets. The varieties of Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (SCA) and Sudanic Arabic (SA) spoken today demonstrate that there are many affinities among them and that of the Sa'id [g.o.] or Upper Egypt, such as the preservation of Old Arabic /a/ in word-initial position for the /i/ of other dialects (cf. /al-/ “the”, Cairene /il-/ or the genitival exponents hantih or allih). The term SCA refers to any non-pidgin/non-creole dialect of Arabic used in the Republic of Sudan, whereas the term SA is a much broader designation indicative of a macro-dialect of both sedentary and Bedouin tones in the larger Bilad al-Sudân context. This article deals primarily with SCA within the larger SA framework. Also featured are several other major languages of Bilad al-Sudân. Although grammars and vocabularies of these languages (including SA) have been produced, they vary in terms of (1) quality of transcription and (2) authenticity of data. Sigismund Koelle’s Polyglotta Africana (1854) may serve as illustrative. Although a pioneering work, it is an example of the former, since his description of Chadian and Shuwa Arabic (see Gowwa, 2), among other problems, fails to mark geminisation correctly. SCA is currently spoken as a first language by more than half of the Sudan’s population of 25.2 million (1990), and as a second or third language by many more. There are also Arabic-based pidgins and creoles used in the southern Sudan (e.g. Juba Arabic) which can be characterised by (1) the loss of the pharyngeals and emphatic consonants, which happens in other SA dialects, and (2) the reduction of morphology. SCA dialects are the least investigated ones in the entire Arab world due, in part, to the complicated history of the immigration of various Arab tribes and the Arabicisation and Islamisation of the many ethno-linguistic groups which initially utilised Arabic as a lingua franca and then adapted it as a primary language. The aforementioned situation can be illustrated by taking the case of the multilingual inhabitants of the Nuba Hills, who are surrounded by SCA [see NUBA, 3]. A shift has occurred from the autochthonous tribal language to SCA via contact with the superstratum. Moreover, when villagers, who have moved to the larger towns and cities thereby acquiring SCA, return home, their newly-acquired SCA skill seemed to contribute to a higher prestige, often associated with higher-paying jobs, which has, in turn, influenced others to shift to it.

The most thoroughly studied variety of SCA after the Khartoum-Omdurman dialect is that of the camel-breeding Shukriya, who number between 150,000 and 300,000 and inhabit the Butana between the Atbara and the Blue Nile. Although they trace their ancestry back to Arabia and Dja’far b. Abi Talib, their dialect is not Arabic. SCA does have some common isoglosses with Arabian dialects, however, such as one of the genitival exponents in current use, kagg (another, bi’d, shows the close affinity with Egyptian Arabic).

Historically speaking, many Arabic-speaking tribes came to the Sudan from Egypt (e.g. the Dja’aliyyin) and the Hijazz (e.g. the Djuhayna). Among the former, it is possible today to subgroup the Shukriya, Rubatij, Mirafah, Dja’aliyyin, Kawdhia, and Ruba’, the latter can be divided among the Shukriya, Djuhayna, Hassaniyya, Hawawit, Kababib, Hamid, Salima, Hawazma, Messiriyya, Humur, Hamar, Rizagatt, Habbaniyya, Ta’aysha, and Baggara. Whether Arabian features date back to the inner-Arabian conditions or occurred later inside the Sudan itself under the influence of the Hilal and Sulaym groups remains unclear. In terms of dialect geography, however, four basic zones can be distinguished: (1) Northern, including the Arabic-speaking parts of Dongola; (2) Central, including Khartoum-Omdurman, the Gezira, and the country east of the Blue Nile; (3) Western, including the White Nile territory, Kordofan, and Dāfrūr (the Baggāra dialect constitutes a group by itself, however); and (4) Southern, including the aforementioned pidgins and creoles.

One of the most striking features of SCA dialects is the different vocabulary used. For instance, throughout the Sudan, one eats thin, round, flat bread called kisra or a thicker type thereof, gurṣa, These words are unknown in other parts of the Arab world unless the user is familiar with Sudanese cuisine. Typical isoglosses with Arabian dialects, however, such as “many,” is a particularly good illustration of the close connection with Upper Egyptian kafir (cf. Cairene kisīr but Moroccan bezżaf or Gulf Arabic wadīdī ~ wāidī). Turning to the verbal realm, most SCA dialects use the verb mawla, smīnī for “go”, whereas Egyptian and other Eastern dialects use raḥīm, yirāh (Classical bababa survives only in Yemen). Although the verb ṣawāq or ṣirīq can be heard for “want” in the Sudan, this is probably best analysed as an Egyptianism. The authentic SCA active participle is dīr, a metaphorised form of Classical form IV, ṣāḥaba with aparaesis.
Cf. SCA *dayir sinu* “what do you want?” for Egyptian *dwyx w3l* (it is Chadian and Nigerian Arabic *bas/3ad sinu* “what do you want?” which should be directly compared with the aforementioned SCA expression proving that these dialects are basically extensions of SA.

After Arabic, Hausa [*q.v.*] is the most important language of the Bilād al-Sūdān. With 22 million first-language speakers and another 10 million second-language users (1991), this West Chadic (Afroasiatic) language has supplanted over the centuries many other Chadic languages with fewer speakers. It is written today mainly in Latin script; however, Ajami (i.e. Arabic script) is still used, befitting the many Arabic loanwords.

Kanuri [*q.v.*] is the major language (Saharan subbranch of Nilo-Saharan) of Borno State, Nigeria, with 3.5 million speakers (1987). Like Hausa, it has a tradition of being written in Ajami script. There are 100,000 speakers in Chad (1985); 56,500 in Cameroon (1982); and 50,000 in Niger (1991). It is used on radio and television, and has been able to supply loanwords to the languages of the area; e.g. Nigerian Arabic *dug6* “then, afterwards” has been borrowed from Kanuri *dug6* “first”.

Fulfulde (*Fula*, Fulbe, Fulani [see *Fulbe*]) is spoken by 8.6% of the Nigerian population (7.6 million, 1991). It has four major Nigerian dialects: (1) Adamawa, spoken in Gongola State; (2) Kano-Katsina; (3) Bororo, in Bornu State; and (4) Sokoto. This Atlantic (Niger-Congo) language is spoken over a vast area since the Fulani are found in many countries, e.g. Mali has one million (1991).

Songhay [see *Songhay*] (Nilo-Saharan) has 600,000 speakers in Mali; 390,000 in Niger; 122,700 in Burkino Faso (all 1991). It continues to serve as an important trade language and is also being used as the language of primary school instruction.

Another Nilo-Saharan language is Bagirmi [*q.v.*] (30,000 to 40,000 speakers, 1977), spoken in Chad and Nigeria. It was the language of the ancient Bagirmi Kingdom and has many second-language users.

Wolof (Atlantic sub-branch of Niger-Congo [see *Senegal* 1]) is spoken by 36% of the population of Senegal (1976) and 14.6% of the population of Gambia (1982). Together, the Gambian and Senegalese dialects have 3 million speakers (1987). Another 3 million speak it as a second language (1991). It is also used in Mali and Mauritania.

Other important languages of this area include Tamasheq (Berber, Afroasiatic), Bambara and Mandinka (both Mande, Niger-Congo).


**SUDAYF B. MAYMUN**, Arab poet of the 2nd/8th century.

Sudayf b. Mahar b. Maymūn, *mawla* of the Khūzā‘a, or of the Banu ‘Ib-Abbas, or of the Banū Ḥāghim, was born in Mecca during the final years of the Umayyad dynasty. From an early age he was a supporter of the Khājiqāmites against the latter and was even, according to al-Isfahānī, the leader of a sect, the Sudayfīyya, opposing a pro-Umayyad group organised by a certain Sayyāb. After the seizure of power by the ‘Abbāsids, Sudayf left Mecca for al-Ḥira, where he approached the caliph al-Saffāḥ and tried without success to persuade him to slaughter certain remaining Umayyads. But following the revolt of Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ali [*q.v.*], known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, at Medina and that of his brother Ibrāhīm at Baṣra, Sudayf openly sided with the ‘Alīds against the ‘Abbāsids, supporting them with his poetry and with the money which he had previously accepted from the latter. However, after the failure of both these revolts Sudayf fled to Medina or to Mecca, appealing for pardon to the caliph al-Manṣūr. According to a source quoted by Ibn al-Mu‘azzz, this pardon was granted, but another source, generally considered more reliable, insists that the caliph rejected his approaches, took a personal dislike to him, and instructed one of his uncles, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī or Dāwūd b. ‘Alī, then governors of Mecca and of Medina respectively, to assassinate him. One of them carried out this instruction in the year 147/764.

Of a *dībān* of 30 folios, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, composed by Sudayf b. Maymūn, all that remains, or more accurately, all that Ridwan Māhdl al-‘Aghdnī of Isfāhn, al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, at Medina, and al-Ṣanā‘ī, *Nusmat al-sahar,* still in manuscript (5 fragments) and al-Amīlī, *Adḥn al-dīfā‘* (13 fragments). As reconstructed, these 20 fragments are of unequal length. Only five can be regarded as ḵādās, the other fifteen comprising between one and six verses.

Sudayf employs eight metres. Foremost are kāmil and khāliṣ (5 fragments), followed by ḥast (4 fragments), ṭaṣwīl (2 fragments), and finally, madīd, wafīr, rama‘l and mu‘akhdhir (1 fragment). For rhyme, eight letters are used: nīn (5 times), yt‘ (3 times), hawm, n‘a and dāl (twice) and finally ba‘, ba‘ and dāl (once).

Sudayf b. Maymūn addresses the principal themes of Arabic poetry. In fact, his *dībān* includes three erotic fragments (nos. 7, 14 and 17) with a total length of 16 verses, a satirical fragment (no. 5, one verse), a laudatory fragment (no. 6, two verses) dedicated to a certain Dūmahūf, a dirge (no. 10, two verses) in which he laments over his “men”, probably meaning the Shī‘īs, and finally and of the greatest importance, fifteen political fragments which could be placed under two major headings. Under the first heading are a number of fragments (no. 2, 18 verses, no. 11, 4 verses and no. 13, 2 verses) in which Sudayf attacks the Umayyads, whom he describes as unjust and misguided, reproaching them in particular over the killing of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī and of Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn. The fragments of the second category may also be divided into two groups. On the one hand, Sudayf addresses eulogies to the ‘Abbāsids, noble guides and leaders, and especially to the caliph al-Saffāḥ (no. 20, 7 verses and no. 6, 8 verses), whom he describes as a “well-guided and supreme chief”; but on the other hand he attacks these same caliphs, especially after the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, and condemns them as impious, proclaiming at the same time his allegiance to the ‘Alīds, envisaging their recovery of the caliphate (no. 16, 9 verses). Finally, on account of his opposition to the Umayyads and his virulent satires against the ‘Abbāsids, whom he had previously praised, and his eulogies of the Ḥājiqāmites and ‘Alīds in particular, Sudayf b. Maymūn is classed as a Shī‘ī poet,
and consequently he was placed by Ibn Shahrashub (Mu'ālim al-ul'amā', 151) among the Shaf'īs' Ahī al-Bayt al-muktaṣarīn and among the Ṣa'īdīs' al-ghābiyya by al-Ṣālimi.

**Bibliography:** Among the works mentioned in the article, the most important are 'Amīlī, Ṣa'īdī al-dīnī, xxxii, 3-25; Rā'idī, Muḥīr al-ḥuṣn wa al-ṣūdūr, 35; Sudayf b. Maymūn, Nafh; Sudayf b. Maymūn, Naqd, 1974. See also S. Moscati, Le massacre des Umayyades dans l'histoire et dans les fragments poétiques, in *ArO*, viii/4 (1950), 88-115, Prague 1950; Taib El Acheche, *La poésie ḍīṭīte*, thesis, Paris-Sorbonne 1988, unpubl. 

(TAIB EL ACHECHE)

---

**SUDAYR [see sudayrī].**

**SUDAYRĪ (AL-SADĀRĪ),** the name of one of the most prestigious clans of the al-Dawāsir [q.v.]. They derive their name from Sudayr (or Sadāri), a northernmost district of Najd, in modern Saudi Arabia, north of the valley of al-'Aţīq [q.v.]. Wadī Sudayr, known as Bāṭīn al-Sudayrī, runs northwest of al-Riyād. In recent centuries they ruled in the oases of al-‘Awda, Djaladjil, al-Majmūʿa, al-Ǧīḥāt, and Sudayrī, the latter being the name of one of the sweet water wells of Ḥafar al-‘Aţīq. Ever since the 12th/19th century, their presence has been intimately associated with the Al Suṣī [q.v.].


(E. VAN DONZEL)

---

**AL-SUDDĪ, ISMA'IL B. 'ABD AL-RAJĀM,** a mawla of Ẓaynab b. ʿAlī. a popular preacher in Kufa, who is said to have died in the most prestigious clans of the al-Dawasir [q.v.], and among the most authoritative and outshining earlier works by Shem dūla and the Al Suṣī [q.v.] isndds [q.v], the Al-Suṣī [q.v.] and the Al Suṣī [q.v.] support canonical traditions that, like the Al Suṣī [q.v.] and the Al Suṣī [q.v.], could conceive of the Al Suṣī [q.v.], 351/762. Whether such a compilation would allow consensus in the usual approach of the old commentators, who stressed only the intellectual content of Persian poetry rather than its formal aspect, which they regarded as self-evident (see also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 299, 302).

**Bibliography:** For titles in addition to those mentioned in the article, see Hoca’s work, on which this article draws broadly for biographical detail; and see also Mustafa ʿOzkân, *Mehmed b. Kâbûri* (ed. of Persian, 1512/1605), [see DERWISH PASHA] was to mention Sudī in the preface to his *Müsâāb-name*. Sudī’s recension of the *Dāwān* of Ḥāfiz (3 vols., Bulāk 1250/1834) is said to have been produced at the suggestion of Muhammad b. Badr al-Din Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Munṣīḥ of Akhisar [see ʿAzīzī b.]. Considered authoritative and outstanding earlier works by Shem dūla and Surūrī (see Rütter, in *Arart. Ḥāfiz*), it was used for editions by Persian scholars as well as for studies by Western orientalists. His *ridās* on the second *bayt* of the first ghāzal in the *Dāwān* of Ḥāfiz and on one *bayt* of Saʿīdī’s *Gulṣtān* are included in the study by Nazif Hoca (see above). The former is shown by Rypka *(History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 103) as an exception to the usual approach of the old commentators, who stressed only the intellectual content of Persian poetry rather than its formal aspect, which they regarded as self-evident (see also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 299, 302).

**SUDĪ, AHMED** (mod. Tkish. Ahmet, and sometimes referred to, incorrectly it seems, as Mehmet), also known as Sudī-yi (or Ahmed-i) Bosnawi, Ottoman scholar noted as a commentator on the *Dāwān* of Ḥāfiz [q.v.], the *Gulṣtān* and *Bustān* of Saʿīdī [q.v.], and other Persian works. He was born in Bosnia at Sudī (where his nisba), a village near the town of Foča which, being better known, some sources give as his birthplace. His birthdate is unknown, as are the names of his parents and other details of his family beyond the fact that he remained unmarried, a remark in his *Bustān* comments: On the Hafiz state of the Prophet, Jesus, he never took a wife (Nazif M. Hoca, *Sūdī*, *Ḥāfiz*, or ʿAzīzī b.). The former is shown by Rypka *(History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 103) as an exception to the usual approach of the old commentators, who stressed only the intellectual content of Persian poetry rather than its formal aspect, which they regarded as self-evident (see also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 299, 302).

**Bibliography:** For titles in addition to those mentioned in the article, see Hoca’s work, on which this article draws broadly for biographical detail; and see also Mustafa ʿOzkân, *Mehmed b. Kâbûri* (ed. of Persian, 1512/1605), [see DERWISH PASHA] was to mention Sudī in the preface to his *Müsâāb-name*. Sudī’s recension of the *Dāwān* of Ḥāfiz (3 vols., Bulāk 1250/1834) is said to have been produced at the suggestion of Muhammad b. Badr al-Din Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Munṣīḥ of Akhisar [see ʿAzīzī b.]. Considered authoritative and outstanding earlier works by Shem dūla and Surūrī (see Rütter, in *Arart. Ḥāfiz*), it was used for editions by Persian scholars as well as for studies by Western orientalists. His *ridās* on the second *bayt* of the first ghāzal in the *Dāwān* of Ḥāfiz and on one *bayt* of Saʿīdī’s *Gulṣtān* are included in the study by Nazif Hoca (see above). The former is shown by Rypka *(History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 103) as an exception to the usual approach of the old commentators, who stressed only the intellectual content of Persian poetry rather than its formal aspect, which they regarded as self-evident (see also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 299, 302).

**Bibliography:** For titles in addition to those mentioned in the article, see Hoca’s work, on which this article draws broadly for biographical detail; and see also Mustafa ʿOzkân, *Mehmed b. Kâbûri* (ed. of Persian, 1512/1605), [see DERWISH PASHA] was to mention Sudī in the preface to his *Müsâāb-name*. Sudī’s recension of the *Dāwān* of Ḥāfiz (3 vols., Bulāk 1250/1834) is said to have been produced at the suggestion of Muhammad b. Badr al-Din Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Munṣīḥ of Akhisar [see ʿAzīzī b.]. Considered authoritative and outstanding earlier works by Shem dūla and Surūrī (see Rütter, in *Arart. Ḥāfiz*), it was used for editions by Persian scholars as well as for studies by Western orientalists. His *ridās* on the second *bayt* of the first ghāzal in the *Dāwān* of Ḥāfiz and on one *bayt* of Saʿīdī’s *Gulṣtān* are included in the study by Nazif Hoca (see above). The former is shown by Rypka *(History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 103) as an exception to the usual approach of the old commentators, who stressed only the intellectual content of Persian poetry rather than its formal aspect, which they regarded as self-evident (see also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 299, 302).
under the Mughal emperor Awrangzib (1658-1707), Hindu chronicler of Muslim India and compiler of collections of inqā`a (genealogical) literature. The name Sudjān (probably not to be taken as Sandjān, as in the 'EA article) of his family, since 1845 meaning "well-informed, wise, intelligent," according to Storey.

Very little is known of his life and career, apart from what he tells us in his books or what has been added to the manuscripts of them by their copists. In the preface to his history (see 1. below), he states that he was by profession a munaqī` or secretary in the civil and financial administration of the Mughal empire, that he was born at Batala (in the Gujardāspūr District) in the Pandjāb and that he visited Kābul, probably Thāţā and the Pindjāwar Garden at the foot of the Himalayas.

He is the author of:

1. The Khuldsat al-tawāridh, completed in 1107/1695-6. It is a history of India from the earliest times to the accession of Awrangzib in 1669-1659, with his narrative ending in 1668-1658. He based it on a number of historical works in Persian, which he enumerated in the preface to his history. It contains an "epitome of histories", but is of interest as being written by a Hindu. It also contains a valuable geographical section, with particular information about the Pandjāb. Much of the Khuldsā in was incorporated in the Sīyar al-muta`ākhkhūrīn of Ghulām Husayn Khān Tābātābā`ī (q.v.), written shortly afterwards, and in the Aghkār-i Mahabbat of Nawwab Mahabbat Khān. A free Urdu adaptation of the earlier part of the Khuldsā, on the geography of India and on the Hindu Rājās of Delhi, was made in 1219-21/1804-5 by the Urdu poet Mīr Shīr `All "Afsū` (q.v.). The Khuldsā was edited by M. Zafar Hasan, lith. Dīlī 1918; sections are tr. in Elliot and Dowson, History of India, viii, 5-12, and by Jadunath Sarkar in The India of Awrangzib (topography, statistics and roads) ..., Calcutta 1901. See on the Khuldsā, H. Beveridge, The Khuldsāt al-tawāridh, or Essence of History, in JARAS (1894), 733-68 (1895), 211; Storey, i, 453-8.

2. The Khuldsāt al-āṣāba` and the Khuldsāt al-makābīb, two collections of inqā`a or ornament official prose by Persian and Indo-Muslim authors, compiled in the 1690s and so far unpublished. See Storey, iii/2, E. Ornate prose, 318.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

Mohammed Shafi-[C. E. Bosworth] (ed. Kline-Rosenberger, ii), the following hadith is given: "Fulfill your legal alms obligations, for God has freed you from al-Sudjā and al-Badjā" (missing from the Concordance). The commentator says that al-Sudjā was an idol. As for al-Badjā, this is the blood drawn from an incision (faṣīd) of a camel's vein, on which the Araba used to feed in times of dearth. But according to T.A, ii, 6, al-Badjā was an idol too. In this case, the second part of the tradition would have the following meaning "... for God has freed you from al-Sudjā and al-Badjā" (in regard to whom you used to have to pay a tenth on the lowering of the water table, the tree, in order to survive, must be lowered too—an arduous and risky operation. The palm groves produce several varieties of dates, such as the famous da`astār nā`īr (3.5% of the total, for export only) and the soft dates, ghur (78% of the total, the staple food of the Sufa). The total number of trees went up from 154,000 in 1883 to 441,000 in 1930 (Cauvet 1934, 95). Vegetables, too,
are grown in the ghawts, as well as snuff tobacco. Cereals must be imported. Livestock is raised mostly by the nomads. Textiles produced include burnuses, shawls and carpets. A supplement of income is provided by smuggling (notably of gunpowder). A closed chapter in the Sufi economy is the black slave trade and slavery, which only stopped completely as late as 1922 (Leselle 1955, 20).

Islam in the Suf. The Suafa are Mālikis. The Fātūmid and Khaḍījite heresies left no trace in the Suf, and much the same applies to the 16th-century maraboutic Shābbīyya. Only the implantation of three major Sufi orders, the Rāhāmīyya, the Tā'īṣ and the Kādirīyya [grec] in the 19th century and the rivalry between the latter two, has made religion a prime factor in Sufi life and politics. The Rāhāmīns were the first to found a lodge at al-Wād (1815). By 1858 they had some 10,000 members. Next came the Tā'īṣ, who founded a lodge at Kmār, an extension of Tamahat at Tamāsin in the Rīgh valley. Being staunch collaborators of the French, they enjoyed their trust and favour, but the two main lodges at ‘Ayn Mādī and Tamāsin were long divided over the supreme headship of the order. The Kādirīyya became active in the Suf thanks to two brothers from Nafīṣ, al-Ḥāǧīmī and al-Īmān, who built two lodges in the Amish area (1887, 1892). The Kādirīs were welcomed by the Rāhāmīns, but the Tā'īṣān took an unfavourable view of the new competitor. Thus began a 30-year long rivalry (1895-1924), which divided the Suf into two camps. To bolster his position, al-Ḥāǧīmī likewise offered his services to the French, who, though mistrustful, used him to expand their Sahara trade, check smuggling and obtain information on the Turks and the Sanāta. When he incited his followers against the French, he was banished to Tunisia (1918). After the demise of both his Tā'īṣī rivals and his own one (1923), their successors made peace (1924), but the rise of the Orthodox Reform movement [see Ṣaff]. i and SALARFYVA threatened the entire maraboutic establishment. By 1932, the Suf was again divided into two blocs, for and against the Reformists. The Kādirī chief ‘Abd al-‘Azīz denounced the marabouts and joined the AUMA (Algerian Ulamā’ Assoc.) in 1937, which prompted Ibn Bāḍīs to spread the reformist gospel in the Suf (Pigoreau 1934, 36). Despite their success, the membership of the three orders did not diminish: in 1945 it averaged 15,000 for each (Kielsker 1987, 2-14).

Religious differences were not the only ones to divide the Suf. It was also plagued by tribal alliances based on enmity between neighbouring villages [see Ṣaff]. These factions became involved in regional rivalries: between Tuğurtt and Tamāsin, the Bū-‘Ukkāz and the Ben Gānā. From this involvement, the Suf sought the protection of three major Sufi orders, the Rāhāmīyya, the Tā'īṣ and the Kādirīyya, which gave them as bureaucrats in independent Algeria (Kielsker 1987, 23).

i, 44), carpets, bīsāt, fardh (or farsh); and in the garment industries in a variety of woollen clothes (diyāb al-sīf); dībā' (woollen cloaks), bāgh (woollen wraps), aṣaṣiya (clothes; kīšā min sīf) (in al-Baladhūrī, Ansāb, iv/2, 275) are mentioned in towns (Götte, op. cit., i, 105, 419, nn. 37-9); M. Shatzmiller, in a study in the medieval Islamic world, Leiden 1994, 120, 123) as well as in the countryside, among sedentary people as well as pastoralists.

The assumption of E. Ashton (Les lainages dans l'Orient médialé, 1976, 673 ff., repr. in his Studies on the Levantine trade, London 1978) that the system of wool manufacturing in the Islamic Near East declined due to the dumping of European exports, remains to be proved. Thus, for example, one of the guilds in Ottoman Jerusalem, a backwater provincial town, is named al-qā'id al-hibbā and the whole of the first month Farwardīn and the one in which he had been born, Aban. His son Djahangīr (tr. H. Blochmann, i, 51-2, more accurately tr. in Shireen Moosvi, note [q.v.]). His chronicler Abu '1-Fadl al-Kākhaš, xxii [1968], 1-18) notes that in the technical logical meaning, but merely “sceptics” in the epistemological sense, i.e. those who deny knowable essences; see on this, J. van Ess, Scepticism in Islamic thought, in Al-Abbātī, xxi [1968], 1-18) as a source of heresy.

Sophistic, whose basic text was the Sophistical refutations broadly dealt with fallacy in syllogistic discourse. The great philosopher al-Fārābī, whom Muhsin Mahdī has aptly characterised as “the Imām of logicians”, spoke of sophistry in the same breath as dialectic (ijād). Deborah Black notes that “Fārābī sometimes links sophistry to widely-accepted premises, distinguishing it from dialectic on the grounds that dialectic takes premises that are in fact widely-accepted, whereas sophistry takes those that only appear or are presumed to be so” (Logic and Aristotle's Rhetoric and Poetics, 96, no. 129). In sum, we can identify, from all these definitions, a broad agreement in mediaeval Islamic thought about the meaning of the word “sophist” and a general logical suspicion of those who engaged in sophistry. It is worth noting here, too, that several went further and added a religious dimension to their discussions. Ibn al-Dawwaf, for example, in his Talbis Iblīs examined the Sophists (here, not in the technical logical meaning, but merely “sceptics” in the epistemological sense, i.e. those who deny knowable essences; see on this, J. van Ess, Scepticism in Islamic thought, in Al-Abbātī, xxi [1968], 1-18) as a source of heresy.

Bibliography: See also Bussāl As‘ād, Information about costume in Arabic literature, M.A. thesis, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1966, unpubl. (Y. Fenkel)

SUFIYA (P.), the term applied to the days of abstinence from eating meat introduced by the Mughal emperor of India, Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 [g.v.]). His chronicler Abu 'l-Fadl Allāmī [g.v.] notes in his Aḥnī-i Akbarī (tr. H. Blochmann, i, 51-2, more accurately tr. in Shireen Moosvi, Episodic in the life of Akbar. Contemporary records and reminiscences, New Delhi 1994, 100-1) that Akbar abstained thus on Fridays and Sundays, and then on various other days of the year, including the whole of the first month Farwardīn and the one in which he had been born, Abān. His son Džāhāngīr
continued the practice, with sufiyana meals on Sundays in his father’s memory and on Thursdays to commemorate his own accession. It has been plausibly suggested that both Sufi Muslim and Hindu and Jain influences played parts in determining Akbar’s practice here.


(C.E. Bosworth) 

SUFIYYA, an early Islamic religious group defined by the heresiographers as the name of a Kharijite sect arising out of the breakup of the Kharijite community in Basra in the year 648/683-4.

The heresiographers commonly derive the name from a founder variously called ‘Abd Allah b. al-Asfar, ‘Abd Allah b. al-Saffar al-Sa’di al-Tamimi, or Ziyâd b. al-Asfar, who was active at the time of the breakup. This founder is almost certainly fictitious. The scholars of the Sufiyya themselves, according to al-Mubarrad, narrated that the Kharijites, at the time of their original rebellion against ‘Aff, chose ‘Abd Allah b. Wabh al-Rasibi as their imam, rejecting Ma’dan b. Malik al-Ya’di because he condemned those Kharijites who would not join the revolt. The Sufiyya, therefore, dissociated themselves (bani’t) from Ma’dan (Mubarrad, Kamil, 528-9). This may well be a back-projection of the later conflict with the Azarika (q.v.) into the time of the founders of the Kharijite movement. It shows, however, that the foundation figure of Ibn al-Asfar was unknown to the Sufiyya. Some sources rather mention an otherwise unknown ‘Ubayda b. Ka’bi as the spokesman of the Sufiyya at the time of the breakup.

In reality the name Sufiyya was derived from the description of early Kharijite worshipers, even before the breakup, as suf (al-sudu’dah) “yellow-faced” as a result of their constant ascetic devotions, and was initially applied to the Kharijites in general. The early Basran Kharijite leader Abû Bilād Mirdâs b. Udayya (q.v.) [killed in 61/680], who was famous for his pious devotion, is described as the imam of the Sufiyya in the account of al-Baghdâdi (Fark, 72). Naṣr b. ‘Aṣim al-Laythi dissociated himself from the Basran Kharijites, calling them al-yufr al-dûhân in two lines of poetry to be dated around 667/685-7. A mere jibe of the name is the derivation of the name offered by al-Asma’i, who suggested that it should be read Sufiyya and explained that someone had addressed an imprisoned Kharijite as “a zero (ṣifr) in religion” (Lišin al-‘Arab, s.v. Sufiyya).

1. In Arabia and the Islamic East.

When militant Kharijite groups left the Basran community and rose in rebellion in 647/683-4, they were named after their leaders, while the name Sufiyya came to denote the moderates, those who remained “sitting” (ka’ad or ka’ad). Naṣr al-Laythi thus mentions the followers of Nādira and Ibn al-Asrâr (al-ladhîn naṣarâk) separately from the Sufiyya. Only the Azarikas, however, broke radically with the moderates, declaring the ka’ad polytheists (mushrikun), and are never counted among the Sufiyya. The Nâdirât (q.v.) defended the conduct of the ka’ad and evidently maintained their ties with the Basran community. The heresiographers also date the schism between Sufiyya and the moderate Ibdâyya (q.v.) in 648/683-4. The Ibdâyya, however, at this stage appear to have constituted merely a current among the moderates. Their separate sectarian identity was definitely established only under the leadership of Abu ‘Ubayda Muslim b. ‘Abd Karîm beginning ca. 95/714. Some of the Ibdâyya thus backed the revolts of Sâlih b. Musarrî in 761/767-72, and Sâlih b. Yazîd in 767-768, although they were subsequently counted as Sufri leaders. Similarly the Bayhasiya, followers of Abû Bayhas (q.v.), were initially a separate current within the Sufiyya, and only later developed into a relatively radical, separate sect. At the time of the breakup in 648/683-4, Abû Bayhas is reported to have accused Ibn al-Azrâk of extremism and ‘Abd Allah b. Ibad of short-coming (takâfi’d) because of the latter’s assertion that non-Khârijite Muslims were not polytheists but merely rejectors of God’s bounties (mufriz bi’-num), Abû Bayhas argued that these were mushrikun, but that it was licit for the Khârijites to live temporarily in face with the infidels while practicing religious dissimulation (takyupa), to intermarry with them and to inherit from them. This was in fact the common opinion of the Sufiyya.

After the death of Abû Bilâl in 61/680, the learned ascetic and poet ‘Imrân b. Ḥittân (q.v.), according to al-Baghdâdi (Fark, 71), became the imam of the Sufiyya. This is confirmed by al-Dhâjiz (Bayân, i, 47, 346), who describes ‘Imrân as the chief of the ka’ad of the Sufiyya, their spokesman in religious matters (jâhid fî jihâd), and their refuge when they disagreed. ‘Imrân must have been active as leader in Basra until 75/694, when al-Hajîjî (al-ladhîn tazarrûk) became governor of ‘Irâk and ‘Imrân, persecuted by him, was compelled to leave the town and go into hiding. No supreme chief of the Basran Sufiyya is known thereafter. Al-Mubarrad (Kamil, 359) mentions al-Ruhayn b. Sâm al-Muradî as a Sufri leader, equally learned and gifted in poetry as ‘Imrân, whose contemporary he appears to have been. Al-Dhâjiz names as scholars of the Sufiyya ‘Ubayd b. ‘Azra al-Duba’î (d. 140/757), al-Kâsim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. ‘Ubayda’î (d. 193/808) as important and Mulay. Only the first of these is otherwise known as a transmitter of historical reports, poet and orator. According to al-Dhâjiz, he was during most of his life a radical Shi’i before becoming a Sufri. Closer to his own time, al-Dhâjiz describes the well-known Basran philologist and historian Abû ‘Ubayda Ma’mar b. al-Maghânî (d. 209/824-5; q.v.) and the Kufan historian al-Haytham b. ’Adî (d. between 206/821 and 209/824; q.v.) as Sufri Khârijites. Neither of these men were sectarian activists. Abû ‘Ubayda had at most sentimental Khârijite sympathies; the case of al-Haytham is even more doubtful.

The first armed revolt of the Sufiyya was led by Sâlih b. Musarrî in the north of Minopotamia in 761/683-4, and was continued after his death by Sâlih’s son Shâbîb b. Yazîd al-Shaybânî (q.v.). The rebellion was evidently provoked by al-Hajîjî’s persecution of ‘Imrân b. Ḥittân and other leaders of the ka’ad. Sâlih was a pietist with ties to Khârijites in Kufa, and is said to have preached Khârijite views in Dârân for twenty years before his move. His followers were mostly of the Banû Shaybân of Bakr and other Rabi’îa. He was later venerated as a martyr, and recitations from his collected sermons were performed at his tomb. Sufri Khârijism became entrenched among the Rabi’îa in northern Minopotamia and numerous Khârijite revolts erupted there. In 100-117/718-20 Shâwîl b. Bistam al-Yaghkurî rose and was killed. In 119/737 Buhîlî b. Bîshr rose near Mawṣîl backed by the Banû Shaybân and Yashkur, and al-Sâhîrî, a son of Shâbîb b. Yazîd, revolted at Dâibbul among the Banû Taym al-Lat b. Thâliba. Both were killed in battle. On a much larger scale was the Sufri rebellion which erupted after the murder of the caliph al-Walid II in 126/744. It was at first led by Sâlih b. Bahdîl al-Shaybânî, who defeated a Buyahsi rival and
died as he moved against Kūfa. He was succeeded by al-Dāhhak b. Kayṣ al-Shaybānī [q.v.], who had long been recognised among the Kharījītes as a religious scholar with distinct views. His followers were sometimes counted as a separate sect called the Sūfriyya. In al-Shahrazūr, al-Dāhhak was joined by large groups of Sufriyya, some of whom had previously taken possession of Ṭennin and Adhārbaḍyān. Al-Dāhhak seized Kūfa, and Wāṣṭ. The Umayyad governor of Kūfa, ‘Umar II’s son ‘Abd Allāh, surrendered and pledged allegiance to al-Dāhhak. There was general amazement that a Kūraṣī prince should pray behind a Kharījīte imām. B. Shadhlūya, the Kurāshī prince, was then joined by another Umayyad prince, Sulaymān, son of the caliph Hishām. Al-Dāhhak was killed fighting Marwān II at Karantṭāḥ in 128/746. His second successor, Shaybān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Yaghjūrī was driven out of Mawsil by Marwān’s army and moved with his followers to Fārs, where he headed the Djaṭarī (267-83/880-96). The latter two seized control of eastern Mesopotamia, and especially in the region of Mawsil. Ibn al-Athīr and other sources report revolts in the years 133/750-1, 160-2/776-9, 168/784-5, 171/787-9, 176/792-3, 179-80/796-7, 187/802-3, 190/805-6, 202/818-19, 214/829 (location uncertain), 231/845-6, 248/862-3, 252/865, 257/870-1, 267/880-1 and 317-18/929-31 (see Veccia Vaglieri, in RSO, xxv, 39-40). Although these rebellions most often are qualified merely as Kharījīte, they may generally be counted as Sūfī. Yāsīn al-Tāmīmī, who rose in 168/784-5, is described as inclining to the doctrine of Sālīḥ b. Musarrīḥ. B. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajdālī (killed in 283/896) is called a Sūfī. Most of the revolts, which at first involved chiefly the Banū Shaybān and Yaghjūr and later the Taghlib, Bajdil, and even Hamdān, were minor and quickly suppressed. They reflect the will to seek martyrdom as gūrāt following the example of the early Kharījītes. More serious were the rebellions of al-Walī al-Madīnī al-Taghlibī (178-9/794-6), which alarmed the caliph Hārūn al-Raṣīlī, and of Mustawīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Bajdālī (252-63/866-77) and Hārūn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajdālī (267-83/880-96). The latter two seized control of extensive territories in northern Mesopotamia, where they collected taxes. Hārūn al-Bajdālī at first had to defeat a rival, Muḥammād b. Ḥurrāzād, a popular Kharījīte worshipper, probably a Kurd, with a strong following in al-Shahrazūr. Among Hārūn’s followers was the Kurd Ibrāhīm b. Shādhilīya, the father of Daysam (d. 346/957), a Kharījīte who rose in the military service of Yusuf b. Abī ‘l-Saǧī and, after the fall of the Sād-jāds, from 326/935-6 for some time held sway over Adhārbaḍyān and Armenia, backed by Kurdish troops.

Ideologically, the Sūfriyya were strongly attached to the memory of the early Kharījītes, whom they venerated and emulated as martyrs of their cause. They dissociated themselves from those Kharījīte groups who, in their eyes, derived from the path of the pious ancestors like the Azārīka and the Ibhādiyya. Unlike the latter they did not develop a theological and legal school doctrine of their own and did not participate in the debates of the kalām theologians in the 2nd/8th century. Since Sūfriyya was initially a general name for Kharījītes, the heresiographers tended to view Kharījītes sects as factions of the Sūfriyya. In fact, all Kharījīte sects except for the Azārīka have been described by one or the other heresiographer as deriving from the Sūfriyya. Specific doctrines ascribed to "the Sūfriyya" evidently were not held by these in general but by some group otherwise viewed as a Sūfī sub-sector.


2. In North Africa.

By the mid-2nd/8th century, the label Sūfriyya was regularly applied to the Maghrib to those Kharījīte Berber tribes with no Ibhādi affiliation. Local tradition identifies the first Sūfī missionary in the West as ‘Ikrima (q.v., the Berber client of Ibn ‘Abdābābā), from whom two notable Sufī leaders in the first half of the 2nd/8th century are said to have acquired their knowledge of Kharījīte teachings. ‘Ikrima’s presence is known in Kayrawān, if in fact historical, would have to be placed at the end of the 1st/7th or the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. However, the account preserved in Ibhādi sources (in which ‘Ikrima is pictured arriving in Ifrikiyya on the same camel as that of his Ibhādi counterpart) does not bear much scrutiny, and is probably best seen in the context of later Sūfī-Ibhādi rivalry, and the eventual absorption of the Sufriyya into the Ibhādiyya (Abū Zakariyyā’ī, Ṣiyār, 25-6; al-Dardjīnī, Māḏūrīk, i, 11).

Whatever their beginnings, Sufī teachings spread most quickly among the remote Berber tribes of the western Maghrib, where they served to promote active resistance to Arab domination at a time when the Ibhādiyya further east had yet to declare themselves openly in revolt. By 122/739-40, the Sufriyya in the region around Tangier were in open rebellion under the leadership of Maysara al-Maghāfīrī (q.v.). Maysara’s tribal support was broad and heterogeneous, and included (besides the Maghāra themselves) elements of the Māḏūrīk and the Bakhawātā. Some of the Latinised Berbers (aṭīrīkā) in Tangier may also have been involved, if we are to judge from Maysara’s decision to appoint ‘Abd al-‘Āl b. ‘Abd al-‘Ālī al-Inārī, governor of Tangier after the Sufri capture of the town.

Although Maysara was recognised as khulīfl, the title was always subject to revocation in the Kharījīte circles, and in 123/740 Maysara was deposed and killed by his own followers and replaced by Khālid b. Hamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanāfī. A recent military defeat suffered by Maysara, as well as tribal rivalries within the Sufī coalition, may also have played a part in Maysara’s decision to appoint ‘Abd al-‘Āl b. Djuraydī al-Inārī, governor of Tangier after the Sufri capture of the town...
123/740 at the so-called "Battle of the Nobles" (ghazwat al-sufriyya), and the second later that year at Nafidra/Ba`nias and Sa`id on the Sultan river. With Kraywan itself threatened, the governor of Egypt, Al Temein b. Safwan [g.v.], was sent by the caliph Harun to pacify the west. Unable to crush the Sufriyya completely, he did at least prevent Kraywan from falling into Kharijite hands by defeating Sufri armies at al-Karn and al-Ashur in 124/742.

Despite these setbacks, the Sufriyya continued to threaten the stability of Arab rule in Ifriqiya. The Fihrids ruler at Kraywan, `Abd al-Rahman b. Habbir [g.v.], was forced to contend with a Sufri conquest of the town and with excesses committed against Arabs and others. However, the relationship between the Sufriyya and the Sufriyya is by no means clear, and there is no good evidence linking such excesses to Sufi teachings. It is notable that the Ibadi sources do not regard the Sufriyya as Sufis, even while making of their atrocities a pretext for the Ibadi conquest of Kraywan in 141/758 (al-Sham`aghi, Syur, i, 115-17; Abu Zakariyya `,Siyar, g.v.).

It is likely that the increasing strength of their Sufi rivals is what pushed the Ibadi to proclaim an Imamate in 140/757. The Ibadi Imam Abu l-Khaatub's [g.v.] conquest of Ifriqiya in 141/758-9, followed shortly afterward by the consolidation of 'Abbasid power in Ifriqiya and the eastern Maghrib under Ibn al-Ash'ath, had the effect of pushing the centres of Sufi power south and west, from Ifriqiya to the central Maghrib. At Tilimsan (Tlemcen), Abu Kurra was able to establish an independent Sufri state based on the power of the Idrisids. The revolt of Idrisids. This may have led to the change. It is in any case from Samgha b. Wasil that the Sufri Midrarid line of rulers would eventually issue [see MIDRARS]. Whatever Sufri identity the Midrarids maintained may have worked to preserve their independence from the neighbouring Ibadi Rustamids [see RUSTAMIDS] 'imams, with whom they normally enjoyed friendly relations. (The succession conflict which raged in Ifriqiya between 221/835 and 224/838 suggests the importance which many attached to the state's maintaining a Kharijite identity distinct from that of the Rustamids.) Their sectarian independence also allowed the Midrarids to sponsor non-Ibadi Kharijite rebels elsewhere in the Maghrib. The Sufri rebellion which a certain 'Abd al-Razza`k led against the Idrisids, and which reached the town of Fas (Fez) before being crushed in 292/904, appears to have been incited and supported by the Midrarids [see MWANN].

Ultimately, the Kharijism which survived in North Africa was of the Ibadi, and not the Sufi, variety. Just how quickly the Sufriyya died out or were absorbed into the Ifriqiyya is impossible to tell. The final collapse of the Midrarid state in 366/976-7 must have hastened the process, although Ibn Hazm (d. 1063) was still able to observe that in his own day, the sole Kharijite sects remaining were the Ifriqiyya and the Sufriyya (Fiqh, iv, 145).


SUFRUY (coll.q. Moroccan Ar., Sfrî: nîsha Sfrîst, pl. Sfrîstîs; in European languages, Sefrou), a large town of over 30,000 inhabitants in north-central Morocco, located at an altitude of 850 m/2,790 feet in the foothills of the Middle Atlas just above the River of the Jew. However, this name may have originally been due to the spring of Lalla Rakiyya next to the Sefrou Aqueduct (the little Jerusalem) and to Jews simply as el-kãf or al-Djabal al-Kabîr (the great mountain). Until the mass exodus of Moroccan Jewry that began in the early 1950s, Sefrou boasted the seventh largest Jewish community in the French Protectorate, with close on 6,000 people, representing from one-third to two-fifths of the town’s inhabitants. It was a centre of Jewish scholarship and claimed to be the home of Shalem ha-gome’a (the little Jerusalem) and Yeshulam ha-qetana (the Cave of the Jew) and to Jews simply as al-kãf or al-Djabal al-Kabîr (the great mountain).

In addition to the works cited in the text, see L. Brunot, Cultes naturistes à Sefrou, in Archives Berbères, iii (1918), 137-43; C. Geertz, H. Geertz and L. Rosen, Meaning and order in Moroccan society, Cambridge 1979; N.A. Stillman, The language and culture of the Jews of Sefrou, Manchester 1989.

SUFTADJA (s.), a financial term referring to a negotiable instrument in the form of a written bill of credit which is similar to the modern drawing of a cheque.

The suftadja, like the haswâlq, was used in medieval Islam to facilitate the speedy transfer of money over distances or to expedite the exploitation of assignments of taxation, in an age when movements of actual cash were hazardous. For the general use of such financial instruments in mediaeval Islam, see R. Grasshoff, Die Sufâscha und Haswâlq der Araber, Göttingen 1899, and W.J. Fischel, Jews in the economic and political life of mediaeval Islam, London 1937, 3-35. The etymology of the term is alleged from Persian softa ‘pierced’, because the folded or rolled financial instrument was pierced in order to enable a
cord to be passed through it, which was then sealed. The sufta thus enabled money to be instantly available in another land through what was in effect a letter of credit. The modus operandi was that (A), normally a broker, issues a bill for (B) to collect his money somewhere else from (C), with agent (A). The sufta differs from the hawāla in that it refers only to the transfer of money, whereas the hawāla is used to refer to transfers of all kinds of claims whether money or goods; moreover, with hawāla, the safety factor is not the prime concern. Although sufta is seen by Islamic law as a form of loan, both its formation and objectives are different from those involved in loans. The objective of a loan is the acquisition of money, while the objective of the sufta is the avoidance of risk in transport. For Schacht, the difference between sufta and hawāla rests in the "creation" of an obligation. "The obligation in the case of sufta is created on purpose" while the obligation in the hawāla is "supposed as already existing". This can be contested by the fact that the sufta debt does not really exist between the broker (A) and his agent (C). This is due to the fact that (C), the agent, is only an extension of (A); in the same way as are the branches of a bank. The Hanafī and Shafi’ī schools consider the practice of the sufta to be reprehensible because a debt should be repaid without any form of profit to the owner, which results from the avoidance of risk (i.e., involved in an actual cash transfer). The Malikis allow it on the grounds of necessity, while the Hanbalis permit the practice so long as it is done without any material gain, such as commission, accruing to the person repaying the debt. Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kudāmā permit the practice without reservation, since both the debtor and the indebted benefit. The term hawāla masa'afaya ("bank draft") seems to be replacing the term sufta in many contemporary commercial transactions, although the main difference between a draft and a sufta lies in the fact that the latter has a fixed value.


(M.Y. IZZI DIEN)

**SUFYĀN AL-‘ABDĪ, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Sufyān b. Muṣʿab al-‘Abdī, of the ‘Abd al-Kays, an Arab poet of the 2nd/8th century. The date of his birth is not known and the date of his death is not generally agreed. On the one hand al-‘Amīnī in his *Aṣyān al-Shī‘a* has him die in 1207/739, whereas al-‘Amīnī in *al-Ghadr* cites the date as 178/794.

He was probably born and spent most of his life in Kūfa. According to the sources he is said to have known the famous Shī‘ī poet al-Ṣayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789 [?p.1]), who is supposed to have said "were it not for al-‘Abdī I would have been the greatest poet". His relationship with the Imām Dja‘far al-Sadīk (d. 148/765 [?p.2]) is most important. He is said to have esteemed him highly and, in view of their importance to the Shī‘īs, exhorted people to teach his poems to their children. Those poems previously mentioned do in fact relate essentially to Shī‘ism. It was probably for this reason that they were not compiled. An attempt has been made to reconstitute the dāwān of Sufyān al-‘Abdī and to study the poems and fragments attributed to him (see below, Bibl.). This present article has profited from this thesis and the main ideas in what follows stem from it.

The poetic works of al-‘Abdī are at present composed of less poems and fragments, some of doubtful authenticity, grouped into 302 verses. They have been neglected by Sunnī authors and preserved only thanks to Shī‘ī ones, in particular later writers such as Ibn Shahābkūhī (d. 588/1192) in his *Manāẓir* and ‘Amīlī in *Aṣyān al-Shī‘a*, xxxiv, and al-‘Amīnī in *al-Ghadr*, ii.

His oeuvre is composed chiefly of short fragments, of which 22 consist of 5 or less verses, and they barely conform to the plan of the classical kāṣida. On the other hand, al-‘Abdī uses classical metres such as bāzī (7 times), tawīl and ḍhāfīf (6 times), kāmil and wāṣfer (4 times). The most frequently used letters in the rhymes are nā (7 times), mām and bā (5 times).

Using a narrative style and easy language free from lewd words, and thus accessible to the masses, al-‘Abdī develops political and religious themes across all three poetic and classical genres, elegy, threnody and satire. His work essentially relates to the People of the House, Abī al-Bayt, and to their adversaries, or Umayyad enemies and even Abīṣā‘īd enemies. Primarily, it is the merits of the Abī al-Bayt in general, and of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb in particular, that are highlighted, and they are even sometimes presented as superior to the Prophet himself.

Then there is the narration of the misfortunes of the Shī‘ī and the description of the dramas or tragedies they experienced, in particular, the drama of Karbala’ and the killing of al-Ḥusayn (61/680). The feelings of anxiety or sadness conveyed in this narration are characterised by a simplicity of expression, and denoted the sympathetic attitude of the poet and his deep attachment to the Prophet's family. In his invectives, Sufyān strongly expresses his hatred and rancour toward his enemies, the usurpers of power from the ‘Alish, scarcely sparing the caliphs Abū Bakr (13/634) and ‘Umar (23/643).

In conclusion, the poetic works of Sufyān al-‘Abdī, in the light of how they have been restored, may now be seen as partisan poetry of a propagandist nature. The poems were written to be declaimed in order to arouse pity in the hearts of the Abī al-Bayt and to distract them from their enemies.


**SUFYĀN AL-THAWRĪ, Sufyān b. Saʿd b. Maṣūrī Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāfir (97–161/716–78), prominent representative of early Islamic law, tradition, and Kūrān interpretation, founder of the Thawriyya law school and important link in numerous hadīth transmissions of juridical, religious and dogmatic subjects on a broad literary scale, including the major muzanad works.**

Born 97/715-16 in Kūfa, Sufyān al-Thawrī soon belonged to the exclusive Kūfān law circles around Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (d. 120/737), Abū Isḥāq al-Sabī‘ī (120/745), ʿAlī b. Muʿtamar (132/749), and Sulaymān al-ʿAmīrī (140/767) and swiftly developed a profound reputation as a particularly hadīth-oriented legal scholar, thereby differing distinctly from the generally speculative Ṭārīkh law system (that of re'y), with Abū Ḥanīfah as its most effective exponent. Between 115/732 and 120/737 al-Thawrī started a major period of more than three decades of extensive travelling and hadīth transmitting in Kūrāshīn, Hijāz, and especially Baṣra, according to Ḥammād, as “a part of Syria”—developed a fast grow-
ing and most formative influence on al-Thawrî's intellectual curriculum. Basran scholars like Ayyûb al-Sâhîhiyânî (131/748) and, in particular, "Abd Allâh b. 'Awn (151/767) averted him from a probable Shi'i inclination, quite common among Kûtaî lawyers of the 2nd/8th century, and initiated contacts with Syria, especially with the great al-Awzâ'î (157/773 [q.v.]), thereby starting a long-term pro-Umayyad influence in legal and political reasoning. Al-Thawrî's religious and dogmatic thinking assumed a clearly rational, independent orientation through frequent contacts to early Mu'tazilis like Khlîd al-Hadîdha (141/758), 'Amr b. 'Ubayd (145/762), and Wâsîl b. 'Atî (145/762), who excelled as a critic of the 'Abîsâbî caliphate. Consequently, al-Thawrî himself rejected the vacant post in Kûfah where he continued a productive hadîth circle with Mâ'mar b. Râshîd (153/769) and 'Abd al-Razzâk al-Sânî (211/826 [q.v.]), whose mawsunât partly originated from this special interaction. Between 153/769 and 158/774 he seems to have left his Yemeni exile for various pilgrimages to Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, where he repeatedly met with al-Awzâ'î and their common disciple Abî 'Îsâk al-Fâzârî (186/801), who later transmitted a selection of their legal statements in al-Tabârî's Ikhtîlaf al-Jukâhî (ed. Schacht, Leiden 1933) with considerable parts of his anâvers' commentary. Towards the end of his life, fatigued by constant pursuit, he agreed to an official reconciliation with the new authorities under al-Mahdî, but could not realise a planned meeting in Baghdad. At 64 he died in Shabâbân 161/May 778 and was buried among renowned scholars of Basrah like al-Hasan al-Basrî and Ayyûb al-Sâhîhîyânî. Al-Thawrî's conducted certainly among the first literary generation in Islam. His works, partly preserved, comprised 1. two (lost) hadîth collections (al-Dhâ'mi al-kabîr, al-Dhâ'mi al-maghbîr); 2. a compendium of inheritance law provisions (Khitab al-Farî'îd, ed. and comm. Raddatz, in WF, xiii [1971]); 3. a fragmentary Kur'ân commentary (Tafâtîs al-Kur'ân al-kabîr, ed. Arshîf, Ramâp 1963); 4. various religious treatises (al-Fîbâd, rev. Ibn Tasmîyya, Zâhirîyya, madâmîn. 139/14, Risâla 'l-Abhâd b. Abhâd al-Awzâ'î, Hisâ, vi, 376, Wazîyâ 'l-Ab'î Sâlami, Hisâ vii, 92); 5. occasional references to al-Thawrî's interests in natural sciences and "unusual subjects/gharîb ibî" (al-Īsâbî, Khitab al-ādâb (lost), Risâla kûmida'ayyâ, Ketâbhân-e-yedaneshgah-e-Tehrân, Fârist, iii/4, 2265, ms. 1178, fols. 1346-135b, Ibn Abî Hâtim, Tâkdimâ, 125) with very fragmentary literary traces only.

Considerable parts of his legal thought are preserved in al-Tabârî's Ikhtîlaf al-fâkâbî (ed. Schacht, Leiden 1933, on military law, and ed. Kerm, Cairo 1902, on civil law), where beside his own and other scholars questions of legal practice in the typically 'Irâkî form of speculatively connected are compared to other madhâbih (al-Awzâ'î, Abî Hâfînî, Malik, al-Šâhîfî). The immense variety of his being cited as an essential authority throughout the respective hadîth, fîkh, and tabûkah literary, however, illustrates his formative position as a systematic hadîth developer—though methodologically criticised—within the Kûfah law school. Al-Thawrî's views and methods coalesce into an independent complex of legal and religious statements, frequently based on Companion or Successor and—more rarely—Prophetic traditions, thereby preparing, if not anticipating, a homogenously hadîth-oriented law system like al-Shâhîfî's. His marked theoretical creativity and pronounced political, anti-'Abîsâbî preferences secured a high degree of contemporary acceptance of his madhâbih and contributed considerably to the peculiar expansion of the Thawriyya as far as Umayyad Cordova. Originating from Syrian-based disciples like Muhammâd b. Yûsuf al-Fîrâbî (212/827) and Abû 'Îsâk al-Fâzarî, the Thawriyya represented law as practiced in North Africa and Spain before Malikî absorption in the 4th/9th century. Al-Thawrî's religious and dogmatic statements, comprehensively rendered in Abû Nu'aym's Hîsâ and Ibn Abî Hâtim's Tâkdimâ, make up a basically orthodox, rationally-centred concept of thought. Continuous recommendations of diligent religious studies (wilâm), of efforts towards righteous intention (nîya) and action in daily practice (âmal), as well as trust in God's unfailing justice, based on a ceaseless awareness of God's predestining almighty and eternal properties, place his theology in an intermediate position between the Khâtûdîs and the Kadariyya as well as the Sûfis, respectively. Positive affirmation of worldly life and its active design in preparation for the Last Judgement, combined with a pragmatic, hadîth-oriented legal codification, represent a clearly rational modification of the conservative sunna and a gradual anticipation of Mu'tazîlî concepts without, however, the idea of God's absolute oneness and the resulting creaturedness of the Kur'ân, duly reflected in the event that his moderately rational taüsî is an important source for the orthodox al-Tabârî. While al-Thawrî's dogmatics may have had an influence on ascetics like al-Muhasîbî and the Thawrî adherent al-Djumaydî, many tendentious Sûfî claims may be set aside. The mystic postulation of complete renunciation of man's worldly endeavour and the negation of God's corresponding justice prove incompatible with al-Thawrî's constructive belief and conduct.

Thus his famous anti-Semitism towards the 'Abbâsid-inclined Mûrîdî [q.v.] should be regarded as a result of not only his political, pro-Umayyad commitment but also of his active, though demanding, Last Judgement orientation. Occasional suspicion of his alleged sympathising with Shi'i, including Zaydî, circles, possibly arisen for the same political reasons, points to an early, typically Kûfah [taghûn] without lasting effect on his tenets. Sûfîn al-Thawrî appears today as a progressive element within the unfolding currents of the 2nd/8th century by his theoretical development and literary codification of hadîth-based law and reason-based sunna as stepping stones towards al-Shâhîfî's jurisprudence and—to a more limited extent—the new Mu'tazîlî rationalism, leaving very little justification for Şî'î or Sûfî claims. The unusual aspect of his politico-religious pro-Umayyad, conservative attitude adds a historical facet to his intellectual independence, conditioning the major expansion of his madhâbih into Spain.

Bibliography: Plessner, E' art. s.v.; H.P. Raddatz, "Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Sufyan al-Thawrî, diss. Bonn 1967; idem, Frühislamisches Ebrecht, in WF, xiii (1971); Ibn Sa'd, vi; Tabârî, iii/4; Ibn Kutayba, Me'arîf, ed. Wüstenfeld; Dhahabî, Dawa'il al-Islâm, i, Haydarâbâd 1944; idem, Mîzân al-tâdîbî, i, Cairo 1907; Ibn Durayd, Iqûtâbâk, ed. Wüstenfeld; Yâkût, Mu'jam, i; Ibn Hâdjîr, Tahtâhîth, iii, Haydarâbâd
SUFYAN AL-THAWRI — AL-SUGHD


SUFYAN B. UYAYNA b. Maymūn al-Hilāfī, a scholar of the Hijāz, was born in Kāfā in 1077/725. In his youth he moved to Mecca, where he died in 196/811. Although biographical sources also describe him as a Kur'ān commentator (muḥāfaz) and a jurist (fāqīh), his fame is due mainly to his activity as a traditionist (muḥaddith). In his teens he studied with al-Zuhri [q.v.], who remarked on his youthful intelligence, and he is considered one of the main transmitters of al-Zuhri's ḥadiths (examples in Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, ii, 238 ff.). Other well-known traditionists from whom Sufyān transmitted are 'Amr b. Dinar [q.v.] and 'Abd Allāh b. Dinar [q.v.], who, as a very young man, had heard Sufyān lecture in Mecca. Al-Kawsadj often frames a question by reporting an answer of Sufyān's [q.v.]. Sufyān's legal reasoning resembles that of his older contemporaries, and he is considered one of the main transmitters of traditions; as is the case with many traditionists, he is himself transmitted traditions from persons whom he had not actually heard [see ḤADĪTH].

Sufyān's Kur'ān commentary has not survived, but is known from later references (see Sezgin, loc. cit.). There is no evidence for any writings of ḥikīf [q.v.], but some of his legal opinions can be gleaned from a manuscript collection of the responses (maṣā'id) of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal and Ḥalīkāf b. Ḥanbal (ed. Codera, Cairo 1930). Shuḫāb al-Ḥadīth [q.v.], a listing of traditions in which he figures prominently (see index, s.v. Sufyān b. 'Uyayna and Ibn 'Uyayna). See also Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, in Wensinck, Concordance, viii, for a listing of traditions in which he figures prominently. Nābia Abbott, Studies in Arabic literary papyri, Chicago 1967, ii, discusses fully his role as a collector and transmitter of traditions. (H.P. RADDATZ)

SUFYAN B. 'UYAYNA b. Maymūn al-Hilāfī, a scholar of the Hijāz, was born in Kāfā in 1077/725. In his youth he moved to Mecca, where he died in 196/811. Although biographical sources also describe him as a Kur'ān commentator (muḥāfaz) and a jurist (fāqīh), his fame is due mainly to his activity as a traditionist (muḥaddith). In his teens he studied with al-Zuhri [q.v.], who remarked on his youthful intelligence, and he is considered one of the main transmitters of al-Zuhri's ḥadiths (examples in Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, ii, 238 ff.). Other well-known traditionists from whom Sufyān transmitted are 'Amr b. Dinar [d. 126/744] and 'Abd Allāh b. Dinar [d. 127/745]. Those who transmitted traditions from him include Sulaymān b. al-Muhrān al-ʿArāzī [d. 148/765], Shuḫāb al-Ḥadīth [d. 160/766] and Sufyān al-Ṭawrī [q.v.]. His own tradition collection has not survived independently (see Sezgin, i, 96 for surviving fragments). He is said to have known over 7,000 traditions; as is the case with many traditionists, he is reported to have had a phenomenal memory and never to have written down anything he had not already memorised. He is also reported to have practiced taddīs, that is, he transmitted traditions from people who had not actually heard the texts from the persons who preceded them in the isnād, and he himself transmitted traditions from persons whom he had not actually heard [see ḤADĪTH].

Sufyān's Kur'ān commentary has not survived, but is known from later references (see Sezgin, loc. cit.). There is no evidence for any writings of fīhi [q.v.], but some of his legal opinions can be gleaned from a manuscript collection of the responses (maṣā'id) of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal and Ḥalīkāf b. Ḥanbal (ed. Codera, Cairo 1930). Shuḫāb al-Ḥadīth [q.v.], a listing of traditions in which he figures prominently (see index, s.v. Sufyān b. 'Uyayna and Ibn 'Uyayna). See also Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, in Wensinck, Concordance, viii, for a listing of traditions in which he figures prominently. Nābia Abbott, Studies in Arabic literary papyri, Chicago 1967, ii, discusses fully his role as a collector and transmitter of traditions. (H.P. RADDATZ)

SUFYAN AL-THAWRI — AL-SUGHD

AL-SUFYĀNIC [see Suppl.]

AL-SUGHD or AL-SUGHD, the name in early Islamic geographical and historical sources for the Soghdia of classical Greek authors, a region of Central Asia lying beyond the Oxus and extending across the modern Republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia in its wider acceptation. The same name (Old. Pers. Sugudu, classical Greek Sogdiano or Sogdianoi (the people) and Sogdiane (the country) was applied in ancient times to a people of Iranian origin subject to the Persians (at least from the time of Darīus I, 522-486 B.C.) whose lands stretched from the Oxus [see AMO DARVA] to the Jaxartes [see SIR DARVA], according to the Greek sources. The language, and especially the terms relating to the calendar and festivals of the Soghdian Zoroastrians, are very fully dealt with in the Muslim period by al-Birūnī in his al-Ārāzī al-bākīya, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 46-7, 233 ff., tr. idem, London 1879, 56-7, 220 ff. From al-Birūnī's information, modern Iranians (notably F.C. Andreas and F.W.K. Müller) were able to identify as Soghdian the language of numerous fragments of manuscripts found in Chinese Turkestan (commercial documents, Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian texts).

As in classical times, the Soghdians still appear in al-Birūnī (op. cit., 45, l. 21) along with the Kaʿẓarzamians as an army, and were also active with a Zoroastrian civilisation in the lands beyond the Oxus.

In both pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, Soghdian merchants were great travellers through Inner Asia, including along the Silk Route through eastern Turkestan to northern China, and references to Soghdian colonies in these remote regions are to be found not only in Chinese but also in Islamic sources. Thus the Hudud al-ʿulamā' (ca. 370/980), tr. Minor斯基, 99, 772
comm. 304, mentions the Soghdian colony in the lands of the Tukhsi Turks in the Semirecye called Bigligh (“home of the Beg’s men”) in Turkish and S.m.knâ in Soghdian, and at tr. 95, comm. 274, five Soghdian villages belonging to a community, Beg-toghi (Beg-toghi in the Tarin inscription), on the lands of the Toguz Ogah, a Governor, Mahmâd al-Kâshgârî [q.v.], Dltim laqhât al-turk, tr. Atalay, i, 29, 471, tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, Compendium of the Turkic dialects, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, i, 84, 352, mentions the Sughdâk (the form also found earlier in the Orkhoân [q.v.] inscriptions) settlers in the region of Balasghân [q.v.], i.e. in the Ču valley, who had adopted Turkish dress and manners. The fact proved by R. Gauthiot that the Uyghurs borrowed their alphabet from the Soghdians seems to have been known in Islamic times, cf. Fâkhr al-Dîn Mubârank Shâh (beginning of the 7th/13th century) in E.D. Ross in ‘Afqîd nâmâ, a volume of oriental studies presented to E.G. Browne, Cambridge 1922, 405. Turkish lent meaning “village, town” is already described as a Soghdian loan-word in the K. al-Kand û târîkh Samârkhân (text in W. Barthold, Turkestân e epokołu mongolskiego neskazitego, i, Tekst, St. Petersburg 1896, 40).

As the name of a country, Sughd had a much narrower application in the Islamic period than in antiquity. According to al-Iṣṭâkhrî (316), Sughd proper comprised the lands east of Bukhârâ from Dabûsîyya to Samârkhân; he also says that others also included Bukhârâ, Kish and Nasâf in Sughd. Kish sometimes appears as the capital of Sughd, e.g. al-Ya’kûbî, Buldân, 299, 14; it is possible that the oldest Chinese name for the region of Kish, Shúhî (old pronunciation Shû), is a reproduction of the name Sughd; it is so taken by J. Marquart, Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften, Leipzig 1898, 57. In another passage (293), al-Ya’kûbî describes Samârkhân as the capital of Sughd; Kish and Nasâf are included in Sughd but Bukhârâ is separated. It is not known what geographical connotation Sughd had for al-Birûnî; whenever he associates a Soghdian festival with a particular district, it is always some village in the territory of Bukhârâ.

Early Islamic al-Sughd thus comprised essentially the valley of the Zarafshân (lit. “gold spreader”) river, which rose in the Buttâmân mountains to the north of Câghânîyân [q.v.] and Rasht, and flowed westwards through the oases of Samârkhân and Bukhârâ [q.v.] before losing itself in the deserts to the north of the middle Oxus. It is this river which is described by the mediaeval geographers as the Nahr al-Sughd (e.g. al-Mukaddasî, 19; the Namik (?) in al-Ya’qubî, Buldân, 293, tr. Wiet, 111, possibly echoing the ancient Iranian name of the river, Namik, Chinese transcription Na-mî; and by the Hudud al-îlâm, tr. 73, as the river of Bukhârâ. The present name Zarafshân does not appear in historical sources before the 18th century, according to Barthold, Turkestân down to the Mongol invasion, 82.

The Arabs first crossed the Oxus in the reign of the caliph Uthmân, apparently in 33/655-4, and subsequently attacked such Soghdian city-states as Kish [q.v.], Bukhârâ and Samârkhân. The securing of Arab political control over Sughd was, however, a protracted process, and the course of Islamisation even slower; for details, see Mâ Warâ al-Înhâr.

In his Târîkh-i Bukhârâ, Nasîkhî, ed. Schefer, 47, tr. Frye, The history of Bukhara, 48, comm. 135-6, quotes a few expressions in Soghdian, cited as the local language of the city (see the discussion in Frye, op. cit., 135-6), and according to al-Iṣṭâkhrî, 314, Soghdian was spoken there. The Middle Iranian language of Soghdian undoubtedly survived well into the Islamic period, though not so long, it seems, as Khûraizmian, but was eventually overwhelmed by standard New Persian or Dâderi and by Turkish. Some of the surviving Soghdian texts could date from as late as the 11th or 12th centuries. As noted above, the Soghdians were great travellers, and left documents and inscriptions in many distant regions, e.g. across the Kara-koram mountains, via such passes as the one taken by the modern Karakoram Highway, and into the extreme north of modern Pákistân and India, where hundreds of inscriptions and graffiti of Soghdian travellers (unfortunately undated) have been found in recent years.

Soghdian survives today in Yaghûdî, a Neo-Soghdian dialect spoken in an isolated valley of eastern Islamic Soghdia, now in Tajikistan. See on Soghdian and its dialects, GrPh, i/2, 334-44; Hûdr, IV, 1, Ira-nistik, 52-6, 105-8; Compendium linguarum transcarum, Wiesbaden 1989; TRÅN. iii, Languages, in Suppl. In modern Central Asian topography, Sughd is only a part of the territory of Samârkhân and a distinction is made between “Half-Sughd” (Nim Sughd) on the island between the two arms of the Zarafshân (Ak Darya and Kara Darya), and “Great Sughd” (Sughud-i Kalân) north of the Ak Darya.

Bibliography [in addition to references given in the article]: Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 461-73; Marquart, Erûnîhâr, 88 n. 7; Barthold, K istorii orosheguna Turkhestana, St. Petersburg 1914, 103-25, repr. in Solênûmû, iii, Moscow 1965; idem, Turkestân down to the Mongol invasion, 82-142; Markwart, Hûdr and Arag. Leiden 1938, 28-9, 77-8; Hudud al-îlâm, tr. Minoisky, 113 ff.; E.V. Zeimal, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iii/1, 232-62; R.N. Frye, in ibid., iv, 136-61.

(W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

SUGHÎD (Sudak in Russian and Ukrainian; سوغدیا in Greek, Surož in old Russian, Soldaia or Soldachia in mediaeval Italian), once a great seaport, now a small town on the coast of the Crimea [Ukraine] almost due north of the Anatolian port of Sinob [see Sinob], and some 40 km between Russia and the Islamic and Mediterranean worlds, while also attracting a portion of the silk and spice trade from South Asia and the Far East.

The origins of Sughdâk are less well documented than those of Theodosia; unlike the latter and other settlements on the Black Sea coast which were founded by Greek colonists in Antiquity, Sughdâk is believed to have sprung up as a Soghdian settlement (hence the name; see S.Î-ÎGHÎD), possibly in the time of contact between Central Asian Sogdians and the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine Greek element asserted itself since the time of Justinian I (6th century), and received still more immigrants during the Iconoclastic Controversy (8th century); recent excavations have uncovered archaeological evidence beginning with the 6th century; eventually there was a bishop (archbishop from the 10th century) in the predominantly Orthodox city. At the same time, the growth of the Khâzâr [q.v.] Kaghanate led to intermittent control of the Crimea by it, with the tûdan or governor residing in Sughdâk. The town became a thriving commercial port, despite occasional Byzantine-Khâzâr hostilities. Its exports were chiefly furs, wax and slaves from the Slavic hinterland, and they survived the subsequent irruptions of the Turkic Pechênegs [q.v.] and Polovtsians (Cumans). Sughdâk, like the rest of the
Crimean coastland, developed as a cosmopolitan place, with Greek, Russian, and Kipcak elements existing side-by-side, and was frequented by merchants from Anatolia, Syria, Egypt and Byzantium; these were joined by Venetian merchants after the foundation of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople in 1204, although political domination fell to the Greek empire of Trebizond or to the Kipcak khans of the adjacent steppes. Ibn al-Aṭḥār, while mentioning the first Mongol sack in January 1223, describes Madinat Ṣūdāk as "a city of the Kipcak... on the sea coast, frequented by ships bringing cloths, which the Kipcaks buy from them and sell them slave girls and boys, burtāšt beaver and squīrrel skins, and other products of their land..." (al-Kāmil, xii, 396).

A curious episode was the brief conquest (probably in 1225-) of Ṣūdāk by an expedition sent by the Saljūkīd sultan Kaykūbād I [qu.]; the ostensible cause was chastisement of the local leaders for mistreating the sultan’s subjects, and an effort was made to turn the Christian town into a Muslim one. This episode was followed in 1238 by another sack by the Mongols, this time as part of their definitive conquest of southern Russia. Nevertheless, Ṣughdāk continued to prosper as a port. William of Rubruck, the Franciscan envoy from St. Louis to the Mongols, landed there in 1253 after a fortnight-long voyage from Constantinople, as did in 1260 two brothers of the Polo family on the way to the court of Berke; Marco Polo the Elder owned a house in Ṣughdāk, which in 1280 he willed to the local Franciscans. The end of the Latin kingdom in 1261 favoured Genoa over Venice, but for the time being it failed to affect Venice’s position in Ṣughdāk. At the same time, the growth of the Golden Horde as a member of the Mongol empire and suzerainty of the Russian principalities, had a further stimulating effect on the trade passing through ports like Sughdāk. A 1281 treaty between the emperor Michael Palaeologus and the Mamlūk sultan Ḥālid[w.] illustrates the importance of Sughdāk in that period. The treaty, whose Arabic version is quoted by al-Kākhashānī (Subḥ al-dā’dā, xiv, 72-8), stipulates unhindered passage of merchants of both countries to and from Sughdāk with such goods as slaves of both sexes.

Meanwhile, Genoa made a vigorous entry into the competitive Black Sea trade. Genoese merchants in Sughdāk are first documented for 1274. By 1365 the republic, firmly installed in Kefe since 1314, conquered Sughdāk, and in 1380 Genoese commercial presence on Crimea’s southern coast was formalised through a treaty with the Tatars as the colony of Gazaria (a name echoing the extinct Ḵazar Ḵaghanate), possessing the coast from Kefe (Theodosia) to Cembalo (Balaklava) and tied to the Golden Horde only by tenuous bonds of vassaldom and tribute. This colony then prospered until its conquest by the Ottomans. In the course of their two centuries-long presence in Sughdāk, the Genoese transformed the harbour town into a stronghold whose fortifications still bear witness to past glory; it was administered by a consul subordinated to the principal consul in Kefe. Genoese influence also caused the town’s decline well before the Ottoman conquest; for the Republic, favouring Kefe as the capital of the colony, gradually restricted the volume of activities permitted in other ports such as Sughdāk.

Sughdāk fell to the Ottomans in July 1475. At the end of the siege, some of the inhabitants took refuge in a church which then, according to local tradition, became their tomb after its doors and windows had been walled over; doubts about the genuineness of the account were dispelled by excavations undertaken in 1928.


It is situated in the middle of the flat and sandy bay which is found on the coast of Arabia between Maskat in the south-east and the peninsula of Musan dam in the north-east. The town is some distance from the town, even though it has a broad opening on to the Gulf of 'Umān. But the reasons for the development of the region are the long, fertile and well-irrigated coastal plain of the Bāṭīna behind the site of the city, and also the east-west thoroughfare across the Djabal Aḥḍār which provides access to the Persian Gulf. Moreover, since ancient times, veins of copper have been exploited in the region; archaeological studies in metallurgy have shown that this ore has been mined in the region from the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. until the 11th A.D., and copper ingots which were found on the eastern coast of the island of Bahrayn, south of the village of Zallāḥ, also came from this region which was then known by the name Makan or Makan (Makkān). Makan also supplied copper and iron to Egypt. Another mineral resource of the valleys of the Djabal Aḥḍār was olivine gabbro, a dark stone which becomes outstandingly fine after polishing. Among the statues made from this were those of Gudea, King of the ancient Sumerian city of Lagash. Ṣuḥār is distinct from the other sites which at regular intervals mark out the coastline of the Bāṭīna (Sib, Barka, Suwayḥ, Khabūrā, Lawā and Shīnār), for it forms a tell, which is 500-700 m in diameter and rises to a height of about 10 m above sea level. The circle of empty areas which surrounds the tell at the lower levels is a reminder of the greater extent of the town in the middle ages; it is further encircled by palm groves. Until 1980, when the modern reconstruction of the town was begun, there were dilapidated remains of houses and mosques from the 18th to the 19th centuries sporadically covering the site, but there was no archaeological evidence of any occupation from pre-Islamic times. But the soundings which were undertaken between 1982-6 have revealed stratified layers of occupation for the site which are uninter rupted from the beginning of the Christian era (at a depth of about 1.80 m above sea-level) until the pre-modern period (at the summit of the tell, some 8 m higher). From the time of its foundation, the town had commercial contacts with western India, as is attested by the presence of many fragments of polished red ceramics, an Indian imitation of Roman sigillated
pottery. In the higher levels, those corresponding to
the Sasanid period, there are fragments of Chinese
glazed earthenware jars which provide the oldest evi-
dence for maritime exchanges between ports on the Sea of 'Umán and those in Southern China.

During the Christian era, Sufr was probably known as Omana, a toponym attested
by Fliny the Elder as well as by the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (dated to the 1st century of this era), but that identification of the name remains uncertain. In the 4th century, the city was
mentioned as a part of the Sasanid empire under the name Emporio Persarum on the occasion of a mission
carried out in Arabia by Theophilus the Indian. This
bishop founded three churches in the peninsula, one of which was probably at Sufr. Consequently, the
city and the region were designated by the Persian
toponym Mazín, which is preserved in Arab Islamic historiography, and also in certain Chinese texts, which
continue to use it until the 17th century.

With the advent of Islam, the tribes of 'Umán be-
came divided regarding their support of the new faith and the representatives of the prestigious al-Djulánda
family, who according to tradition received the mes-
sengers of the Prophet at Sufr in 8/629-30, had to
take refuge in the mountains until the submission of the
opponents of the Prophet in 12/633-4. The Persians, who controlled the Bátina and the stronghold of Rašták in the interior, were driven out and this
was about the time when the toponym Mazín was
replaced by that of Sufr. This was the name of a
territory that had allegedly belonged to 'Abd b. 'Uy b.
Ibrán b. Sám b. 'Uy, and attempts were made to
pass it off as an anthroponym, to create a pseudo
authentic bond between the city and a very ancient Arab founder. Sufr was the official place of resi-
dence for the governors appointed by the caliph dur-
ing the 1st century A.H., and it was through Sufr, by
mediation of the 'Umání established at Başra,
that the Ibadí doctrine [see IBADIYYA] penetrated
'Umán. The reign of the first Imam, al-Djulánda b.
Mas'úd, had barely begun (in 132/750) when it was
brutally interrupted by an attack from an 'Abábin
army sent to take back the country under the tute-
elage of the caliph. But 'Umán kept its de facto indepen-
dence under the successors of al-Djulánda b.
Mas'úd, the Yahmad, another branch of the confed-
eration of the Şantá'a, who lived in Nazwá.

In the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century, under the Imamate of al-Wáriš b. Ka'b al-Kharúsí, Harún
al-Rašíd tried again to subdue the country, but his
general, 'Isá b. Dji′ár b. Abí 'l-Mansúr, was defeated,
imprisoned in the fort of Sufr and murdered there
against the wishes of the Imam. In the last years of
the same century, the rivalry between the "Yemenite"
Ibadí tribes and the Sunní Názárí tribes degenerated into a civil war, in the course of which the orthodox
Sunnís called to their aid Muhammad b. Núr, the
governor of Bahrayn. He conducted a terrible repres-
sion in Nazwá and the whole surrounding area, causing the exodus of many Sufríhs to Shíráz and Başra.
When he departed, Muhammad b. Núr left behind
a governor at Bahlá, who soon established himself at Sufr, for it seemed he favoured the commercial inter-
est of the city. However, the Kármásí soon took control of 'Umán and led raids against Başra from Sufr in 331/943 and 341/953, until in their turn they were conquered by the Büyids. After a mutiny
by the Zanj and Daylámí contingents billeted at Sufr, which was severely put down by the Büyids, the
town was devastated, and then again suffered
through the Ghuzz invasion during its domination by the Sáldjiks.

It seems that these events, though they were brutal, were also short-lived, and they did not deeply affect the prosperity of Sufr. The town had been estab-
lished for centuries and had been reinforced at the
beginnings of Islam by flourishing maritime trade links
with India, East Africa and China. Commercial rela-
tions with these countries were obviously close, for Sufr was known as the "warehouse of China"; fur-
thermore, Chinese chronicles recorded the name of a
Şufrí, Sháykh 'Abd Alláh (Xin-ya-tuo-luo), who was
called the director of foreigners at Canton in the 5th/11th century. There were other traders originating
from Sufr, from Kal'ár or from the interior who became famous in China, such as Aβú 'Alī (Bu-ha-er),
who became the minister of the province of Fujian
in the 7th/13th century. During the excavations of
1982-6, some traces of the beautiful houses of burnt
brick which had belonged to the merchants and ship-
owners of the metropolis of the Bájına were brought
to light once again.

Arab historiography of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th cen-
turies counterpoises the splendour of the city in this
period, in particular thanks to the testimony of the Palestinian geographer al-MuKaddáši, who described
it thus: "It is a flourishing place, well-populated,
beautiful and pleasant to live in. There are elegant quarters lining the shore, and the houses are tall and stately, built of brick and teak wood. You can see the beautiful minaret of the Friday mosque rising close beside
the sea, and inside the mihráb shimmers with reflections, now yellow, now green and red. But what delighted
visitors above all was the šád of Sufr, where com-
modities from the whole world could be found."

Archaeological excavations have clearly proved that the economic prosperity of Sufr came to an end in the
course of the 7th/13th century. The series of
events listed above probably played a large part, but
there were also the incursions from Persia during the
Mongol epoch (the arrival of Fakhár al-Dín and of
Şiháb al-Dín in the second half of the century) which
must have caused considerable damage. Since these invasions are contemporary with the ruin of the city,
as is evident from its archaeological stratigraphy. These invasions ended with the integration of Sufr into the empire of the princes of Hurmuz, and the build-
ing within the city of a fortress controlled by a Hur-
muzi garrison. As a fortress, it was used to prevent the landing of cargoes in a port which had long been
devoted to trade on the high seas, but rather to force them back towards Hurmuz, where the fiscal agents
of the princes were awaiting them. Not one single
piece of pottery imported from China has been found
at Sufr in the levels corresponding to the period of the 8th-11th/14th-17th centuries.

The Portuguese, who conquered Sufr in 913/1507,
pursued the same political ends as the princes of Hur-
muz, and stationed their officers and garrison within
the fortress; occasionally they made attempts to plun-
der the forbidden goods which flooded into the city
for their own profit.

But the days of Portuguese power in the region were
temporarily. Just at the time when they were chased
from Hurmuz by the concerted action of the Šafáwíds
and the English, Náṣír b. Múrghád al-Ya'rúbí was
elected Imám. He and his successors, Šulfán b. Sayf
in particular, first chased the Portuguese and then the Persians from 'Umán, and he set in motion an aggres-
sive maritime and commercial policy involving venge-
ance against the former oppressors, where raids on
the Portuguese possessions of India were mingled with piracy and bargaining. When the Safawids saw their maritime interests were suffering from these practices, they tried (without much success) to involve the European powers (England, Holland and France) against 'Umān. In 1146/1738 they laid siege to Suhār, but the governor of the city, Ahmad b. Sa'īd, opposed them with fierce resistance. This feat of arms was the original claim to prowess of the dynasty of the Āl Bū Sa'īd [q.e.v.], which is still in power in 'Umān today. At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, Suhār still enjoyed a considerable amount of maritime activity, J.R. Wellsted described it as the second city of 'Umān, with an annual revenue of 10,000 dollars from customs duties and 9,000 inhabitants. Among them were about twenty Jewish families with a small synagogue, and still today there is a Jewish cemetery at Suhār which could date back to the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. On a number of the bricks used in the mosaic of its tombs, as well as in the enigmatic wall which towers above them, are engraved Hebrew names in square characters.

The general economy of Suhār was run down because of the transfer of activity to Oman and through the limitations imposed by the British authorities on the business which the ships of 'Umān had been traditionally carrying out; the slave trade, in particular, was conducted specifically by the privateers of Sur. Suhār was finally ruined by the attacks of pirates who, in the 19th century became established in the neighbouring fort of Shinas, and also by internal rivalries in the region, in which Wahłabī elements played a part.


2. History. (a) Pre-Islamic period. D.T. Potts, From Qaṭīd to Mazān: four notes on Oman, c. 700 B.C. to 700 A.D., in JOS, viii (1985), 81-95; J.C. Wilkinson, Arab-Persian land relationships in late Sāṣānīd Oman, in Proc. 5 for AS, v (1973), 40-51. (b) Islamic period. There is no history of the town, but for critical surveys of the Arabic sources which provide some information, see idem, Suhār (Sohar) in the early Islamic period, the written evidence, in South Asian Archaeology 1977, Naples 1979, 887-907. These sources have been used for general studies on 'Umān, which bring some information on Suhār, esp. S.B. Miles, The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf, London 1919; J.C. Wilkinson, Water and tribal settlement in South-East Arabia. A study of the Afār of Oman, Oxford 1977; idem, The Imamate tradition of Oman, Cambridge 1987, 415. Amongst the copious Portuguese sources, see, e.g. Documentos remittidos da India/Livros das Monróes, 40 vols. ms., Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, of which 14 have been edited, esp. by R.A. Bulhão Pato, Lisbon 1880-1935 (for Suhār, see v, ix, 297). Finally, see J.G. Lorimer, Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia, Bombay 1915, iib, 1835-40; F. Barth, Sohar, society and culture in an Omani town, Baltimore 1983. (Monique Kervan) al-Suhayli, 'Abd al-Rahmān [see Suppl.]. Suhāyli, called 'Abd Bani l-Ḥashās, meaning the slave of the Banu l-Ḥashās (Assad, the clan Nuflūsī b. Sa'īd b. 'Amr of the Banū Dūdān), a slave-poet of the maghāmāwīs who lived in Medina during the reign of Uthmān b. Affān. He is not to be confused with his namesake Suhāyli b. Waṭṭāl al-Riyāḥī, a Tanmīmī with a pure pedigree (as noted in the work of Ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī, Fawā'id al-awṣafārāt, Cairo 1951, i, 338).

The traditions concerning him are very contradictory and it is difficult to put together even an approximate biography of the poet. The only dateable event is his purchase by Abū Ṣa‘īd b. Amr b. Ṣa‘īd, a client of Uthmān b. Abī Raḥmān, to present him to the Caliph Uthmān because of his poetic talent. But the caliph declined the offer and it is supposed to have said that negro slave-poets address huqīq to their masters when they are hungry, but when they are full they write lewd songs (ṣuḥābībīn) about their women (Shu'ārā'ī, 241; Aḥlī, xxiii, 305; Khiṣānā, ii, 104).

The slave went back to his former master Djanbāl b. Ma‘bacar b. the Banu l-Ḥashās (S handheldt, 720). The precise date of his relationship with `Umayra, the daughter of Djanbal who is evoked in the ya‘īya, is unknown. However, a poem by Suhāyli tells of a sale that was planned but ended abruptly because of the improprieties and pleas made by the slave (Dīwān, 56, rhyme rā‘i, metre tāstī). He went back to Djanbal and had another affair with a young woman. News of this affair spread and his masters put him to death by beating him with red-hot iron bars. His death occurred in 37/657-8 (for Suhāyli), as stated in the traditions concerning him.

It is hard to date the other recorded episodes, and some of the scenes described in his Dīwān can be considered as poetic fiction, and as such they are without literary-biographical significance; see for example Dīwān, 15-16, 37-48.

The poetry of Suhāyli was collected by grammarians in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries and has a pronounced linguistic character; see, in addition to the rasīs of Abu l-Abdāl l-Abwāl (died 259/873), those of Nišāwāyhi (died 323/935) and Ibn Djinmī (died 392/1002), which have all survived. Moreover, his verses seem to have found favour with the wukūf and with the lexicographers (Shāhawāyhi, al-Kiṣāb, Cairo 1403/1833, i, 350; iv, 225; Tha‘lab, Majālī, Cairo 1948, 20, 2849; Ibn Durayd, Waaṣf al-mātur wa l-sābah, Damascus 1382/1663, 70; ‘All b. Hamza al-Baṣrī, al-Tahnābī, Cairo 1667, 167; al-Zahhāqī, Mādīl, Cairo 1382, 7-6, 130-1; Ibn Ya‘qūb, Sanb al-ma‘fāsī, Cairo n.d., i, 119-24; al-Suyūtī, Hamī al-baṣāmī, Cairo 1327, i, 189; idem, al-Maṣhirī, Cairo n.d., ii, 195; Ibn Sidāh, al-Ma‘ṣūsārīs, Būlāk 1316, iv, 59, ix, 103, x, 69, xii, 260; xiii, 232; L.A. index of poets).

Only some 240 verses are still in existence, and they are divided between three major themes: tribal poetry, love poetry and poetry of rebellion. Five fragments totalling 31 verses constitute an altogether secondary side of his poetic talent, and in the poems of this genre Suhāyli certainly seems to play the role of
a commemorative poet, as he recalls the battles (ayyarn) of Asad, such as Yawm al-Rashā (Diwdn, 49) and Yawm al-Lāwā (ibid., 38-9), with the death of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Šīmna and the flight of his brother Dūrayd, an epic whose inspiration is one of the earliest melodies of pre-Islamic poetry, as he praises the bravery of his “fellow-tribemen”, and as he frequently plays the role of the counsellor. The Banū Ḥaḍira and the Naṣr b. Ku‘ayn were given eulogies (ibid., 49-50, 51, 52, 52-4).

But his main contribution was love poetry. There is not the slightest trace of nastīb in his work. On the contrary, his jā'īya is a sensual hymn of praise to the complete woman. It is steeped in an atmosphere of licentiousness and his verses, which are knowingly obscene, portray a real woman to replace the ideally pure and somewhat conventional lady of the nastīb (ibid., 16-33). However this hymn of passion delivers a serious blow to the woman's sense of self-respect, for he takes every opportunity to make disparaging remarks about his partner; Ḥālīyya, Hind, Muyyā, Asmā', Sulayma, Umm 'Amm and their friends are all pictured scantily dressed and all exhibit an insatiable thirst for men. Nothing is left to the imagination; language which is certainly very crude verges on the obscene and gives explicit names to the sexual organs (ibid., 34). The woman is very frequently presented as a sexual object and he never stops evoking details about positions and involuntary movements to express the carnal satisfaction of his partners in an atmosphere of sweat and scent. Terms that are visually vivid and convey fragrances play an essential role in his poetry. It is a poetry which is clearly anti-feminine and the morbid pleasure in defiling women’s bodies. Such novel motifs and new poetic tones provided an indispensable landmark for the emergence of the Hijāzī school of poetry, and it could even be said that Suhaym is one of the fathers of taqībī. The novelty of this poetry was astonishing. One perspicacious critic, Ibn Sharaf al-Kayrawānī, could use only psychological means to explain the phenomenon, suggesting that such poetry was in itself a compensation for his ugliness and his state of servitude (Rāsā'il al-intikād, 329-30, in Muhammad Khair Halwānī, Suhaym 'Abdur Bānī 'l-Hādhees, Beirut, n.d. (A. Arazi).

SUHRAWARD, a town of mediaeval Islamic Persia in Djībāl [q.v.], the ancient Media. Noldeke was the first to connect the name with Suhrāb, and the Banū Ḥaḍira was the Suhrāb who was a Persian governor of al-Ḫira [q.v.]. Although this does not mean that the town was not founded till the time of this governor—it is only a hypothesis that he, and no other of the many known bears of the name Suhrāb, is the one in question—one should perhaps be careful to date the foundation of the town at too remote a period. The classical geographers do not seem to have known the town; at least, no ancient name is known which could be applied to the place later known as Suhraward.

The site of Suhraward cannot be located with absolute certainty. We have the statements of the Muslim geographers, according to which the town lay on the road from Hamadhān to Zendānīn to the south of Sultānīyā. This road, 30 farsakhs long, was, according to al-Ḫaṣāṣī, used in times of peace as the shortest route to Adharbājīyā; in troubled times the circuit via Kazw was taken. Ibn Ḥawaiš states exactly the reverse about the use of these two routes. In the 4th/10th century, the town was already in the hands of the Kurds; the inhabitants were mainly Khāridjīs (Ṣuhrāb), who then emigrated, with the exception of those who stayed in their native town out of lack of courage or love of their home.

The town, which had been walled, was destroyed by the Mongols; Mustawfi describes it as a little village with many Mongol villages around it. On account of the cold in the Median highlands, little was grown here beyond corn and the smaller fruits.

Bibliography: On the etymology, see Th. Noldeke, Über iranische Ortsnamen auf -erd und andere Endungen, in ZDMG, xxxiii (1879), 143 ff., esp. 147; idem, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, 1879, 246 n. 1; J. Marquart, Einleitung, 238; Justi, Irаниsches Namenbuch, s.v. Suhrāb. —The passages in the Muslim geographers are briefly utilised by G. Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 1905, 223, with references; those of the Arabs only fully in P. Schwarzs, Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen, vii, Leipzig 1926, 731 ff; see also Barthold, An historical geography of Iran, Princeton 1984, 208. —The only map which attempts to locate Suhraward is map V in Le Strange’s book. —On famous men of Suhraward, see in addition to the


Bibliography: On the etymology, see Th. Noldeke, Über iranische Ortsnamen auf -erd und andere Endungen, in ZDMG, xxxiii (1879), 143 ff., esp. 147; idem, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, 1879, 246 n. 1; J. Marquart, Einleitung, 238; Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, s.v. Suhrāb. —The passages in the Muslim geographers are briefly utilised by G. Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 1905, 223, with references; those of the Arabs only fully in P. Schwarzs, Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen, vii, Leipzig 1926, 731 ff; see also Barthold, An historical geography of Iran, Princeton 1984, 208. —The only map which attempts to locate Suhraward is map V in Le Strange’s book. —On famous men of Suhraward, see in addition to the
AL-SUHRAWARDI, ABU 'L-NADJIB


Abu 'l-Nadjîb was not a productive author. He wrote the Gharîb al-masâhib, a commentary on a popular hadith collection, but his fame as a writer rests on his composition of the Addâb al-mundîn. However, the Addâb became widely known only with the spread of the Suhrawardîyya order founded by his nephew 'Umar after Abu 'l-Nadjîb's death. In the Addâb Sûfism is viewed from the perspective of rules of conduct (addâb). The book treats of, inter alia, common practices which did not conform to the strict etiquette required by Sîfi theory. By applying the traditional concept of m flattened dispensation, pl. m flattened in a novel way, Abu 'l-Nadjîb responds to the phenomenon of an affiliation of lay members to Sûfism. Whilst Abu 'l-Nadjîb also draws on various works of al-Sulamî, al-Sarrâj and al-Kuhaîrî [q.v.], he betrays the closest dependence on Ibn Khaffî's Shîrîkât [q.v.], whose nîshât al-lîktûd he quotes throughout the Addâb. However, he never identifies him when he excerpts from the Rûdâd. The reason for this lies in the fact that Abu 'l-Nadjîb inverted Ibn Khaffî's fundamentally negative view of m flattened: the very dispensations whose adoption by the "truthful novice" Ibn Khaffî interpreted as a failure to fulfill the requirements of nîsha ("truthfulness"), and vindicated by Abu 'l-Nadjîb. It may be assumed that the latter's book incorporated an element of instability into the Rule and that this heralded a decline from the "high ground" of the Sûf spirituality of Abu 'l-Nadjîb's predecessors.

and to have warned him in particular against the use of kiyyds (see Ibn Radjab, Dhayl, i, 296-7). In doing so, he is said to have mainly talked him out of reading al-Djuwayn's K. al-Shdml (see Ibn Radjab, Dhayl, i, 296-7). In doing so, he is said to have mainly talked him out of reading al-Djuwayn. 

In a later period, orientated itself completely on al-Suhrawardi's 'Avdrif. He maintained a particularly close relation with Nadjm al-Din al-Razi, known as al-Daya [q.v.], a murid of Nadjm al-Din al-Kubra [see Kubra], whom he had met in 618/1221 in Malayia while the latter was on his way from Kh İázam to Asia Minor. Daya submitted his Mirad al-Ikhldk to al-Suhrawardi, who expressed his unrestricted approval and gave him a letter of recommendation for the Rüm Sul'djuk Sultan 'Ali al-Din Kaykabad I in Konya (see Mirad, 22:4).

Though referring to the doctrine of the 'pious forefathers' [see AL-SALAF WA L-KHALAJ], al-Suhrawardi in his mystical ideas went far beyond this, up to the point of even accepting, be it in a limited way, the ana 'I-bottle of al-Hallad [q.v.]. Yet the freedom which al-Suhrawardi permitted himself in his judgement of the źiyd and its rules brought him into agreement with the doctrines of contemporary 'free thinkers'. In strong words, he turned against the pantheism of his contemporary Ibn al-'Arab [q.v.]. According to al-Suhrawardi, the latter had started to establish a despicable connection between tasawwuf [q.v.] and elements of Greek philosophy. The often-quoted story of the meeting in Baghdad between the very famous and controversial Andalussian mystic and al-Suhrawardi, his elder by about twenty years (see Ibn al-Ma'di, Zad al-dharta, v, 193-4), contains legendary elements (cf. Cl. Addas, The quest for the Red Sulphur, Cambridge 1993, 240-1, who discounts the story). His contacts with Rūzbihān al-Balki [q.v.](see Djamī, Naftahā, 418) also belong to the realm of legend. On the other hand, his meeting with Ibn al-Fārid [q.v.], perhaps the most important mystical poet in the Arabic language, is historical. They met in the haram of Mecca in 628/1231 during al-Suhrawardi's last pilgrimage (cf. al-Yāfī, Mir'at al-ţadāwir, iv, 7-8, Djamī, Naftahā, 542-3; Dārin Ibn al-Fārid, 147).

The interest shown by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Nāšir [q.v.] in al-Suhrawardi's gatherings, and the ruler's first extraordinary marks of goodwill towards the šaykh, e.g. the foundation of the ribāţ al-Marzubāniyya in 599/1202-3 (also known as ribāţ al-Mustagjad, situated on the shore of the Nahr 'Īsā in West Baghdad) occurred in a period in which al-Nāšir had intensively begun to promote the Šūfi branch of the futuwwa [q.v.] and to put it at the service of the caliphate. The development of a new futuwwa, led by the caliph as a kihla, was no less important to al-Nāšir than it was to al-Suhrawardi. The caliph thus obtained a unique political instrument, while the šaykh in his turn saw his personal prestige spread far and wide outside Baghdad, as well amongst the circle of students which was gradually taking shape and from which the tarīkha al-Suhrawardīyya [q.v.] later originated.

In his works, al-Suhrawardi supported the union of futuwwa and tasawwuf. Interpreting the futuwwa as a part of the tasawwuf [līdā, fol. 89a-b], he created the conditions necessary for both supporting the caliphate through the tasawwuf and for sanctioning Islamic mystics by means of the highest Islamic institution, the caliphate. In his Ilākat al-ţīyān 'alā 'l-ţahān (fol. 88a), al-Suhrawardi considers the relation of a Šūfi teacher (šaykh) to his novice (murid) as being analogous to that of the caliph, who is the mediator (ustād) appointed by God between the absolute One (Allah) and the people (nās). However, a reference to the idea of consensus (īmād) is missing in this context. Al-Suhrawardi developed a theory which co-ordinates the concepts of futuwwa and kīhla in an upward relation: 'The supreme caliphate is a booklet (daftar) of which the tasawwuf is a part; tasawwuf in its turn is also a booklet of which the futuwwa is a part. The futuwwa is specified by pure morals (al-ţādāwir al-zakiyyā); tasawwuf also includes the pious actions and religious exercises (awrād); the supreme caliphate comprises the mystical states, the pious actions and the pure morals' (Ilākat, fol. 89a-b). The comparison of the caliphate with a booklet, which contains tasawwuf and futuwwa in a subordinate way, is reminiscent of the hierarchy of the concepts of šarī'a, tarīka and haška found in al-Suhrawardi's Risālah al-futuwwa (Aya Sofya 3155, fol. 186b), which are also linked in gradations. Here the Šarī'a is the higher concept, used on the same level as kīhla. In relation to one another both concepts represent a unity.

The bilateral relation which, according to al-Suhrawardi, existed between the caliphate and Šūfiism in general, explains why he was so eager to bring himself into agreement with the doctrines of contemporary 'free thinkers'. On several occasions, the caliphate and Sufism, as being analogous to the šaykh, were subject to the courts of rulers as his representative. To the best-known diplomatic missions belong al-Suhrawardi's visits to the Ayyūbids [q.v.]. In 604/1207-8, after al-Nāšir had declared himself the mandatory kihla for all members (fiyān) of the futuwwa, he sent al-Suhrawardi to the courts of al-Malik al-Zahir in Aleppo (cf. Ibn Wāṣil, Muṣannaf, iii, 180), of al-Malik al-Adil in Damascus (op. cit., 181-2), and of al-Malik al-Kāmil in Cairo (op. cit., 182; Ibn al-Sārī, Djamī', ix, 259). On his return to Baghdad, the šaykh was greeted by immense expressions of sympathy and processions in his honour, just as he had experienced during his journey. But al-Suhrawardi's new ostentatious pomp and his breach of the rules of a Šūfi way of life was not agreeable to the caliph, who withdrew from him the direction of the ribāţ and banned him from preaching (cf. Sibt Ibn al-Dżawī, Mir'at, fol. 306b, which is lacking in the Haydarābād edition; Ibn Kāṭīr, Bidāyā, xii, 51-2). The event caused quite a public stir in Baghdad. Only the šaykh's inner repentance, his renouncing property and money, and his complete return to the ideal of a Šūfi way of life brought about the lifting of the measures taken against him and reconciliation with the caliph. Never again was a cloud cast upon their friendship.

Ten years later, when the 'Abbāsid caliphate, through the politics of the Kh İázam Şhāh [see KH İARAZM SHAH], found itself in a difficult position,
both militarily and constitutionally, al-Suhrawardi was entrusted with a second important diplomatic mission. In order to defend the caliphate, al-Nāṣir sent him in 614/1217-8 to Hamadan, where the Ḵᵛārazm Shāh ʿAllāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad II, who was already marching against Baghdaḵ, gave him a chilly reception in his state tent. The Ḵᵛārazm Shāh was not prepared to accept al-Nāṣir as caliph. On the decisive question, whether it was permitted to the caliph, by reason of the public interest, to keep members of the ʿAbbasīd dynasty, namely his own son and the latter's family, in prison, or whether the ḥaddiṯ should be applied according to which no harm could be caused to descendants of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Ḵuṭṭalī [q.v.], al-Suhrawardi did not reach agreement (cf. Sībīḫ ʿĪbīn al-Dīwān, Mīrūʾ, viii, 502-3; Nasawī, Sīra, 51-2; Ibn Ḥaṭṭīr, Baidāya, xiii, 76); the mission failed.

On the other hand, al-Suhrawardi's mission in 618/1221 to the new Qāḍī of Rum, ʿĀlī al-Dīn Kayḵūṣdā (see KAYḴŪSĀDĪ), was successful. In the caliph's name the ḫārīḵ brought the sultan the tokens of rulership: the diploma with the titles and insignia of a sultan and of the delegated state power over the Islamic regions of Asia Minor, the ruler's robe of honour, the sword and the signet ring. Al-Suhrawardi was also successful in recruiting members for the caliph's futuwwa, which was joined in Konya by Kayḵūṣdā and many officials and scholars. Al-Suhrawardi led the initiation ceremonies. The extraordinary friendly atmosphere is described by Ibn Ḥaṭṭīr in his chronicle of the Qalṣūkūt. According to Franz Taeschner, al-Suhrawardi's political and Sūfī activities in Asia Minor could be interpreted as a secession from the caliph's futuwwa. On the basis of linguistic peculiarities in one of al-Suhrawardi's Persian epistles (see Rūšālāt al-futuwwā, Aya Ṣofāya 3155, fols. 185a-190b), e.g. because he uses aḵš instead of futuwwātār, and because the usual classification into sayyf and kawsh, common in the organisation of the aḵšiš [q.v.], as well as the term tārīḵāya are used, Taeschner surmised that the futuwwa represented by al-Suhrawardi was not identical with that of the caliph, but that there had been close relations between the two. Among the Persians and the Nakḥbandīs [q.v.], the futuwwa was more subdivided than other orders, so that enumerating its establishments and members is not easy.

Works. Al-Suhrawardi left behind a sizeable number of writings, in which all traditions of classical Islamic mysticism and religious sciences are represented.

1. Ṭawārīḵ al-maʿārif is the title of his main work. It is a famous and comprehensive handbook (vade-mécum) for Sūfīs, which has influenced permanently the thoughts of millions of believers and which is still used today. In this work were incorporated the older Sūfī literature, the tafsīr of Muhāammad b. ʿAbī Ṣalāḥ, and other Sūfī tabādāl literature and commentaries on the Qurʾān. The themes treated comprise in 63 chapters the whole of Sūfī way of life, the relation of the novice to the shaykh, the latter's tasks, a human being's self-knowledge, the revelations of the Sūfīs on this point and the explanation of what happens when one is in the mystical "state" (ḥāl) and when in the "station" (mukāmā). It is not known when the Ṭawārīḵ was composed, but the terminus ad quem is 612/1215-16 (cf. Hartmann, Bemerkungen, 124-5), and thus it is certain that al-Suhrawardi wrote this work at a period in which his theological epistles on futuwwa were also being written. Persian translations and commentaries of the Ṭawārīḵ were already made during the author's lifetime. The most important basis for the continuation of al-Suhrawardi's thoughts in the Persian-speaking world was the Miṣḥāb al-khāyāta wa-miṣḥāb al-khāyāya by ʿĪzī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī-i Ḵāẖānī (d. 735/1334-5). This work contains most of the doctrines of the Ṭawārīḵ, but adds personal ideas (Eng. tr. by H. Wilberforce Clarke, printed as a supplement to his translation of the Dhīrūn of Ḵāẖānī, Calcutta 1891). There still is no critical edition of the Ṭawārīḵ. The best-known editions are those of Cairo 1358/1939 (printed in the margin of al-Ghāzālī's Ḥīyāʾ ilām al-dīn and of Beirut 1966, but both are defective. The partial edition of Cairo 1971 contains only cha. 1-21 and is based on later manuscripts. In his German translation (Die Geben der Erkenntnis, Wiesbaden 1978), Richard Gramlich has corrected the mistakes of the existing editions by adding better variants, thus providing for the first time a reliable basis for the text. There are several Turkish translations, the last one being Istanbul 1990.

2. Ṭawārīḵ al-naṣīḥ ʿīb al-mānāya wa-ṣaḵṣīf al-faḏlāʾ thālāth dhār al-aḥyāniyya (Resilkuṭṭāt, Körpūṭ 728) is a polemic against the arguments of the apologetic-dialectical theology (kalām), against Islamic philosophy and its ancient origins. In this work, composed in
621/1224, the author, already aged and almost blind, reveals to what extent his theological-mystical doctrine has become the basis of a peculiar concept of anthropology. This doctrine can be followed far back in Islamic thought, e.g. the myth of the cosmic marriage between spirit and soul as the starting-point of the origin of the universe, the participation of earthly man in the universal spirit and the universal soul, the world as macranthropos, man as a microcosmos, the classification of the strata of the earth in qāsim and qā'īm. Al-Suhrawardi adopts other ideas which he believed he was refuting: he draws up a hierarchical series of creatures which emanate from the primordial creature, with the help of God's command (wujūd). This creature he calls "the mighty spirit" (al-ruh al-žā'im). It is identical with the prima causa of the philosophers, and it is "One" (wahdā), just like God. While God is above existence (mū'dud). His first and most beloved creature has the tasks of the intellectual adversaries, e.g. from the philosophers) comes only in the third place. Then follow the spheres, down to the sphere of the moon. Al-Suhrawardi unites these concepts with the Ash'ārī doctrine of sabab and with popular mythologumenon in an innovative conception of theological thinking.

The work is dedicated to the caliph al-Nāšir, whom al-Suhrawardi quotes as an authority on hadith. The political and religious aim of this work consists in the fact that the author unites contradictory dogmatic trends into an— in his eyes— purified traditionism, in order to strengthen the 'Abbasid caliphate by using hadith as a tool and by involving tasawwuf to reform the intellectual education. The work offers a politico-religious middle course (wasat, tawassut), from which were only excluded those who challenge the unicity of God (wahdāniyya). These, as in, are al-Suhrawardi's opinion, the philosophers with their doctrine of the prima causa and their analogies, by which they have committed polytheism (shirk). That is why he calls them the enemies of the umma, while the Shi'īs, including the Ṣī'ahs, are not attacked.

There exist recensions of the Rashf with and without its Neo-Platonic adaptations. The work was translated into Persian by Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Yazdi (d. 789/1387) as the historian of the Muzaffarids, also a refutation of philosophy. This work was finished after the Rashf, between 622/1226 and 632/1234, and contains the same underlying ideas, but the linguistic style is more modern. Quotations from authorities and mythological themes are less frequently brought up. Instead, al-Suhrawardi develops an independent theory of the state in which caliphate, futuwa and Sūfism, as described above, are linked together. In the third section, al-Nāšir's grandson, al-Mustaṣfir (q.v.) is mentioned as patron of the futuwa.

4. Pāmīn al-hadād wa-šāhdat arūbāb al-tulā (Ayr El. 416/10), composed in 632/1234, is a treatise on religion, in which the author tries to explain to the conservative Hanbalis in Baghdad the theological arguments of the Ash'āris concerning God and the theodicy. The author's aim is to promote the unity of the Muslim community in the face of the Mongol danger.

5. Nağbat al-bayān fi ta'ṣīr al-Kur'ān (Hacı Beşir Ağa/Yüyp 24, dated 610/1214) is a commentary on the Kur'ān, which should be situated in the tradition of al-Kur'ān exegesis as practised by the Sūfis al-Tustari and al-Suhrawardi.

6. Al-Suhrawardi carried on an extensive correspondence, from which have survived, among others, letters to the theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Raḍī (q.v.).

7. For his disciples, al-Suhrawardi wrote spiritual treatises (wasayn, pl. wasaynīn), in which he admonishes them to observe the duties of a Sufi on the basis of the sciences approved by Kur'ān and sunna. Also in the wasaynīn, al-Suhrawardi speaks of the close connection between futuwa and tasawwulf. Further writings and collections of sayings of al-Suhrawardi, as well as their manuscripts, are mentioned in the publications of H. Ritter, A. Hartmann and R. Gramlich (see Bhk).

Al-Suhrawardi died in Baghdad at the age of 90 in Muḥarram 632/November-December 1234 and was buried in a tura in the mukhtar al-şarqiya, the cemetery of the Sūfis (cf. Ibn al-Fuwātī, Ḥawaṣib, 74; Sībī Ibn al-Dawāzi, Miš'ū, fol. 339b). His tomb has been venerated as a sanctuary since the 8th/14th century. After Baghdad had been conquered by the Ottoman sultan Murād IV, the tomb, which had become dilapidated, was in 1638 restored, together with the tombs of Abū Ḥanīfah and 'Abd al-Kādir al-Dīlānī.

AL-SUHRAWARDI

6 plates; eadem, Sur Sedition d'un texte medieval, in ibid., Ixii (1985), 71-97; eadem, Isma'ili/"cTilologie bei summiitischen "idum" des Mittelalters? in "Ihr alle aber seid Briider"; ed. L. Hagemann and E. Pulsort, Wurzburg-Altenberge 1990, 190-206; eadem, Cosmo-
gonie et doctrine de l'ame in QSA, xi (1993), 163-78; eadem, Kosmogenie et Seelenlehre bei 'Umar az-

(ANGELIKA HARTMANN)

AL-SUHRAWARDI, SHIHAB AL-DIN YAHYA b. Habaš b. Amrāk, Abu l-Futūḥ, well known Persian innovative philosopher-scientist, and founder of an independent, non-Aristotelian philosophical school named "the Philosophy of Illumination" (Hikmat al-Ishārāt), which is also the eponymus of his most widely-known text; he is thus commonly referred to as the "Master of Illumination" (Shāhīk al-Ishārāt). He was born in the small town of Suhraward in northwestern Persia 549/1154, and met a violent death by execution in Aleppo in 587/1191, so ordered by the Ayyūbid sultan Salāḥ al-Dīn. Recent studies have demonstrated that al-Suhrawardī's execution was directly linked to his involvement in politics, whereby he sought to implement the "Illuminationist political doctrine" which he had taught to several late 6th/12th century rulers, among them the prince 'Alī al-Dīn Kay Kūbād; the Saljuk Sulayman Shah, who commissioned the Parta-nama; the ruler of Khorāsān, Malik 'Imād al-Dīn Artūk, who commissioned the Alawdh-i 'Imādī; and, lastly, to the Ayyūbid Salāḥ al-
Dīn's young son, the prince al-Malik al-Zahir Ghāzī, governor of Aleppo (see Zia'i, The source and nature of authority).

Al-Suhrawardī first studied philosophy and then theology with Madjd al-Dīn al-Dījīt in Marāgha, then travelled to Isfahān to study with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī (d. 594/1198), who is said to have predicted his student's death (Yākūt, Isfāhān, vi, 269; Ibn Abī Usayhīya, Tavaklāt, i, 299-301). It is also known that Zahir al-Fārisī, a logician, introduced al-Suhrawardī to the Observations (al-Bāṣīr) of the non-Aristotelian Persian logician 'Umar b. Sahlah al-Sawdāwī (fl. 540/1145) (see Hikmat al-irshād, 146, 278, 352). Sāwadhī's novel ideas concerning the reconstruction of the Aristotelian nine-book logical corpus of the Organon into more logically consistent divisions of syllogism, formal logic and material logic had a major impact on al-Suhrawardī's writings on logic.

Works

In his short 36 years of life, al-Suhrawardī is reported to have composed some 50 works, many of which remain unpublished. The published texts are also incomplete in that they do not include major sections on logic and physics. The most important texts in the philosophy of illumination are al-Suhrawardī's four major Arabic philosophical works: the Intemations (al-Talashāḥāt), the Approsies (al-Mukhāvatāt), the Paths and havens (al-Maṣāḥa wa l-mutārahāt) (see H. Corbin (ed.), Opera metaphysica et mystica I), and the Philosophy of illumination (Hikmat al-irshād) (see idem, Opera metaphysica et mystica II). The four texts constitute an integral corpus and also define the "syllogus" for the study of the philosophy of illumination (see Zia'i, Knowledge and illumination, 9-15). Other texts, especially the ʻImādīan tablets (al-ʻĀlēd b. ʻal-ʻāmāthiyya) and Temples of light (Hayākīl al-nir-i)—both of which were composed in Arabic and Persian—plus the Persian Psalms on emanation (Parta-nāma) (see Corbin and S.H. Nasr (eds.), Opera metaphysica et mystica III) are of lesser theoretical significance, but are to be included in this category of Illuminationist reconstructions.

Next in order of significance are al-Suhrawardī's Arabic and Persian philosophical allegories: "A tale of the occidental exile" (Rišādat al-qābba l-gharbīyya); "The treatise of the birds" (Rišādat al-qā溆); "The sound of Gabriel's Wing" (Asāz-za-p-i Ǧibrīlī); "The red intellect" (Ar-rūt ar-ṣorūq); "A day with a group of Sahifs" (Rišāq bā djamā-t-i Sahīfī); "On the state of child-
hood" (Fi ḥālat al-qābba l-qābba); "On the reality of love" (Fi ḥākītāt al-qā溆); "The language of ants" (Luqā-t al-māḥīd); and "The simurg's shrill cry" (Ṣafīt-i simūrg) (see Corbin, ibid.; W.M. Thackston (tr.), The mystical and visionary treatises of Shihabuddin Taha Suhrawardi; and O. Spies (tr.), Three treatises on mysticism by Shihabuddin Suhrawardi Maqā'īn).

The next group of works by al-Suhrawardī consists of devotional prayers and invocations, aphorisms and other short statements (see Shahrâzūrī, Nūḥat al-aranb, ii, 136-43). Of specific interest are two prayers and invocations composed in an especially rich allegorical and literary style, where al-Suhrawardī addresses "the great Heavenly Sun, Ḥirakhsa, and invokes the author- ity of "the Great Luminous Being" (al-ʻayyār al-
āzām), praying to it for knowledge and salvation (published by M. Moin, in Maqāṣid-i Amūrīkh us-Farsawār, and once reprinted in M. Ḥabībī, Si ṣīla az Shāhīk l-Ishārāt).

His Illuminationist philosophy

With a few exceptions, most notably Max Horten, Orientalist studies on al-Suhrawardī's Arabic and Persian texts have failed to recognise the systematic philosophical side of Illuminationist logic, physics and metaphysics. Al-Suhrawardī's own oft-repeated aim to compose a novel scientific system has been inadequately done away with by the use of such non-technical philosophical terms as "theosophy", "sagesse orientale", "transcendental theosophy", "Sophia perennis", and the like. Suhrawardi was a well-trained scientist-philosopher, whose works on logic, foundations of mathematics, cosmic continuum theories, unified epistemological laws, etc. all demonstrate his intention which may be summed as a rational attempt to, among other things, harmonise intuitive knowledge (al-ḥikma al-ḥaţīţiyya) (see al-Shahrāzūrī, Sharḥ Hikmat al-
iršād, 1-9).

Al-Suhrawardī's principal novel philosophical approach is founded on his critique of the universal validity of Aristotelian scientific methodology. He is one of the first philosophers to elaborate on an old tradition, whose roots are to be found in Plato's idea of sudden inspiration put forth in light imagery in the Seventh Letter (941C, 344B), later discussed by Speusippos, who introduced the term ém-pan (ēthikos (see Merlan, 64, n*), and the subject of an entire treatise by St. Augustine (see R. Allers, St. Augustine's doctrine on Illumination). The favourite Platonic metaphor of light and vision of the Republic, V-VIII, is repeated in almost all Illuminationist texts, but incorporated in the Illuminist unified episte- mological theory named "Knowledge by presence" (al-
-lum al-flufūṭ).

Al-Suhrawardī expresses his concern with ambigu-
ities and inconsistencies which he discovered in the Arabic Aristotelianism of his time. They cover the discrete and numbered separate Intels; but especially in early passages of the Physica. analytics, 1.27-b1, 20-72a.25. The latter concern the foundations of Aristotelian scientific method, summed up as: science rests on necessary, true, primary, and most prior premises, which are known not through syllogistic deduction, but by immediate, intuitive knowledge. 'An vér e tnen àpòdèísticoù èpistémòi eòs ìlèvènì t e'ìnia kai gnòmòteron kai pròtèvnon kai àtòvno òvòv smupérósmatos. Aristotle does not systematically present what is the intuitive mode, nor does he discuss an epistemological process that could describe primary intuition nor immediate knowledge. Science is defined as a deductive theory (an axiomatic system), based on ὅροι, δἐξιμώματα, θεώρειν, where the latter may be known through primary ὑπόσημα or αἵμα or, ὅρμος; this view is then further refined and expanded in the Metaphysics E.1, 1025b ff., when Aristotle defines kinds of theoretical sciences; and in Metaphysics M.10, 1086b. 5 ff., he examines the two ways the term science is said, and emphasizes that scientific knowledge is universal (the same as in De anima, II.5, 417b).

Al-Suhrawardi’s main scientific aim was to construct a unified epistemological theory that describes intuitive knowledge in a “scientific” way. For example, “I intuitively know I exist/I think, that is the same”, then generalized as “every self-apprehending being is the same as its substantial existence” (cf. The Philosophy of Illumination, Part Two, 1.5: §114 ff.). Illuminationist philosophy also recovers Stoic sources, e.g., relating to reduction of categories, continuum theories, etc. See Ziai, Knowledge and Illumination, chs. I, II.

Al-Suhrawardi’s novel system is a scientific philosophical one intended to refine the scientific methods of the time, and closely parallels the ideals of Kant’s “Critical philosophy” and Fichte’s “Theory of scientific knowledge”. The most widespread impact of Illuminationist philosophy has in fact been in the area of Arabic philosophy, where Suhrawardhi argues against the validity of the Aristotelian hétoum kai hóumou in the foundations of philosophy, and considers ambiguous Aristotle’s use of “intuition” as a starting-point of knowledge, because the Stagirite is not clear as to whether intuitive, immediate knowledge is opinion, δόξα, valid by common acceptance, ἐνδοξος, or something known ἐκσηπτον as scientific knowledge. Al-Suhrawardi’s main claim is that in his reconstructed system, the Philosophy of Illumination, by which a new and more consistent scientific method, the “science of lights” (ἐἰμὶ ἀνωτάτου) is defined, the ambiguity is resolved. He constructs a unified epistemological theory, knowledge-by-presence, hailed since the 7th/13th century by such creative thinkers as al-Shahrastâni and Ibn Kammuna, and up to the present, as one of Islamic philosophy’s greatest achievements and the most valid process of obtaining and describing scientific knowledge of a wider range of things in every sector of the continuum Whole, e.g. the phenomenal and the noumenal (see M. Ḥanî’s Yazdi, The principles of epistemology in Islamic philosophy). Unlike Aristotle, the theory unequivocally posits primacy to a temporal, pre-inference and immediate mode of knowledge, which, in contemporary terms, is non-propositional intuitive knowledge prior to dyadic differentiation of subject-object.

The Illuminationist ontological position, called “primacy of quiddity”, is a long-standing problem that distinguishes philosophical schools in the development of Islamic philosophy in Persia up to the present day. It is also a matter of considerable controversy. Those who believe in the primacy of being or of existence (sewhìyà) consider essence (makhkàya) to be a derived, mental concept (amr falsîbî, a term of “secondary intention”); while those who believe in the primacy of quiddity consider existence to be a derived, mental concept. The Illuminationist position is this: should existence be real outside the mind (mutabakkak ft lîhâri al-dînh), then the real must consist of two things— the principle of the reality of existence, and the being of existence, which requires a referent outside the mind. And its referent outside the mind must also consist of two things, which are subdivided, and so on ad infinitum. This is clearly absurd. Therefore existence must be considered as an abstract, derived, mental concept (cf. William of Ockham, Summa logicae, Pars prima, 15: “That the general term is not a thing outside the mind”).

In sum, Illuminationist philosophy contests the Aristotelian position that the laws of science formulated as A-propositions are both necessary and always true, and that they are universal. Through an elaborate process of arguments, starting in logic in the four major texts mentioned, Al-Suhrawardi establishes future contingency (al-imkâni al-mustakbal) as a scientific principle. Using this principle and others, he further argues that, contrary to the Aristotelian position, laws of science cannot be universal.

Finally, Illuminationist philosophy is quintessentially different from philosophical “text books” composed by Muslim disiotechnological thinkers and cannot be reduced to a state-sponsored “handmaiden of theology.” Al-Suhrawardi’s concepts such as idrâk (“apperception or apprehension”) similar to modern philosophy’s replacing noin with Vernehmen; al-idâfa al-istihâkîyya, (comparable to non-predicative knowledge; idrâk al-awdàyya (self-awareness, Selbstbewusst); masglâhâda istihâkîyya (cf. Selbstbewusst, as well as Ichthei, as acts Beseinsein) of the cognitive intuitive mode, and Anschauung, meaning “seeing,” applicants in the Islamic scientific texts is identified as Wesensschau; and many other technical terms, are also not to be confused with their subjective use in Şifism.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The major biographical sources on Suhrawardi, which include references to Illuminationist philosophy, are Ibn Abî Uṣayy’b’ā, ed. Müller, i, 168; the ed. by R. Riâč, Beirut 1968, 641-6, differs in part from Müller’s; Yâkît, Irdâd, ed. Margoulou, vi, 269; Kiftî, Hikâmâd, ed. Bahman Dârât, Tehran 1347, 345; Ibn Khâliłkin, ed. I. ‘Abbâs, vi, 268-74; Shams al-Dîn Muḥammad al-Shâhrazûrî, Nasrât al-arâwâdat al-ṣânîf ft tārîkh al-hukmâd usul falsafa, ii, 119-43; the 17th-century Persian tr. by Nasrât al-arâwâdat by Mašṣûd ‘Alî Tabrîzî has recently been published by M.T. Dânîg-Pâhû and M.S. Mawlî’, Tehran 1986; it differs (considerably at times) from the Arabic text. Part of the notice on Suhrawardi in this text has been tr. into English by W.M. Thackston, Jr., in The mystical and visionary treatises of Shihabuddîn Yâhûa Suhrawardi, London 1982, 1-4.

Thackston’s tr. is based on the partial ed. of S.H. Nasr, in Shihabuddîn Yâhûa Suhrawardi. Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques, Opera metaphysica et mystica III, repr. Tehran 1976, 13-30. This ed. includes the Arabic text as well as the version of the Persian translation of Tabrîzî.


Suhrawardiyya, an order of Ṣūfīs of ‘Irāq origin which flourished particularly in India; devoid of a centralised organisation, the ṣūfīka [q.v.] split into numerous branches.

I. The order in ‘Irāq and Persia. The Suhrawardiyya traces its origin back to Abu ‘l-Nadjīb Suhrawardī [q.v.], the disciple of Ahmad Ghazzālī [q.v.]. Through two of his students who became masters of Naḍīm al-Dīn Kubra [q.v.] (Djamī, Naṣāḥāt, 417-18), the asīsu’ of the Kubrawiyya goes back to Abu ‘l-Nadjīb. Some of Kubra’s major students, such as Naḍīm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 634/1236) and Yahyā Bākhārī (d. 736/1335-6), were either linked with Abu ‘l-Nadjīb’s nephew Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥāfẓ ʿUmar Suhrawardī [q.v.] or they were active in the propagation of the latter’s work. Abu ‘l-Nadjīb is also at the origin of the line of the mystical poet Awhd al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. probably 635/1237-8; R. Gramlich, Demowschidon, i, 9; H. Ritter, Meer, 473-6; see Bibl. below).

However, it is Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar Suhrawardī, trained in his uncle’s ribāt in Baghdad, who devoted himself to be regarded as the actual founder of the order. On account of his close relationship with the ‘Abhāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh [q.v.], for whom Shihāb al-Dīn acted as a court theologian and special emissary, he obtained the privileged position of a Shuyukh al-iṣrārī within the Shīfūrīyya of Baghdad. The caliph had a lodge built for Shihāb al-Dīn, the Rībak al-Muṣtaqaddām, and he designated him as a patron of his knightly order, the Ismaʿīlī waṣāṣīkhīnī. In Baghdad, Shihāb al-Dīn prepared the propagation of his order through an extensive correspondence. He visited Shīfūrī lodges and received many distinguished visitors, upon whom he conferred the khirka, including, e.g., the poet Sa’dī [q.v.] and the historian Ibn al-Nadjīdār [q.v.]. In Baghdad, Shihāb al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Ṭimād al-Dīn Muhammad Suhrawardi (d. 655/1257) as custodian of the Rībak al-Maʿmūniyya (Ibn al-Fuwārī, Hausūdī, 323). Other disciples, on Shihāb’s orders, returned to their homelands or settled in new areas where they founded daughter lodges.

The spreading of Shihāb al-Dīn’s Ṭawāfir al-maʾārif, used by him as a teaching manual, became the prime concern for his disciples. Both in the propagation of his magnum opus and in the dissemination of the order, Sūfīs of Shīrāz, in general, and the line of Naḍīm al-Dīn ‘Allī b. Buzghūsh (d. 678/1280), in particular, seem to have played a leading role: The latter’s son Zahir al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān (d. 716/1216) translated the Ṭawāfir into Persian, and a great-grandson of Ibn Buzghūsh, wrote a commentary on his grandfather’s translation. Apart from these renditions, the Ṭawāfir were propagated in the Persian language through the compilations of Bākhārī and Mahmūd Khāshānī (d. 735/1334-5). The latter received the transmission of the Ṭawāfir from two disciples of Ibn Buzghūsh, of whom ‘Abd al-Šāmād Natanzl may be mentioned here (Djamī, op. cit., 481; Gramlich, Gabin, 14; see
Bibli.]. Na'tanız left his mark as the master of 'Abd al-Razzak Kâdhî (d. 736/1335), who is noted for his 'Ala' al-Dawla Simmâni [q.v.] in which he vindicated Ibn 'Arabi's [q.v.] philosophy of wâdûdat al-wâdût ("unity of being"); Dîâmî, op. cit., 91]). Zayn al-Dîn Nâtanî (d. 838/1435 at Harât [q.v.], initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Nûr al-Dîn Mîrî, in Egypt, was equally linked with Shîhâb al-Dîn through Na'tanız. However, Khâ'îfî established his own chain, the Zaynîyya, which spread into the Ottoman Empire (Trimingham, Sîfî orders, 78). Although Khâ'îfî has now widely been portrayed as orthodox, he came to be associated with the 'Hûrûfîyya and Bektâşîyya [q.v.]; H. Norris, Mîrî al-tâlîhîn, 59).

2. The order in India. In the Indian Subcontinent, the Suhrawardiyya has been one of the four major orders, besides the Cîshtîyya, Kadîrîyya—which has now widely overtaken the Suhrawardiyya in popularity—and the Nakshbandiyya. The brotherhood was introduced to India from the beginning of the Dîhlî Sultanate (13th-16th centuries) by three disciples of Shîhâb al-Dîn, each of whom founded a regional branch: Hamîd al-Dîn Nagawrî (d. 673/1274) in the area of Dîhlî, Abu l-Kâsîm Dîjalâl al-Dîn Tabråzî (d. 641-2/1244 in Bangâl, and Bâhâ al-Dîn Zakarîyâî Mîltanî (d. 661/1262 [q.v.]) in Mîltan. Bâhâ al-Dîn, a man of Kurâysh descent who joined Shîhâb al-Dîn in Baghdad after having studied in Bûkhârâ, was the most successful propagator of the order, and his line became its centre in India. Among the contemporaries of Shîhâb al-Dîn, Mu'min al-Dîn Cîshî [q.v.]) of Sîstân also entered India. He settled in Âdîmâr, where he founded the Cîshîyya order [q.v.]; Cîshîyya, which used the 'Rûûfî as their manual of instruction. The 'Shâṭârîyya order [q.v.], which chain also linked with the Suhrawardiyya, was introduced to India at the end of the 9th/15th century.

The continuous history of the order can be traced best through the successors, Sîráfîn, of Bahâ al-Dîn. Among his disciples, Sayyid Dîjalâl Bâhîlî (d. 690/1291), called Dîjalâl Surhî, migrated from Bûkhârâ to 13th-century [q.v.], where he founded the Dîjalâlî branch of the order. Dîjalâl Surhî was the grandfather and namesake of Dîjalâl al-Dîn Bûkhârî [q.v.], the so-called Makhdûmî al-Dîjahânîyânî (d. 785/1384). The 'Shî'î dervish order of the Khâkîsûr is almost certainly to be seen as a Persian development of this Dîjalâlî branch (Garnîch, Dînîsîchördöö, i, 71).

Bahâ al-Dîn’s most famous disciple was the Sûfî and poet Fâkhr al-Dîn 'Irâkî [q.v.], who originated from the area of Hamâdân (Dîâmî, op. cit., 605-6). After a stay of 25 years in Mîltan with Bahâ al-Dîn, he was appointed one of his khâtîfûs; however, after Bahâ al-Dîn’s death he left Mîltan. A hereditary principle became established within the line of Bahâ al-Dîn with the appointment of Sâdîr al-Dîn Muhammad 'Arîf (d. 684/1286) as his father’s successor (Dîâmî, 504).

Among Sâdîr al-Dîn’s disciples, the most learned was Amîr Husayn Husaynî (d. after 720/1320, Rîzî, History, i, 206; see Bîhî) who exchanged letters with the mystic of Tabråzî, Mâhmûd Şâhîbistârî (d. 720/1320; Dîâmî, 605). The successor of Sâdîr al-Dîn, however, was his son Rûkur al-Dîn Abu l-Fathî (d. 735/1334-5). The latter was succeeded, according to the hagiographers, by a nephew, according to Ibn Bâţûţa (Rîhâ, 475-7) by his grandson shaykh Hûd. Although the sultan decided the ensuing dispute in favour of Hûd, he had the shaykh executed as a result of accusations of embezzlement against Hûd. With this episode, the fortune of Bahâ al-Dîn’s splendid khanâkâh in Mîltan came to an end. The order thereafter started to flourish in the areas of Úçh, Gudjârât, the Pandîjâb, Kashmir and in Dîhlî. In Úçh, Dîjlâl al-Dîn Bûkhârî, “Makhdûmî al-Dîjahânîyânî” infused the ‘Rûûfî with new life. Makhdûmî was also initiated, by Cîrâghî Dîlâmî [q.v.], into the Cîshîyya order. Despite Bahâ al-Dîn’s insistence that his Sûfîs should join one order only, from the 8th/14th century, Indian Sûfîs often became affiliated with both the Cîshîyya and Suhrawardiyya orders. Makhdûmî, noted for his puritanism, opposed religious customs followed by some Muslims which were specifically Indian; he also disapproved of invoking God by names in Hindi (Schimmel 33; see Bîhî). His brother and successor Sâdîr al-Dîn Râjdî (d. after 800/1400) earned the shaykh “Kâtalî” on account of his religious militancy. The order of the Bûkhârî Sâyîids spread further through the sons and grandsons of Makhdûmî and Sâyîd Kâtalî.

Whereas various disciples and descendants of the Makhdûmî established themselves in the provincial kingdoms of Kalîpî [q.v.] and also Gudjârât, the centre in Dîhlî was founded by shaykh Sâmî al-Dîn (d. 901-2/1496), a second generation disciple of Râjdî Kâtalî. Sâmî al-Dîn is noted as an author who wrote under the influence of wâdûdat al-wâdût and 'Irâkî’s Lamâ'ât. The leading figure among Sâmî al-Dîn’s disciples was Hâmîd b. Djâmil Dîhlâwî (d. 942/1536 [q.v.]), a widely-known poet and great traveller. In Úçh, Dîjâmâlî had discussions with Dîjamî [q.v.], whose belief that the Lamâ'ât were inspired through Kûnâwî (see SADR AL-DÎN) is disputed.

The Indian Suhrawardiyya had the greatest impact, however, in Kashmir [q.v.]. This was partly due to the support they received from migrant Sûfîs of the Kubrawiyya order. Rînchâna, the king of Kashmir and former Buddhist chief from Lâdakh who embraced Islam in the 8th/14th century, is said to have been converted by Sayyid Shâraf al-Dîn [see BULBUL SHAH IN SUPPL.] a disciple of one of Shîhâb al-Dîn’s Shàrîfîn in Turkestan. In the 9th/15th century, various Suhrawardiyya shrîqûs, mainly of the branch of the Makhdûmî al-Dîjahânîyânî, kept Kashmiri Sûfism alive. There were clashes between Suhrawardîs and Shi’tîs in the 10th/16th century under the Çâk [q.v. in Suppl.] dynasty which patronised Shi’tism.

(a) Relations with the rulers. In the Sultanate of Dîhlî, the Suhrawardiyya was an aristocratic order which justified the possession of wealth and enjoyed state patronage. Bahâ al-Dîn, like his master Shîhâb al-Dîn, willingly cooperated with the government, trying to influence it in turn; Iltutmîsh, of the line of Slave Kings’, moved his troops against the governor of Úçh apparently under Bahâ al-Dîn’s influence. Thereafter, the sultan conferred upon Bahâ al-Dîn the title of the Shàrîf al-Islâm for Sind and Pandîjâb. Bahâ al-Dîn’s successors also maintained close relations with the rulers. The sultans of Gudjârât were devoted to the Suhrawardî shâqûs, and high government officials attached themselves to Sîfîm under their influence. Sâmî al-Dîn of Dîhlî blessed the sultan Sîkândar Lodo during his coronation, and his disciple Dîjâmâlî accompanied the crown prince Hâmûyân [q.v.] on his campaigns. Dîjâmâlî’s son ‘Abd al-Rahmân Gâdîî assumed the powerful post of Sadr al-sudûr [see SADR 5] under emperor Akbar [q.v.] and his samâ’ assemblies were attended by the emperor.

(b) Attitude to Hinduism. The Suhrawardîs supported the enforced conversion of Hindus. Dîjlâl al-Dîn Tabråzî was active in converting Hindus and
Buddhists to Islam, which occasionally involved the destruction of a temple and its replacement by a khānakāh. The brotherhood demanded formal conversion to Islam as a pre-requisite to initiation in mysticism. In the main, however, it seems that the Suhrawardiyya only succeeded in converting Hindus of high caste (Rizvi, op. cit., ii, 396).

(c) Some traits of Suhrawardi spirituality. The order played an important part in the preservation of the Prophetic tradition, on which their šaykhī wrote numerous works. Suhrawardi mysticism, orientated more towards classical Šī'ī doctrine than to Ibn 'Arabī's philosophy, was fully orthodox. Relatively uninterested in austerities, the Suhrawardīs emphasised canonical prayer, dākhīr [q.v.] and fasting in Ramadan. Modifications of the form of dākhīr exercises as a result of encounters with Yūgis may be observed for the Čīghtiyya, but not for the Suhrawardīs. The practice of prostration before the šaykh (zamin-bus) adopted by the Čīghtiyya was rejected by the Suhrawardīs.

Regarding sama, [q.v.], the Suhrawardiyya were little inclined towards the appreciation of poetry or music. Already Shihāb al-Dīn had taken a reserved stance against the youth parties (Awdrī, cls. 22-5). Shihāb al-Dīn also criticised (Djamf, 589) Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī, a typical representative of the šahid concept, for his contemplation of beauty in sensible objects (Ritter, op. cit., 473), which often formed part of sama assemblies. Notwithstanding this, 'Irākī, the poet and—Kirmanī, a typical representative of the šahid theory, inclined towards the appreciation of poetry or music. Thus, on the whole, the order did not succeed in enforcing a total rejection of sama.

3. Some modern developments. While in recent times the Suhrawardiyya has largely disappeared from some Middle Eastern countries such as Syria, in 'Irāk the order still continued to recruit adherents. The legacy of the contemporary Suhrawardiyya in 'Irāk traditionally belong to the family of the Bāyti Sāliḥ al-Khartī. Some of them served as professors at the Madrasat Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrwārdī and as khaṭībīs at the mosque attached to it. One Suhrawardi šaykh mentioned in Muḥammad Sāliḥ Suhrwārdī's Lubāb al-adlāb (Baghdād 1933, ii, 463-5; cf. F. de Jong, Les confréries mystiques musulmanes au Maghreb arabe, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, Les Ordres mystiques dans 'l'Islam, Paris 1965, 205-43; H.T. Norris, The Mīrāt al-Tālibīn, by Zīn al-Dīn al-Qandīshī al-Khūsākī and Hārūrī, in BSOS, liii (1960), 57-63; B. Radīkē, Von Iran nach Westafrika. Zwei Quellen für al-Hāqī 'Umar Kītab Rīzīmā ḫib al-rahīm, Dāydīn al-Ḥawāfī und Samsādīn al-Mdāyīnī, in WI, xxxiv/1 (1995), 37-69 (on a Suhrawardi influence on the Western Ṭijānī Šīff Ṣaḥīḥī 'Umar al-Fūtī [d. 1864]), (F. Soborjoh)

Sūk (a.), pl. asūkal, market.

1. In the traditional Arab world.
2. In the Muslim West.
3. In Cairo under the Mamlūks and Ottomans.
4. In Syria.

(a) Damascus under the Ottomans.
(b) Aleppo.
5. In 'Irāk [see Suppl.].
7. In Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans.
8. In Muslim India.
9. In the traditional Arab world.

Sūk, market, is a loanword from Aramaic šāghā with the same meaning. Like the French term marché and the English market, the Arabic word sūk has acquired a double meaning: it denotes both the commercial exchange of goods or services and the place in which this exchange is normally conducted. Analysis of the sūk as a concept is thus of interest to the economic and social historian as well as to the archaeologist and the urban topographer. The substantial textual documentation which is available has as yet been analysed only very partially and the phenomenon of the market, fundamental to the understanding of mediaeval Arab culture, has not, to the present writers' knowledge, been subjected to a thorough and comprehensive conceptual study.

Since the beginnings of urban civilization in Mesopotamia and in Syria, from the third millennium onwards, the Middle East had seen the development of commercial activities, local and long distance. On the contributions of the mercantile tradition to Islamic civilization, the reader is referred to a perceptive and useful monograph by Maxime Rodinson which appears as a preface to P. Chalmeta's important work El Señor del zoo (Madrid 1973). For M. Rodinson, the Arabic sūk could be associated with an ancient Semitic term, the Akkadīan škū, from a root evoking tightness (if sūk < škū < škū), and in Hebrew texts, with the term šāghā, denoting streets and squares and used to translate the Greek ὑστάρα and the Latin forum. Intermediate Jewish sources between the 3rd and 6th-7th centuries A.D. refer to various functionaries supervising the market in the Talmudic era. The function of market inspector had been inaugurated in Mesopotamia, and the Greek term had passed into the Aramaic language of the Jews of Babylon and of Palestine where
the Jewish authorities appointed agoranomes entitled to impose their own prices on the market.

The prominent role played by the market and its physical centrality in the Hellenistic and Roman world induced the state to take a keen interest in its workings. Thus, agoranomy may be drawn to the appearance in Athens and elsewhere, of colleges of agoranomes, entrusted with supervision of the maintenance and good order of the agora, but above all responsible for checking the regularity of the transactions conducted there. The function of agoranome seems to have disappeared from Greek institutions 300 years before the Arab conquest (Foster, *Agoranomos and muhtasib*, in *JESHO*, xii 1970, 128-44). However, if a solution based on chronological continuity is to be rejected, the ōmīlāʾ al-sāk, or wašt al-sāk, or šābih al-sāk, who appeared from the outset of Islam, in the time of Muhammad, may be associated with the agoranomes of Palmyra of the 3rd century, who had a more exalted municipal function than simple market-police, whose authority extended to the fairs which were held twice a year, or *sawāk al-ʿArab*, although it is not known whether there was anything resembling a unified or regional organisation of such phenomena. M.A. Shaban followed Rodinson in writing: "It is impossible to think of Makka in terms other than trade; its only raison d'être was commerce" (*Islamic history*, Cambridge 1971, i, 3). However, Patricia Crone has recently disputed the excessive importance attributed to Mecca as regulator of trade between Yemen and Syria. Excavations in the Arabian Peninsula have revealed conurbations including a group of three linked buildings: sanctuary, seat of power and market (*Abd al-Kaḥyān al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, *Kurāyti al-Faw*, 1981). Muslim tradition holds that Mecca was inhabited and controlled by merchants when the Prophet Muhammad received there the revelation of the Kurʾān; the latter contains allusions to the coming and going of caravans and to the fairs which were held twice a year, close to the city.

On numerous occasions, it is evident that concepts deployed in the Kurʾān—which was initially addressed to the population of Mecca, a town occupied essentially by traders—assumed the existence of a "market economy", especially in references to the relations between God and human beings, established in terms "of reckonings, of just and precise equivalences, of selling and buying" (Chalmeta, *El Señor del zooco*, 53); thus God has "bought from the believers their selves and their goods in exchange for Paradise" (Kurʾān, IX, 112). The Prophet himself disconcerted the Kurayyīb with his preaching in markets (XXV, 8). After the seizure of Mecca, Muhammad is said to have appointed in this place Saʿīd b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿAṣ to serve as ōmīlāʾ al-sāk. There were also numerous sāks in Medina when the Prophet established himself there; their style of organisation remains entirely unknown, but the names of some of them have been preserved, in particular that belonging to the Banū Rayyūnī [q.v.]. In the time of Muhammad, women exercised the function of ōmīlāʾ al-sāk, possibly because the majority of shoppers were also women. An incident in the life of the Prophet involves the arrival of Banū Sulaym nomads from the neighbourhood, bringing butter and livestock for trade. It is known furthermore that Muhammad designated an open space as a sāk, forbade any building work on this site, and even had tents erected there. The obligations imposed by God on his creatures, as well as the relations which God requires human beings to uphold among themselves—marriage, reputation, inheritance, exchange of goods or services, recognition of the power of a political leader—are presented according to a general pattern comparable to that of commercial contracts, clearly committing the two parties, according to strictly codified formulae. The mechanisms of the "market", taken in the broadest sense of the term, thus play a fundamental role: "Ideology attributes to the market a supreme dominance over life on this earth," Rodinson writes, quoting al-Ghazālī, who compares a spiritual with a material market: "Let the sāk of this world below do no injury to the sāk of the Hereafter, and the sāks of the Hereafter are the mosques". This enables him to conclude: "The Muslim economy is essentially a market economy. It celebrates the triumph of the market, extending for the first time over a substantial area of the earth's surface". The Arabs created the first "common market" covering an enormous space, stretching from the shores of the Atlantic to the frontiers of China, from the estuaries of the Volga to the Sahara, constructed on a unity which was initially political, then cultural, creating an institutional identity from one end to the other of the Dār al-ʿĪslām.

It is reasonable to speculate on the extent to which the pro-commercial ideology of the new conquerors directed the Arab policy in captured or newly-established towns. Chalmeta (*Señor del zooco*, 141 ff.) stresses the importance of the building of sāks at the orders of Highām b. ʿAbd al-Malik: according to him, it was this period which saw clear evolution towards what is now recognisable as the sāk, and its ultimate transformation into the constructed sāk, an enclosure with gates, with permanent shops (*ḥūnnāt*), a base for the levying of taxes. H. Kennedy (The impact of Muslim rule on the pattern of rural settlement in Syria, in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam*, Damascus 1992, 296-7) relies on the results of the excavation of a presumed Umayyad sāk at Palmyra in proposing the notion that the steppe region became, with the Arab conquest, a place of revived commercial activity after a late Byzantine phase of stagnation.

The desert was henceforward an active space, bordered by points which could be animated, among other activities, by commerce. An obvious point of reference here is the work of O. Grabar, *Cip in the desert*, Harvard 1978. The article by Roll and Ayalon, The market street at Apollonia-Arsuf, in BASOR, (1987), 61-76 describes a town of regional importance, the only harbour serving a quite extensive hinterland, where the elements of a sāk have been established: a narrow commercial street 2.5 m wide by 65 m in length, within the fortified town, which was apparently in use from the late 7th/early 8th century, where Umayyad coins have been found. In sum, however,
in the absence of publications in sufficient number on the Umayyad period and of firmly-established chronologies, questions remain unanswered, especially for major cities such as Aleppo and Damascus where the transformation of the large central avenues into a sūk follows a chronology which, since the work of Sauvaget (Esquisse d’une histoire de la ville de Damas, in REI, viii [1934]) is still far from clarified (on the functioning of sūks in towns created by the Arabs, see A.J. Naji and Y. Ali, *The Suqs of Basrah. Commercial organisation and activity in medieval Islamic society*, in JESHO, xxiv [1981], 298-309).

These urban transformations have an undeniable religious, social and judicial dimension. In the Arabo-Muslim world of the first five centuries, one of the most respected functions was that of the merchant/disseminator of hadith, who enabled all the inhabitants of this region to acquire the same access both to the commodities of material culture and to the fundamental elements of religious culture. In mediaeval Arabic literature, religious as well as secular, the travelling merchant plays a predominant role: he transports the goods which he buys or sells from one market to another, between the time of the dawn prayer and the time of the midday prayer. Similarly, he memorises or diffuses prophetic traditions, from one mosque to another, between the afternoon prayer and the final prayer. The *ḥizā* [*q.v.*], a branch of Islamic legislation precisely defining the functions of the muhtasib, a civilian official appointed by the kādi to uphold Islamic order in the town and, in particular, to supervise the markets, is well understood, since numerous texts concerning it, often very concrete and practical, have been preserved. As will be seen especially with regard to the towns of the Muslim West, these documents make it possible to follow the daily functioning of the sūk.

Whether it was a case of ancient cities captured by the Arabs or newly-founded ones, all maintained certain similar, essential functions. The pattern of organisation of these large urban areas is well known: in the centre of the city, the *djami*-mosque and the governor’s palace, dār al-imāra, constituted a local centre of political authority, a place of prayer, upholding of Muslim order and levying of fiscal revenues. These buildings/institutions symbolised the town, a space for mediation between Arab tribes belonging to traditionally mutually hostile confederations, or between Arab Muslims and converted masādl, or even between the various officially recognised religious communities, Muslims and *dhimmis*. Immediately adjacent to the centre, along thoroughfares radiating from this nucleus and delineating homogeneous areas, the sūks supplied the third function of these cities, being the provider of wealth, of the exchange of goods and services. These sūks comprised a series of broadly similar booths established on a segment of the road, deployed on one or on both sides of the latter according to the type of commercial activity and of product. These booths, of little depth, were fronted on the street by a bench: they could be overlooked by residential areas or separated by a rearward wall from such zones. The goods, since the days of the Fatimid period, were arranged in the usual order: on the left of the trader or the artisan, but in general there was no access between them and the shop and they were occupied by families unrelated to the user of the premises.

In general, each type of commerce was concentrated on both sides of one of the radial routes linking the central square to each of the gates, a sector to which it gave its name. Traditionally, close to the Great Mosque, in the heart of the city, were located the sellers of manuscripts and the copyists, *kutubī*; suppliers of perfumes, *ṣārīf*, and of fine leather, slippers and furs; and trades associated with precious metals: changers, *sawāfi*, goldsmiths, jewellers, *ṣārīf, ḥimāchari*, trades often practised by Christian or Jewish artisans. Large central markets sold quality fabrics and tins of clothing. Closer to the gates were those practising noisier crafts: carpenters, joiners and manufacturers of copper or brass objects, the latter often being Jews or Christians. Close by the gates of the citadel were saddlers and the sellers of weapons, such as swords, sabres, lances, bows and quivers. In the section of the town easily accessible to Bedouins, there were sellers of felt or cloth for tents, ropes, fur-lined capes, utensils and all other essentials for living in the steppe lands. Located outside the city were those businesses which required abundant space or easy access to running water, or those which were dirty and malodorous: fullers, dyers, tanners, potters, wholesalers of fruit and vegetables, *ṣūk al-bittīkh*, traders in sheep, horses, donkeys, mules, camels (on the variety of craft and commercial activities in the Middle Ages, see the list compiled by Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the medieval Islamic world*, Leiden 1994, 255-329).

Besides these linear sūks, there existed agglomerations located in the enclosed structures of a continuous wall, breached by an easily-controlled monumental gate, structures of one or two storeys, surrounding a space open to the sky. Often of considerable size these buildings were denoted by various terms: *kaysānīya* [*q.v.*] (imperial establishment for the protection of stages on major commercial routes), *funduk* [*q.v.*] (hostel, *fondaco*, place for the lodging of visitors to the town), *ḥārān* [*q.v.*], *hālāla* (meeting-place for commercial agents), *rab* [*q.v.*] (facilities for temporary accommodation concentrated in a single building), *havāh* (enclosed area, urban or suburban, of rural aspect, a yard of beaten earth, where cattle or poor immigrants could be accommodated) and when situated away from towns, isolated on commercial routes, *kara-bānasānī (from the Persian “caravan” and “palace”, caravanary”.

Large in scale, supplied with lodgings, stables, sometimes with a mosque and a public bath, and comprising substantial warehouses, *makkzan, ḥāyil*, the *kaysānīyas* could maintain a high level of bulk trading, storage and processing by means of the workshops often located on the site. Situated either outside or within the city, close to a gate or linked to it by a well-proportioned street, these massive structures could be easily reached by heavily-laden dromedaries. The merchandise, resold wholesale or retail, was distributed, outside these enclosed markets, through the narrow streets of the city, transported by donkeys or porters. These enclosures, set apart for a series of well-defined and restricted commercial or industrial activities, provided governments with an easy framework for operating fiscal levies [see *Mār*, and the single gate, which could be locked, made it possible during the night to segregate transients from resident citizens. They were in fact the forerunners of customs offices. In Fustat, from the Fatimid period onwards, sales outlets specialising in the commerce of cheese, carpets, eggs or jewellery were leased on behalf of such a *diwān* supplying the financial needs of Kutāmī Berber soldiers or other social groups (al-Musabbihī, *Akhbār Misr, al-kism al-ta’rikhī*, Cairo 1978, index, 134, s.v. dār; Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimid*, Damascus 1987, i, 209, n. 1, bibl. of Dār Mānik; idem, *Le fonctionnement des diwānī financials
Foodstuffs harvested on the land adjacent to the towns, often processed in urban or suburban workshops, were introduced into networks of exchange covering a vast expanse between the Atlantic and Central Asia, while corn, fish, meat and vegetables, etc., which constituted the commercial heart of Muslim towns in all western regions. The diversity of these suks is well illustrated, for example, by Ibn Hawkal, in the description which he provides of the markets of Palermo in the 4th/10th century, for which he lists some twenty-five different specialities (traders in oil, corn, fish, meat and vegetables, smiths, apothecaries, money-changers, drysalters, cobblers, tanners, joiners, potters, embroiderers, polishers, etc.). Regarding the late Middle Ages, the index of Brunschvig’s survey of Hafsid Tunisia (La Berberie orientale sous les Hafsides, des origines à la fin du XV° siècle, 2 vols., Paris 1940–1947) names some fifty different suks. It would seem to be appropriate to seek out, through detailed study of a town such as Fez on the eve of the colonial period, the still vibrant modern echo of these ancient structures (see Le Tourneau’s classic work on Fez avant le Protectorat, Casablanca 1949). It is evident that cities of the western Mediterranean linked to the Muslim world were remodelled according to patterns emanating from the East, or were constructed according to the same principles in the case of new foundations.

As regards the Maghrib, it is however somewhat difficult to glean precise information on the topographical and economic organisation of suks in the Middle Ages. It is known that at al-Kayrawânî, before the Fatimids transferred commercial activities to Sabra Manşûriyya, the sector of the suks extended along the Simât, a main street which, traversing the whole city from gate to gate, skirted the Great Mosque and fringed by two rows of shops, served as the city’s principal thoroughfare. In 275/888-9, at the time of the “insurrection of the dirhams”, following a monetary reform ordered by the Aghlabid Ibrâhîm II, the traders closed their shops and rose in revolt. Calm having been restored after a skirmish between the local militia and the Kayrawânîs, the amîr sent a viceroy to parade along this simât as a means of appeasing the inhabitants (al-Bakrî, 23-6/99; Ibn `Idâhî, al-Bayân al-Maghribî, ed. Colín/Levi-Provençal et tr. Fagnan, i, 114/158). Also for the 3rd/9th century in Ibrâhîmîya, a very interesting source exists, the Aḥâkâm al-suîkî of Yâhya b. `Umar, containing a wealth of detail regarding the daily life of the suk (ed. Makkî in RIEF, iv [1956], 59-152 and tr. Garcia Gómez, Unas ordenanzas del zoco del siglo IX, in al-Andalus, xii [1957], 253-316). But besides this compilation of judicial consultations relating to the suk, Maghribî literature specifically concerning markets is rather meagre, and it would be necessary, for a clear understanding of
the market economy in the mediaeval Maghrib, to gather together a very dispersed and often allusive stock of documentation, since the sources currently available do not seem to allocate much importance to the “market”.

In his synthesis of the politico-administrative institutions of the mediaeval Maghrib, Hopkins (Medieval Muslim government in Barbary, London 1958, 135-6) supplies very little information on the administration of the market. The paucity of references to the specific jurisdiction of the hisba even leads him to believe that it was in fact the kāfīf who directly assumed the function of muhtasib. Sometimes, the latter would even have been the personal prerogative of the sovereign himself: twice a month, the Almohad caliph Ābū Ya'qūb Yusuf is supposed to have called together the umanāt (s. amīn) responsible for each of the professions to report to him on the state of the markets. The sources do, however, mention at about the same time a muhtasib of Marrakesh. Atallāh Dhīna, in his comprehensive survey of state institutions of the Muslim West in the 13th-15th centuries, supplies no additional information.

In his study of Zīrid Ifṛīqiyah, Idrīs makes virtually no mention of magistrates being in charge of a single market, which in his opinion was the responsibility of a kind of secondary judge, distinct from the kāfīf and called ḥākim, probably exercising supervision over the umanāt responsible for the different professions, or a nāẓir as-sūk, mentioned in a document of 430/1038 (Berbère orientale sous les Zirides, 2 vols., Paris 1962, 549-51). Besides a fairly thorough nomenclature (names of sūks, straightforward mention of the sūks of such and such a locality), sūks, as a concrete reality, appear hardly at all in Brunschvig’s survey of Ḥaḍīḍ Tunisia, although there is mention there of the creation of markets by sovereigns (30, 345), and details of the revenues levied by the state on the different markets by sovereigns (30, 345), and details of the revenues levied by the state on the different markets by sovereigns (30, 345), and details of the revenues levied by the state on the different markets (by al-Sakatf, which supplies similar information regarding Malaga of about a century later. G.S. Colin et Lévi-Provençal, Un manuel hispanique de hisba, traduit d’Arabic Aḥḥāb Muḥammad b. Aḥḥāb Muḥammad as-Sakatf de Malaga, 1931; tr. P. Chalmeta in Al-Andalus, xxxii [1967], 125-62, 365-97, and xxxiii [1968], 143-95, 367-434). All of these texts, which cover norms of activity for those responsible for the market, the regulations which they are expected to apply and safeguards against the more blatant forms of fraud, are more concerned with the control of professions and the policing of the market, thus its functioning and practical reality, than with the broader function of the hisba.

This seems to be due to the specifics of this control of the market in al-Andalus, where the Umayyad tradition seems to have preserved, better than was the case in the ‘Abbasid East, a post for the policing of commercial activities, the one responsible retaining the title of wali as-sūk or šabīb as-sūk. There is no doubt of the existence of a particular magistrate entrusted with the control of the secular level commercial activities, and constituted one of the echelons of a kind of cursus honorum of magistrates and senior official posts (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf, for example, seems to have been successively šabīb as-sūk, wali al-madīna, then wāzir). For P. Chalmeta, confusion with the šibāa was a late and rather deliberate development in al-Andalus, and among the populace, the functionary entrusted with this role was still seen primarily as “controller of the market”. The later treatise, that of al-Sakatf, is also the more precise and more vivid in regard to the ingenuity of fraudulent practices, the composition and manufacture of products: it provides an exceptionally clear insight into the daily life of a sūk which seems mainly devoted to the promotion of a multiplicity of small and highly specialised businesses.

The Andalusian treatises often paint a detailed and colourful picture of a world of impecunious small tradesmen and rogues, seeming to exist on the very edge of survival. They have little to say of higher-level commercial activities, and are almost silent on the subject of costly merchandise (where luxury products are mentioned, it is their manufacture which is
described, rather than their marketing: thus for example the brocades and silk fabrics cited by Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf, p. 353 of R. Arié's translation). Chalmeta draws a firm distinction between the closed world of small artisans and wholesalers of the suk as such, defined by him as hawdndīl, and the much more open one of the major traders, tadgīghīr, who were not, in his opinion, subject to the jurisdiction of the sāhib al-sūk. He stresses the separation of the two commercial circuits, local and long distance, which in his view had very little in the way of coordination or interaction with each other, and even developed in divergent directions. In her study of commerce—and particularly large-scale commerce—in al-Andalus, O.R. Constable, while slightly modifying the notion of the non-intervention of the sāhib al-sūk in long distance commerce (in areas such as the supervision of vessels and of ports), agrees that texts dealing with control of the Andalusian suk leave aside almost entirely precious products, major commerce and major traders. She believes that others were entrusted with this charge, but conceals that the sources say virtually nothing on the subject. (R. Constable, Trade and traders in Muslim Spain, Cambridge, 1994). It would probably be necessary to distinguish between different types of town. For his part, H. Ferhat provides a picture of Ceuta, a town which could be considered as representing Andalusian civilisation, where, in the 13th-14th centuries, “all the inhabitants were merchants, settlers, traders and mariners” (Sukh des origines au XIVe siècle, Rabat 1993, 308 and passim, in particular the whole of the very interesting chapter on commerce, 305-45).

It would be helpful to have a better knowledge of the precise geography of the places, in the city, where commercial activities were practised. The suk in the strict sense, the kaysāriyya (article by L. Torres Balbas on the Alcaicerías in Al-Andalus, xiv [1949], 431-55; detailed description of a surviving edifice, the current Corral del Carbón of Granada), funduks, open markets, certainly also played an important role, without counting the extramural and rural markets, which are often evoked but of which virtually nothing is known (cf. for example Brunschvig, ii, 235; Chalmeta, 75-102). A systematic analysis of texts of all kinds would perhaps facilitate a more accurate identification of the places where different types of commercial transaction were concluded. A passage from the Tagāveenf of al-Tādilī (sought out as representing a somewhat exceptional case by H. Ferhat, Saba, 310) refers for example to a purchase of corn made some time in the mid-12th century at Azemmour, by an Andalusian merchant who intended to export it to Malaga; the deal was struck in the port and not in the suk (ed. A. Tawfīl, 1404/1984, 190).

Reference has been made above to a list of the revenues of different sales locations in Tunis in the 14th century cited by Brunschvig: it emphasises the meagre revenue of sūks as such in comparison with the receipts earned by markets in public places and by funduks. A survey which is currently in progress of collections of fatwās of the Muslim West will perhaps facilitate a better understanding of the organisation of the “market” in its entirety (V. Lagardère). A detailed study of the traffic in slaves at Cordova has been conducted by M. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Khalīlīn in his Kūr-tuba al-‘Iṣlāmīyya, Tunis 1984, 113 ff., on the basis of the fatwās of Ibn Sahl. But a more precise analysis of commercial activities as a whole and of the suk as a physical commercial site often remains unattainable, in the absence of effective archives. Reference may be made for example to a judicial review conducted by a wāzīr sāhib al-‘abkām wa l-sūk of Cordova who, in 458/1066, intervened in a transaction involving a company consisting of two brothers, one based in Cordova and the other in Fez, who were in dispute with a third party to whom they had forwarded a number of dinārs as payment for the manufacture on their behalf of ten pieces of silk, apparently for export (V. Lagardère, Histoire et société en occident musulman au Moyen Âge. Analyse du Mi‘yar ‘al-Wansanī‘ī, Madrid 1993, 355). This would seem to contradict the notion expressed above that long-distance trade was immune from the jurisdiction of the sāhib al-sūk, but this is only one particular case among many others which should be cited.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P. Guichard)

3. In Cairo under the Mamluks and Ottomans.

The installation of political and military power in the Citadel of Cairo, effected by Sālāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), definitively opened up the Fatimid foundation of al-Kāhirah [q.v.] to indigenous settlement and to economic activities which the privileged status of the city had not, however, greatly hindered: specialised markets are mentioned there from 364/975 onward, and al-Mākfrīzī has compiled a list, already long, of commercial centres dating back to the Fatimid period. But with the Ayyūbid trend became more pronounced: the Andalusian traveller Ibn Sa‘īd, who resided in Cairo between 638/1241 and 646/1249, then between 658/1260 and 675/1277, describes the stalls which invaded the square known as Būtūn (the-two-palaces, Bayn al-kaysāy), robbing it of the dignity which it owed to the vision of the sultans who constructed it. The gradual decline of Fustāt [q.v.] contributed to this evolution.

It was in the Mamlūk period that the market quarter experienced the expansion which is described by the Khatīt of al-Mākfrīzī, with their list of suks and of caravanserais and the precise localisation which they make possible. Although this census is probably not exhaustive, and although it is located in a period of relative decline in Cairo, it may be considered to give a reasonably accurate impression of what the market sector used to be under the Mamluks. The area devoted to economic activities extended on both sides of the great Fatimid avenue, the Kāsiba, between Bāb al-Futūn and Bāb Zuwayla. In a space of some forty hectares, 48 markets were concentrated (out of the 87 located by al-Mākfrīzī in Cairo) and 44 caravanserais (out of a total of 58). This was the site for the most important mercantile activities of Cairo. Other specialised markets were located alongside several major roads leading towards the suburbs, while elsewhere markets tended to be non-specialised ("small markets", suwayīkta) supplying products required for daily consumption.

The markets, suks, were open structures, located along roads or at road intersections, the conglomeration of shops generally having no architectural distinction. In these markets, professional specialisation was the rule, each activity occupying a fixed sector of the city, as is well indicated by al-Mākfrīzī’s description. Although the terms qualifying them are quite variable (al-Mākfrīzī uses, in different cases, the words fundūk, kaysāriyya, ḫān and wakalā‘), the caravanserais served similar functions (major commerce, wholesale trade and accommodation for merchants) and maintained a fairly constant architectural structure. These square or rectangular buildings opened on the street by means of a single, covered, monumental gateway;
their central courtyard, open to the sky, gave access to shops on ground-level, above which were accommodation facilities for traders. They were sometimes surmounted by a "rab" [q.v.], a building available for rent, comprising a variable number of apartments. Such is the appearance of the few specimens which have survived, from what is admittedly a rather late period: two waskālas constructed by Khātī Bāy in the centre of Cairo (881/1477, class. no. 75) and near the Bāb al-Nasr (885/1480, no. 9), al-Ghūrī's waskāla (909/1504, no. 64), monuments of remarkable architectural quality, considering their utilitarian function.

The district of markets and caravanserais which occupied the centre of Cairo reflected the evolution of the city as a whole during the Mamluk era, with a phase of expansion and prosperity in the first half of the 9th/15th century, a period of decline between 748/1348 and 802/1400, and finally a period of restoration under the reigns of the sultans Barsbāy, Khātīt Bāy, and Kānsūh al-Ghūrī in particular. To the last-mentioned sovereign is owed the construction of the Khān al-Khāllī (917/1511), the design of which evokes the Ottoman bedesten: this major commercial centre was furthermore intended for the Turkish merchants whose swelling numbers in Cairo were like a presage of the Ottoman conquest. The increasing importance of the Mediterranean in the life of the Mamluk empire was also reflected by the decline of Old Cairo and the expansion of Būlāk [q.v.], which became Cairo's principal outer harbour.

The Ottoman period (923-1213/1517-1798) was marked by an overall expansion of the city of Cairo, the population of which increased from 150,000-200,000 inhabitants, in 1517, to 250,000 in 1798; no doubt the numbers were higher still ca. 1750, when the town was at its zenith. This development is explained by the economic progress which led to the integration into the Ottoman empire of Egypt and of other Arab provinces: Alessio evolved in much the same way as Cairo. On the other hand, Egypt continued to be an active centre of oriental commerce, in particular with the growth of the trade in coffee, which reached its highest point of prosperity between 1650-1750.

The economic dynamism of Cairo was illustrated by a remarkable extension of the central business area, on both sides of the Kašāba, to cover an area which may be estimated at some sixty hectares. In this region were included 57 markets (out of a total of 144) and 228 caravanserais (out of a total of 348), figures which give an impression of the development of business in Cairo since the Mamluk period. The principal centres were the Khān al-Khāllī, the Bundukānīyīn, the Ghi'rīyīa and the region of al-Azhar, with important extensions in the region of the Djamālīyya (trade with Palestine and Syria) and of Amir al-Diyyūghī. This was the zone dominated by the trade in coffee (no fewer than 62 waskālas) and in fabrics. The expansion of the city had led to the establishment of secondary nuclei of commercial activity, situated closer to the outskirts of the city. The most important were those of Bāb al-Shā'īyīn (8 markets and 14 caravanserais), of Bāb Zuwayla (15 and 16 respectively), of Shāhī (9 and 14), and of Dīmashq (9 and 17). A remarkable prosperity of Būlāk, in particular in the 10th/16th century, testifies to the importance of commercial connections within the empire; 65 caravanserais are cited there in 1798.

Commercial structures had undergone few changes since the Mamluk period. Markets, sūk, were normally groups of shops, ḥānīt, of such simple structure and low cost that they could be constructed in large numbers, often in the framework of pious foundations, wasfī. But Cairo has preserved an example of a market of architectural quality, the "Rīwān kāsāba", built by the amīr Rīwān Bāy ca. 1640, to the south of Bāb Zuwayla: this covered market, which extends over some 50 m, comprises a double row of shops, a "rab" and a waskāla (class. nos. 406, 408). The caravanserais, henceforward known as waskāla (the term kān being employed only in a small number of cases), had retained the pattern of their Mamluk models: warehouses, ḥāṣil, and tiered accommodation, tabaqa, ranged around a courtyard. But although their price could be exorbitant (a million paras), these were purely functional buildings with decoration reduced to the minimum: a monumental doorway and windows, magra-ḫiyā, projecting from exterior and interior façades. The Dhu 'l-Fikār Kākhudā waskāla (1074/1663, no. 19) constitutes the relatively rare example of a monumental structure designed horizontally (covering an area of 2,625 m²), perhaps as a result of Syrian influences. The Bāza'a waskāla (end of the 11th/17th century, no. 398) is a monument of very traditional vertical structure (area: 1,125 m²), surmounted by a "rab". The largest caravanserais were built at Būlāk, in the 16th/17th century: the Ḥasan Pasha waskāla (7,360 m²) and Khānūm waskāla (3,840 m²). These exceptional dimensions are accounted for by the dynamism of this outer harbour and by the wealth of the governors of Cairo who often financed such buildings at this time.

The impressive scale of this economic investment reflects the activity of the city of Cairo, whose decline, due to internal causes (political crisis after 1168/1753, famines and devastating epidemics after 1194/1783) and external factors (effects of western commercial competition, perceptible from 1750 onward), was not to become irreversible until the last two decades of the 12th/18th century.


4. In Syria. (a) Damascus under the Ottomans.

When the Ottomans entered Damascus in 923/1517, the topographical separation of skilled and commercial activities had been in effect since the Mamluk period. It is true that already in 803/1402, the city had been sacked by Timūr and the leading representatives of the urban professions departed, with their families, towards Samarqand (Ibn Kātīr Shuhbā, Ta'rīkh, iv, year 803 [1400-1]); numerous sūks had ceased to function and some crafts had disappeared at least temporarily, especially the artistic professions.
which depended on the patronage of the Mamluk amirs. However, these activities were gradually revived and at the end of the 9th/15th century, 139 suks and 117 professions were counted by Ibn al-Mabrad (Naẓha, supplemented by his Tiǧūt and K. al-ḫīṣa). Once mapped, this information makes it possible to locate within the city (Ṣāḥībiyya, a major suburb separated from Damascus by gardens, preserved its autonomy with its suks, its ḥāns and its mukṭasib) three sectors combining the majority of economic activities: a central intramural sector and, outside the enclosure, starting from a large square "under the Citadel", two great perpendicular axes, the one to the north, al-tārīkh al-salṭaṭī, following the left bank of the Baradā, towards the northern towns and the villages of the Ghūṭa, and the other leading towards the south, al-tārīkh al-ʿuzūmā, in the direction of the Holy Places and of the Ḥawrān.

The central intramural sector which, in the 6th/12th century was firmly implanted to the east of the Great Mosque, was gradually transferred towards the west and the south-west; it was henceforward located (with the 40 or so suks recorded by Ibn al-Mabrad) in a zone bounded to the east by the Umayyad Mosque, to the west by the "intersection" of Bāb al-Barādī, to the south by the Street called Saʿīdīya, the western part of which developed in the first quarter of the 9th/15th century, after the ravages of the Mongols, with the foundation of the Djākmak sūk, where two khāns of the Mamluk period, Djākmak and Dikka (a site for the sale of slaves transferred in the Ottoman period to the al-Ḥaramayn khān, also called the qiyādār ḥān) are still in existence today. This sector concentrated, in a series of suks and kaysdrīyyas, situated on these two axes and the perpendicular streets linking them, with certain traditional crafts, the principal commercial activities of the city. These comprised wholesale and retail sale of luxury or quality products in the immediate proximity of the Great Mosque, of superior merchandise on the periphery (the Street called Saʿīdīya: markets for fabrics (and clothing) of silk, cotton and wool, for furs, a sūk for spices and drugs, a sūk for leatherwork and rope-makers, a small sūk of copyists and booksellers, leatherwork and the manufacture of high quality shoes, carders and rope-makers.

Outside the walls to the north and west, at the gates and on the two major perpendicular arteries skirting the walls, sūks requiring extensive space developed, along with noisy or malodorous crafts, combining production and sale aimed at both urban and rural consumers. To the North, on the esplanade called "Under the Citadel", were markets which were transferred thither at the beginning of the Mamluk period from the interior of the town (Sauvaget, Décrets mameluks) in the interest of space: every morning, markets for horses and pack-animals were held, and on Friday morning that for camels and cattle. Around this space, which was animated by a variegated crowd of shoppers and strollers who came to be amused by public entertainers, were installed specialised markets "more or less closely associated with military life and the raising of horses" (trades in clothing and items of equipment, craftsmen dealing in metal and in wood, saddlers, manufacturers of panniers and of sieves, straw merchants) which had followed the livestock markets when the latter were transferred, markets of poor quality fabrics, and markets of fruit and vegetables (Dar or Khān al-Bīṭālik).

Towards the east, as far as the gate of Bāb al-Ḥarādīl, were markets tending to specialise in the manufacture and sale of various consumer goods, giving their names to each part of the area (shoes for peasants, wooden boxes, domestic utensils and tools of iron or copper, flea-markets, etc.). Tanners, which required abundant water, and butchers, with the pollution that they engendered had been concentrated since the Middle Ages to the east, in the proximity of the Baradā river between Bāb al-Salām and Bāb Tūmā—these there remained there until the early 1950s, and for a long time constituted an obstacle to the expansion of the city in this sector. On both sides of the major perpendicular artery, leading southward from the esplanade to Bāb al-Ḥālbiyya, various businesses associated with foodstuffs (sellers of vegetables, fruits, pastries, cooked meats, etc.) catered for strollers and itinerant visitors, in the vicinity of the sūks of wood-turners and of basket-weavers.

Outside these three major sectors and beyond the Bāb al-Ṣaḡḥīr, the southern gate, close to the gardens of the Ghūṭa, were located sūks of manufacturers of agricultural implements, wood-carvers, and the market for pigeons, the rearing of which was a popular pastime among Damascenes. Further to the south, in the suburb of Mīdān, were situated the markets for sheep and activities associated with the wholesale trade in vital consumer goods: transported from the Ḥawrān and also from the Bīţā. Cereals were stored in open, unroofed spaces (ṣarātī) in the Mamluk period and, in the Ottoman period, warehoused in specially constructed closed buildings (ḥāns or bāṣṭā).

Manufacturing activities linked to the flourishing textile industry, in which numerous craftsmen were engaged, could not be gathered together in a single place: they were practised in shops or workshops dispersed throughout the city, some professions even being pursued in the home (Kāsimi, Kāmās). Some concentrations may however be noted: the Bāb al-Sarīḍja and Kubr Aṭūk (Ṣabbāḥī, Wāṭihka), ḥāns accommodated workshops of weavers who produced a fabric (átātī) sufficiently renowned to be exhibited in the markets of Cairo in the 11th/17th century (Raymond, Arts et commerçants, index); installed in a very small thicket were craftsmen who produced the equipment (combs, shuttles, etc.) necessary for this industry. Later, in the 13th/19th century, weaving-shops are mentioned in districts to the south of Mīdān (von Kremer, Topographie).

In the intramural sūks, sources of the Mamluk period mention numerous kaysdrīyyas. Edifices dedicated to specific forms of commerce, they had the form of a gallery closed at both ends by gates, with a groundfloor of shops; in the centre were a water basin and one or more ṣākṣūd, each provided with a coffer (ḥāṣṣān); and on the upper floor were warehouses (makhźarī) or lodgings (tābakā) reached by an external staircase (Wāṭifyy al-Umāt, fol. 49a).

In the Ottoman period, governors of the province and local dignitaries built a score of large caravanserais, including a bazzārī (or lodgings) or bedesten [q.v.], a base for traders in luxury fabrics, and they also built sūks in this central sector. These ḥāns, taking the place of the kaysdrīyyas, closed and guarded at night, were constructed of freestone on two levels around an open central courtyard and, in more specifically Ottoman style, covered entirely by cupolas, the best examples being the al-Djājkhiyya khān of the 10th/16th century or the asʿād Bāṣā one of the 12th/18th century; they provided warehouses on the groundfloor, sometimes hostellies on the upper level, and they supplied, like the kaysdrīyyas before them and along with the sūks, a significant proportion of the revenues for waqfs.
Outside the major sectors which had concentrations of specialised markets, each district of the city— as was asserted by J. Sauvaget and confirmed for the Mamluk period by Ian Al-Mabrad and for the Ottoman period by an Ottoman census of 1827-8 (Bayhaqhi, dirjfi, no. 19450, from 1243/1227-8)—possessed its own small market, suqqaq, where numerous local businesses were established (between 30 and 100 shops for traders in vegetables and fruit, charcoal and wood, for butchers, bakers, etc. according to the census of 1827), offering services to local residents or as in Miadin, to the south of the city, to a clientele of peasants and of nomads. These suwqyas represented, with the mosques and the hamamms, the indices of urban expansion. Thus, in the Mamluk period, on the axis of the Bâb al-Sarjdhâl, leading to the villages of the Ghûta in the south-west and towards Palestine, there developed an important suk known as Khân al-Sulútan and, at its western extremity, a Suk al-Mâstî (mentioned in the zafâ' of the Tayrûzî Mosque founded in the 9th/15th century and still functioning today), which testify clearly to the urbanisation of this sector.

The Ottomans were content in the early stages to retain and enforce some of the regulations formerly decreed by the Mamluk sultan Kâzîn Bây (873-97/1468-92), under the general heading of ihtisâb, which had taken the place of the term hisba [q.v.]. Essentially, the ihtisâb collected duties and taxes imposed on shopkeepers, craftsmen and merchants (Bakhit, Ottoman province), excluding duties on foodstuffs (cereals, fruits and vegetables), livestock markets and the weighing-tax; it was in fact the second largest source of revenue for the province, after that constituted by the duties levied on alkalis used in the manufacture of soap, and was of equal value to the tolls and taxes which the Treasury sought to levy on products transported by caravans on the Pilgrimage route. The ihtisâb was an annual tax-farming contract (mukda'ta'â), and the appointment depended on the senior local judge who exercised exclusive jurisdiction in matters of hisba, a function extended to the inspection of morality in public places, and on the dafqatdr of the provincialedi of the province. It appears that the province and the city of Damascus only possessed but many suks.

In the Ottoman period, artisans were united by an institutionalised solidarity in the framework of professional corporations (tava'îf al-hiraf or asqaf [see §771. 1]). In Damascus, in the early 12th/18th century, more than sixty different corporations were recorded in the registers of local tribunals, and a similar number is given in the census of 1827; of course, the number of actual corporations followed was considerably higher (al-Kasîmî). Religious diversity within these groups seems to have been the norm, the faiths of a function extended to the inspection of morality in public places, and on the dafqatdr of the provincialedi of the province. It appears that the province and the city of Damascus only possessed but many suks.

In the Ottoman period, artisans were united by an institutionalised solidarity in the framework of professional corporations (tava'îf al-hiraf or asqaf [see §771. 1]). In Damascus, in the early 12th/18th century, more than sixty different corporations were recorded in the registers of local tribunals, and a similar number is given in the census of 1827; of course, the number of actual corporations followed was considerably higher (al-Kasîmî). Religious diversity within these groups seems to have been the norm, the faiths of a function extended to the inspection of morality in public places, and on the dafqatdr of the provincialedi of the province. It appears that the province and the city of Damascus only possessed but many suks.

In the Ottoman period, artisans were united by an institutionalised solidarity in the framework of professional corporations (tava'îf al-hiraf or asqaf [see §771. 1]). In Damascus, in the early 12th/18th century, more than sixty different corporations were recorded in the registers of local tribunals, and a similar number is given in the census of 1827; of course, the number of actual corporations followed was considerably higher (al-Kasîmî). Religious diversity within these groups seems to have been the norm, the faiths of a function extended to the inspection of morality in public places, and on the dafqatdr of the provincialedi of the province. It appears that the province and the city of Damascus only possessed but many suks.

In the Ottoman period, artisans were united by an institutionalised solidarity in the framework of professional corporations (tava'îf al-hiraf or asqaf [see §771. 1]). In Damascus, in the early 12th/18th century, more than sixty different corporations were recorded in the registers of local tribunals, and a similar number is given in the census of 1827; of course, the number of actual corporations followed was considerably higher (al-Kasîmî). Religious diversity within these groups seems to have been the norm, the faiths of a function extended to the inspection of morality in public places, and on the dafqatdr of the provincialedi of the province. It appears that the province and the city of Damascus only possessed but many suks.
professions (changers, clock-makers and seal-makers) which were previously located elsewhere in the city. "


(SARAB ATASSI and J.P. PASCUAL)

(b) Aleppo.

Little is known of the history of the emergence of the šāks of Aleppo, particularly in reference to the transformation of the ancient avenue into a šāk, which seems to have begun in the Byzantine period. The first precise information dates back to the 6th/12th century. Ibn Djugayr (quoted by Sauvaguet, Alep. Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, Paris 1941. 119-20), evokes on the one hand the principal šāk, "in all its length", evidently corresponding to the Kasaba and extending from the Antioch Gate to the Citadel, on the other, the Kaṣāriyya "which enfolds the Great Mosque", which does not seem to have adopted a basilical form, but that of linear šāks. Trading at that time was mainly confined to fabrics and second-hand goods.

The descriptions of Ibn al-Ḥadīdī in the 7th/13th century are more detailed (Arabic text by D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953; see also the passages quoted by Ibn al-ʿAdjamī in Sauvaguet, Les trésors d'or de Sibt ibn al-ʿAṣamī. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire d'Alep, Beirut 1950; analysis by Sourdel, in Espagne topographique d'Alep intrans- muns à l'époque appanaïde, in Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie, ii [1951], 109-33). It appears that the šāks and manufacturing activities were then located in a central zone broader and less exclusive than was the case in the Ottoman period: the economic activities mentioned, in the streets perpendicular to the Kasaba, especially to the south, such as the street of the falconers, of the dyers, of manufacturers of ovens, of traders in wood, animal fat, mats, the street of the smiths, the street of the glaziers, the ḫāns of the bow-makers, etc., were almost all located in districts which are currently exclusively residential. Other concentrations of craft occupations in the districts to the north of the Great Mosque—soap-makers, stone-dressers, tanners, dyers—disappeared gradually or abruptly: the first century of Ottoman domination was marked in part by a process of refinement of professions, a process which had perhaps begun earlier, and by the banishment to the suburbs of almost all manufacturing activities (A. Raymond, Le déplacement des tanneries à Alep, au Caire et à Tunis à l'époque ottomane: un indicateur de croissance urbaine in Revue d'histoire maghrébine, vi-viii [1977], 192-200).

Among the activities practised in the 13th century in the central šāς, in the vicinity of the Great Mosque, very few are still to be found on their original site: fabrics and second-hand goods have been displaced, in particular, by rope- and shoe-making, against the ḫāns wall of the Great Mosque. Goldsmiths were then located further to the south, while traders in spices and drugs also seem to have been displaced, moving towards the central area where they are currently situated. It is difficult to identify an immutable logic in these changing localisations, the classical concentration of goldsmiths and carpet and fabric sellers in the proximity of the Great Mosque having been gradually realised.

Other specialised or open-air markets have also been displaced and the most stable sites, up to the present day, are without doubt on the one hand the šāς selling fresh foodstuffs, which have long been situated close to Bab al-Ḥajān and the suq al-ṣawāqin (small or specialised local šāς), those of the Jews, of Ḥātnī and of 'Ali, on the axis of Bab al-Ḥajān.

Another important change concerning the location of commercial activities is the concentration of the majority of the šāς close to the central šāς and the Great Mosque, away from their former locations near the gates, or in relatively dispersed sites in outlying districts. This process was accentuated before the Ottoman period, especially with the construction of three monumental šāς and of numerous large and conventional šāς in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. The Ottoman foundations are, however, a more prominent factor in the contemporary urban landscape, by their extensive size, their architectural quality and the diversity of occupations which they accommodate.

The most ancient šāς were not covered by stone vaults but by timber frames and possibly by tiles, and were thus at risk from frequent fires. Their arrangement was doubtless less uniform than that of the great Mamlūk or Ottoman šāς on account of their more spontaneous mode of production, with the exception of major foundations by sovereigns. They were also narrower, comprising tiny shops like those which are still to be seen in the current cordage šāk or in a very small šāk to the south of the goldsmiths' šāk. The large šāς, with much bigger shops and a high roof constructed from mixed materials and stone arches doubtless supporting a timber frame or ceiling, seem to date back to the end of the Mamlūk period. Roofing in stonework became standard in the Ottoman period, with sets of cupolas, then cradle-vaults, or groined arches, alternating with cupolas.

The ancient system combined commercial sites with other public buildings, in a mixed environment, where residence was not entirely excluded. The campaign of concentration and selection which reached its highest point in the Ottoman period created a quite different system, excluding all forms of permanent residence, except for visitors, but establishing among the šāς or
in close proximity to them a substantial range of services, old or new, including mosques, madrasas, hammanës, cafés, public conveniences, buildings designed for temporary lodgings, for bulk trading and manufacturing activities, bazar lanes, and kasyarïyas. Uses of these spaces diversified, especially between the 17th and 19th centuries, with the presentation of western trade missions and consulates, and the consequent appearance of convents, religious schools and chapels. Banks, hospitals and modern schools were also been established in this neighbourhood, constituting in the 19th century an embryo of the modern centre.

The old sükës remain a powerful model for the management of modern commercial space, albeit on other sites and in terms of practice rather than architectural forms.


5. In 'Irâk [see Suppl.].


The Persian equivalent word for Arabic sük is bazar, attested in Middle Persian written texts (MP wâzár; Sogdian wâr; and as a loanword in Armenian, vaqân), all with the sense of "market".

When Nasír-i Khúsraw entered Isfahan in 444/1052, he saw one lane of the bazar with 50 caravanserais and another one with 200 sükës or money-changers/bankers. The term which he uses for "caravanserais" is tim (see Safar-nâma, ed. Dabraî-Sîyâkî, Tehran 1335/1956, 123, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 98). This is still used in parts of the Iranian world, but has survived mainly in the diminutive form timâ "a small tim or caravanserai". This traveller's account seems to be the earliest description of a sük or bazar as the term came to be understood: a structural and functional ensemble of buildings for long-distance trade, for wholesale and retail trade and for banking.

There had existed in pre-Islamic times streets or lanes with workshops on each side, but the combination of streets or lanes hemmed in by shops, caravanserais and other buildings for commercial use behind these shops, seems to be product of Islamic civilisation before ca. A.D. 1000, at a time when long-distance trade within the Islamic lands was at a high level. Within this, the Persian economy had a central function, with diversification of function a key feature; hence it seems that it was the physical and functional shape of the sük/bazar which spread from it both eastwards and westwards.

In Persia, as everywhere else in the Islamic world, the main elements involved are lanes covered by wooden roofs, sheds made of canvas, reeds and straw, or vaults with shops (the Arabic dukkan being used here in New Persian). Behind such shops are kanaat-sarayës and timâs. The first of these are huge, usually two-storied buildings with the 17th and 19th century room and storerooms around this last (see further, gašûn, the Arabic equivalent for caravanserai). Here in pre-modern times merchants came from far away and sold their goods; today, merchants have their offices and storerooms there. Timâs are small, courtyard structures or roofed galls with shops for retail sale around them. Functionally, they can be considered an extension of the bazar. We find similar structures in the Arab East (e.g. at Aleppo), where they are called kasyarïyas [q.v.], a term which has differing meanings in the Arab West, the Arab East and Persia. Whereas in Syria, small structures bear this name, in the Arab West and in Persia the central parts of the sük/bazar are called kaysariyya. Thus the kasyarïya of the bazar of Isfahan is a complex system of bazar lanes, kanaat-sarayës, timâs, cahârs ("four directions") or cahârsûks ("four sükës", these being domed crossings of bazar lanes with shops around), the royal mint and a bath-house or hamman.

b. Umur Beg, established shops in Kütahya, Bergama and Sivrihisar as well. The monumental hammam founded by Sultan Mehmed II Fatih. The two bedesten which even today form the core of Istanbul's Kapalı càrşî were built during his reign. A wakf deed of 877-8/1473 informs us that the Old Bedesten contained 124 shops, while on the outside of this building, 72 additional business locales had been accommodated (Halil Inalcik, The hub of the city. The Bedesten of Istanbul, in Internat. Jnl. of Turkish Studies, i [1980], 9). Here valuable goods, such as textiles, jewelry and spices were traded, and the slave dealers (ıstırğı) equally did business from the Kapalı càrşî. Mehmed II's foundations were to provide revenue for his monumental foundation complex in Istanbul, which, apart from the mosque, included a hospital, a hospice, a library and the mausoleum of the founder. The mosque of Sultan Bayezid II, equally located in the new Ottoman capital, was also endowed with rows of shops, and so was the Süleymaniye (completed 964/1557). Among the founders of sük/càrşî who were not members of the Ottoman dynasty, the most notable personage was probably Maḥmūd Paşa (executed 879/1474). Not only did he sponsor the Ankara bedesten, he also contributed extensively to the sük/càrşî of Istanbul, with the intention of generating revenue for his mosque located in the vicinity of the Istanbul bedesten; the district housing the Kapalı càrşî is named after him. But even in the 12th/18th century, the establishment of a sük/càrşî by means of a wakf was still practised; when in 1139/1726-7, Ahmed III's Grand Vizier Damād İbrahim Paşa elevated the central Anatolian village of Muşkara (today, Nevehir) to the status of a town, he ordered the construction of both a ker- man (a mosque) and a market, both of which should have increased commercial traffic.

Markets and fairs.

Small and medium-sized towns possessed only a single sük/càrşî, which usually included specialised open-air markets for the sale of bulky goods, such as grain, rice, sheep, yarn or firewood. Istanbul and Bursa in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries also possessed special women's markets; in 11th/17th century Bursa, women could sell their work there without paying taxes (H. Gerber, Social and economic position of women in an Ottoman city, Bursa 1600-1700, in JMES, xii [1980], 231-44). In certain Rumelian towns, a market known as an 'araba pâzârî was recorded; presumably this was located on the outskirts of the town or along a major road in order to facilitate the access of carts.

Markets were also found in villages, a necessary condition if the Ottoman taxation system was to work; for these markets allowed peasants to earn the cash they needed in order to pay their money dues, and timâr-holders to rid themselves of extra supplies of grain in exchange for horses and other necessities. Kapârin-nâmes of the 10th/16th century therefore often required that the peasant bring the sâphi's grain to the nearest market, with the proviso that this market was not more than a day's travel away (O.L. Barkan, XV ve XVInci asırarda Osmanlı imparatorlukunda çift ekonomisinin hukuk ve mali esasları, ı, Kanuni, İstanbul 1943, 131, 175, 287, 321). These markets must have promoted the growth of originally rural district centres into towns.

In accordance with this political function of local markets, the early 10th/16th century tabirîs normally record merely one market per district (kâtî), which was located in the district centre. But in the following decades, the number of village markets increased notably, and villages with no administrative function might acquire one. In addition to markets located in permanent settlements, we also find cases of markets held on summer pastures. The latter were often shared between several villages and nomadic groups, and therefore not suitable for exchange. In front of rural kânsânsîrası, markets were also on record; presumably they functioned irregularly, namely, when caravans passed through. In the second half of the 11th/17th century, Ewliya Çelebi noted that, in the coastal plain between Antalya and Alanya, at that time largely inhabited by nomads, a sizeable number of markets was in operation.

Fairs were of economic importance particularly in Thessaly and Thrace; often they had originally been established in connection with the feast of the saint to whom the local church was dedicated. But in the course of the 10th/16th century, these fairs became so profitable that Ottoman officials, including Kânûnî Süleyman's Grand Vizier Rûstem Paşa, took them over, built installations to accommodate hundreds of merchants, and assigned the dues paid by the latter to a pious foundation of their choice. The Thessalian and Thracian fairs formed a chain, so that traders could visit them in turn. By contrast, the Anatolian fairs, among which those held in the Aegean town of Nazilli and in the İçel district of Gülhan were particularly notable, seem to have functioned more or less in isolation from one another. The word panâvîr, normally employed to designate fairs, was not always used in the tabirîs in connection with gatherings that must have fallen into this category. But when a complex of 157 shops was built by Sinâni Paşa, sanâvîr formente to Menshe, in the minuscule settlement of Seki (Menteşe), we must assume that it was not in permanent use, but accommodated some kind of fair (Suraiya Faroqhi, Sixteenth-century periodic markets in various anatolian sancaks, in JESHO, xxii [1979], 68). As observed in other parts of the world as well, the settlements where even the largest fairs were held, such as the Thessalian village of Maşkölur, did not expand into towns.

The sük/càrşî within the town.

In major cities, the main sük/càrşî, located in the city centre, might be supplemented by smaller agglomerations of shops on the outskirts; in Bursa, masters unable to join the guild of their craft were known to set up shop in outlying town quarters (Inalcik, Capital formation in the Ottoman empire, in Jnl. of Economic History, xix [1969], 117). In Istanbul, the different sections of the city had their own sük/càršî; apart from the enormous area between the Golden Horn and the Sultan Beyazid Mosque, which serviced Istanbul intra muros, there were the smaller business districts of Galata, complete with its own bedesten, and the pilgrim centre of Eyüp. On the Anatolian side, Uskudar built its own bedesten at the end of the 10th/16th century, while Yeniköy, halfway up the Bosphorus, by the 11th/17th century even had developed its own money market, whose rates of exchange differed slightly from those practiced in Istanbul (Halil Sahilişoğlu, XVIII. asır Türkçesinde İstanbul’dada tavsiyeli sikkelerin nüans, in Türk Tarihi Kariyeri, Bülent, 1/1-2 [1964], 233).
The distinctive feature of all business districts of any importance were the khâns. These often belonged to the khan to a principal tenant after an auction. Sometimes khâns were rented out to craftsmen from one or a few related guilds; thus in 12th/18th century Urfa, the shoemakers gave their name to the Kawâlâr Khânî, property of the Ridwânîye medresse. In Istanbul before foreign embassies established permanent quarters in Pera/Beyoğlu, ambassadors were also assigned khâns in the sîkâ/kârğhî, notably the Eski Ham (Semavi Eyice, Eski Ham, in Tarih Değeri, xxiv [1970], 93-129). Foreign traders equally put up in khâns; in most Ottoman cities, only those traders intending a long-term stay rented private houses. Khâns as well as bedestans were also used by tax collectors as safe places in which to store money; in such cases, alterations to the building fabric were sometimes undertaken in order to minimise the likelihood of theft. In some towns, special guards (oyas) were in charge of patrolling the sîkâ/kârğhî. Transportation services could be found in the area; nomads and semi-nomads, but also camels were usually established in and around the khān.

In the 12th/18th century, the Ottoman administration, by now in need of extra money, put increasing pressure for revenue on the sîkâfs which owned so many of the commercial buildings available, particularly in Istanbul. The mâtetevellîs attempted to increase the rents paid by craftsmen; in order to limit these increases, the artisans, apparently aided by sympathetic kâdis, developed the notion of gedîk, which had not been entirely unknown in earlier times but came to be of major significance only during this period. In Istanbul, the gedîk encompassed the workplace, tools and materials needed for the exercise of a given craft; these items could only be passed on to members of the relevant guild, thus limiting demand (Engin Akarlı, Gedîk: implements, mastership, shop usufruct and monopoly among Istanbul artisans, 1750-1830, in Wissenschaftskolle—Fahrland [1983-6], 225-92). In late 12th/18th century Bursa, however, the gedîk apparently encompassed only the tools and materials and not the shop itself.

Collective workshops and streets named after crafts. Related to the khâns tenanted by members of a single craft were the collective workspaces used by dyers (bûya-khâne) or tanners (debbâgh-khâne). The latter were usually located on the outskirts of the town or city in question in order to minimise nuisances; when the town expanded, the debbâgh-khâne was moved, and the term eksi (old) debbâgh-khâne came to denote a quarter like any other. In the case of the bûya-khâne associated with the foundation supporting the library which Sultan Ahmed III had built in the Topkapî Palace precincts, enough documentation survives to give us some idea of its functioning. The artisans in question had been granted a monopoly for the dyeing of certain fabrics, which was worded in a rather vague fashion so that the limits of the monopoly at times needed to be re-defined by recourse to the kâdî. Only artisans possessing access to the bûya-khâne were allowed to participate in the monopoly. Access was controlled by the dyers already in place, who formed a guild with their own kethkûdah. They could accept new members and also exclude people they considered undesirable, who thereby lost their access to the bûya-khâne. In the latter case, the expelled dyer possessed the right to a money payment, presumably his investment plus a share of the accruing profits. Bûya-khâne buildings were owned by one or even several sîkâfs, and while sîkâf administrators might decide to relocate the bûya-khâne and concomitantly increase the rent, the dyers possessed no recourse against such a decision.

In most sîkâ/kârğhîs, there were individual lanes, equally known as kârğhî, which bore the names of the craftsmen who occupied or at least had occupied them at some time in the past. For 10th/16th century Anatolian towns, these lanes are documented in the sîkâfs registers, as shops located in these specialised craft streets, which produced rent for a given pious foundation, are enumerated among the assets of the sîkâf in question. Textile crafts were the most widespread, including dyers, felt makers, dealers in woollens, cotton fabrics and silks, in addition to the ubiquitous skull-cap makers. In addition to sîkâf-owned shops, there must have been shops held as private property. But shop-lined streets containing no sîkâf property are not recorded in official registers. However, it is hard to say to what extent the separation by craft, implied in the very names of the lanes making up the sîkâ/kârğhî, was actually applied “on the ground”. Sîkâf records provide conflicting evidence. While, in some cases, we do find concentration by craft, in other instances shops were tenanted by craftsmen totally unrelated to the craft which was supposedly being practiced in the street in question. At least in the case of Istanbul, there survive a number of records concerning the collection of ihtisâb dues, which enumerate the tenants of individual shops and thus enable us to reconstruct the composition of a given street. Where members of a single craft were concentrated in one neighbour-hood, this enabled the masters to supervise one another. Not only could those who ignored official price regulations or did not conform to locally accepted standards of quality be easily detected, socially unacceptable behaviour such as the excessive beating of an apprentice could also rapidly be brought to the notice of the relevant guild authorities.

The physical appearance of Ottoman shops before the 13th/19th century is documented mainly through the miniatures of the two illustrated mosques, which record circumcision festivities held in 990/1582 and 1132/1720. Here various craftsmen are shown at work, and the miniatures also document the insides of bakeries, kebabçîs or glassblowers’ workshops. The sâr-nâme of 1132/1720 even contains a miniature of a hammâm model, in which bath attendants served their customers. However, these models were meant for display, particularly of pantomime and craft skills, and therefore should not be regarded as completely accurate representations. In the second half of the 13th/19th century, European photographers and their Levantine colleagues made numerous photographs not only of shops but particularly of the petits métiers exercised on the street. However, here the aim was to show what a European clientèle regarded as picturesque, so that these photographs should not be viewed as authentic depictions of reality either; the photographer may well have arranged a scene in a manner similar to that of the miniature painter of earlier ages (G. Beauge and Engin Çizgen, Images d'empire. Aux origines de la photographie en Turquie/Turkiye’de fotoğrafın öncüleri, Istanbul n.d. [1992?], 146 ff.)

Mosques in the sîkâ/kârğhî. The sîkâ/kârğhî district was normally located close to the town’s Friday mosque. Markets held on a Friday were often more popular than their competitors convened on other days of the week, as peasants from the surrounding area appreciated the chance of attend-
ing Friday prayers before returning to their villages. In certain towns, there existed mosques specifically designated as the Carshi Djami'i. This close connection of mosque and suk/carshi was at times expressed architecturally as well; the Istanbul mosque of Rüstem Paşa (1561-63) (wakf-name dated 968/1561), located in the middle of Istanbul's suk/carshi district, was built on a terrace over an elaborate substructure housing shops, even though we do not know whether the latter were part of the original design. In addition, the suk/carshi might contain mosques named after one of the local guilds, and possibly built by one of their richer members; in Ankara, there exists a 8th-9th/14th-15th century mosque named the Şabintürk, presumably built or repaired by a soap maker or soap merchant (Gönül Onay, Ankara'da Türk devri dini ve sosyal yapiları, Ankara 1971, 38-9). In 12th/18th century Bursa, where money usak/f was documented more intensively than elsewhere, many guildsmen donated money to local mosques to supplement the imân's salary, or to provide funds for matting and lighting. Only the more important among these foundations were administered by special muatâwells; in most other cases, the imân was in charge of the money usak/f attached to his mosque. This meant that he needed to acquire information on the solvency or otherwise of prospective borrowers, and present accounts periodically to the hâdi. This arrangement further strengthened the link between urban mosques and the commercial activity carried on around them.

Transformations during the 13th/19th century.

Ottoman urbanism of the 13th/19th century was directed mainly at public buildings, such as bâkânet binaât, hospitals or barracks, in addition to a number of seaside palaces in Istanbul. However, this construction activity had direct repercussions on the suk/carshi as well. In Istanbul, the concentration of imperial palaces and the dwellings of high officials led to the growth of a new suk/carshi in Beşiktaş. This contained mainly bakers, grocers and greengrocers who delivered their wares to the konâns in the vicinity; and since many of these shops received their supplies from the boatmen and porters who waited for employment in the local coffee-houses (Hagop Muntzuri, Istanbul anlansı (1896-1907), Istanbul 1993). In the old suk/carshi area of inÂna muros Istanbul, there was considerable rebuilding following the series of fires which swept the old city. The principle was to make the major streets accessible to carts and coaches, and do away with cul-de-sacs in order to allow fire brigades easy access everywhere. Building in stone was officially recommended, and Diwan yolu was widened as far as the Kapalı Çarşı. Apart from these utilitarian concerns, there was also an interest in making the major monuments visible by clearing the space surrounding them. After the fire of 1281-2/1865, a square was thus opened up in the area near the Kapalı Çarşı, around the column of Constantine (Çemberliâhat), which involved the partial destruction of the Çemberliâhat hamâmîn (compl. 991/1593) (Zeynet Çelik, The remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century, Seattle: and London 1986, 49-81). A number of new šâhmanes was also built in Galata.

More importantly, the trade in luxury goods shifted from the Kapalı Çarşı to another new shop-lined street, known as the Grand' Rue de Péra (today, İstiklal cad.) Along this street restaurants, coffee houses and pastry shops alternated with department stores and modistes; Among the shopkeepers and artisans, Ottoman non-Muslims were a prominent presence, but immigrants from France and Italy were equally in evidence. Many of them lived in the vicinity, for instance, in the district then known as Tatarlıa (today, Kurtuluş) or in the side streets of the Grand' Rue de Péra. While most restaurants were reserved for a male clientele until well into the 20th century, women of the Ottoman upper class, whose families came to reside in the vicinity in growing numbers around 1900, could patronise the shops of the Grand' Rue. In the area of today's Bankalari Cadessi, the Jewish banking family of Camondo, whose main residence after 1285-6/1869 was located in Paris, sponsored the construction of a financial centre closely modelled on its Paris counterpart (Nora Seni, The Camondos and their influence on 19th century Istanbul, in IJMES, xxvi [1994], 663-75).

Moreover, the shopping district of Péra/Beyoğlu doubled as a centre of entertainment. French and Italian troupes, not excluding Sarah Berhardt, performed before a public at first consisting of only the local Levantines, but young Muslims of the upper class soon patronised these theatres as well. Performances, at first limited to male audiences, became increasingly available to women as well, at first in the shape of separate boxes or of special boxes from which they could follow the proceedings without being seen. The installation of street lighting and a modern water supply further enhanced the attraction of this district.

The transformation of the suk/carshi area could also be observed in the major provincial towns. İzmir already possessed a tradition of frek-khanesi, buildings in a European style, intended to house European merchants during their more or less extended stays in the city. In the 12th/18th century, these buildings, often located by the sea and provided with storage spaces for goods, were rented out by usak/f, some of them in places as distant as Manisa. In the course of the 13th/19th century the "Frankish" street, now known as the "Kordon", became one of the city's important shopping districts. Theatrical entertainment was also available in this part of town; the first theatre was established in 1188-9/1775, and in 1257-8/1842, Bellini's Nour ed-din, a journ in the theatre (Rauf Beyru, Social life in Izmir in the first half of the 19th century, in Three ages of İzmir, palimpsest of cultures, tr. Virginia Taylor Şaçıoğlu, Istanbul 1993, 145-216, good illustrations). In Selanik as well, the modernisation of the quais around 1900 led to the transformation of the surrounding area; the first theatre was established in 1901, sponsored the construction of a financial centre closely modelled on its Paris counterpart (Villes ottomanes a la fin de l'Empire, Fr. Georgeon (eds.), Paris 1992, 94-114).

The style of the newly erected buildings was at first eclectic, with "Renaissance" features prominent, particularly in the banking houses. A miniature version of the famous "Spanish steps" of Rome connected the building which housed the urban administration of Istanbul's "Altındağı Dîrârî" (Pera/Beyoğlu) with the shopping district on the hill. An interesting re-importation was the pasazhe, a shop-lined covered street, which can be regarded as a 13th/19th century version of the ārâzâ. Some of the examples surviving in modern Beyoğlu show traces both of the Paris or Brussels models and the local tradition. After 1900, features of Ottoman and Iranian palace architecture took the place of the previously popular "Renaissance" features, and were regarded as symbols of
national revival (Yıldırım Yavuz, Mimar Kemal Atalettin ve birinci ulusal mimarlık dönemi, Ankara 1981, 147 ff.). However, the structure of these revolutions reflected their resolutely modern functions: office buildings, banks, hotels and apartments.


In India, different terms have been in use for markets and market places, e.g. rāk (Strati Francis, Shiiti, ms. Bankipur, fol. 90), takṣ, bāzār, bāzār-i ḥāṣ, ḥak, karta, mandi, darba, nakhkẖā, etc. Occasionally or seasonal markets, which brought together commodities from far and near and established cultural and economic links, were called peti or melā. The bāzār-i ḥāṣ was the market on the principal streets of the city (e.g. Čandī takṣ, Bāzār-i khānum, Čašek Selâd Allah Khān in Mughal Dīlihī). Čašeks were usually located places where four roads met; gāngi generally meant a grain market; kartas were usually known after the commodity sold there. Where different commodities, particularly corn, were brought from outside and sold in bulk; and darba was a short lane or street, usually one where betel leaves were sold. At the nakhkẖā, slaves as well as animals—elephants, horses, cows, etc.—were sold. In coastal areas, bāzārs were arranged according to the arrival and departure of ships. Some markets and fairs were held annually at places of religious importance.
The urban transformation which came in the wake of the establishment of Muslim rule in India led to the rise of new suks, with extended scope for the functioning of the market system. The flourishing condition of suks in India was referred to by a large number of geographers and travellers, from al-Hariri, Shâhî al-Dîn al-Umarî and Ibn Baṭṭûta, to Finch, Bernier, and others.

The city of Dîhîlî had a number of gates (13 according to Amtir Khusrav; 12 according to Baranî; 28 according to Ibn Baṭṭûta; and 10 according to Tîmûr), some of which had become famous as market places for specific commodities (e.g. the Palam Gate for slaves; the Bâdâ’un Gate for corn, etc.). It appears that in India markets of special commodities arose very early. Dîjdžâfîr refers to a bâzâr-i bâzâżân (market of cloth merchants) in Dîhîlî (tr. Raverty, i, 646). During the Mughal period, there were many markets named after different professions and goods (khatâs like katra-yi kaysâbân, katra-yi râdâqârân, katra-yi nîqârân, etc.; mandîs like gul fûrûshîn kî mandî, sâz bâhî, mandî sâbîn, etc.; and kâlas like târdây wâlî, bâltâshy wâlî, etc.; see Nizami, Dîlî târîh kâ kî a’tî ’a m, Delhi 1989, 85-86). These khatâs and mandîs have survived to this day, though with changed character and patterns. According to Bernier (tr. Constable, 249), most of the markets in Dîhîlî were of mixed commodities, except the fruit market where fruits were brought from Persia, Balkh, Bâkhrâ’ar and Samarkand. According to Darga Kûlî Khân (Marâkka-i Dîlî, ed. Ângârî, Dîlî 1982), shops in the Candnf were replete with unique objects procured from different parts of the world. Small shop keepers in Dîhîlî had their residential quarters on the roofs of their shops (Bernier, tr. 245). The zadzhâbîs in Agra, Patna and Lahore had covered buildings.

The nature of a market place depended largely on the requirements of people living in that locality. In the capital cities, the demands of aristocracy conditioned the nature and quality of goods bought and sold in the market; kâhâs and small towns generally concentrated on supplying daily needs of the people. The village bazaar reflected the life of its inhabitants.

During the time of the Dîhîlî sultan Balbân, there was an amir-i-bazârizân (officer of the market) (Baranî, Târîh-i Fîrâz Shâhî, ed. Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1862, 34). The market control of ‘Alâ’ al-Dîn Khâlîdî was regulated from the sâry-i ’adî, where the prices of commodities were fixed. An officer known as zabâna-i mandî looked after the market. Abu ’l-Fadl refers to the appointment of several market inspectors to check oppression and irregularities in buying, selling, weighing, measuring and pricing the commodities in the Agra market (Akkâr-nâma, ed. Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1878-9, iii, 396). The mutasaddîs issued permits to merchants who brought their merchandise into the market for sale and issued passes for goods which were taken out of the city. He checked also the register of sale and purchase (sipâhîyâh khatîr u fârâkh). Humâyûn devised a market on boats, gûhâz-i sâkî, where all sorts of articles were sold (Kîndâmâmîr, Kânâr-i Humâyûnî, ed. Bibl. Indica, 1940, 61). During the Mughal period, minâ bâzârz were arranged in the palace. These were in the nature of fîtes, in which the ladies of the nobles set up shops and the Emperor, along with his queens, made purchases in a convivial atmosphere (Nizami, Dîlî târîh kâ kî a’tâna main, 79-80).


(K.A. Nizami)

Sûk al-Shûyûkh, a small town in southern ‘Irâq, on the right bank of the Euphrates (lat. 30° 53’ N., long. 46° 28’ E.). It lies some 40 km/25 miles to the south-east of al-Nâsiriyya (q.v.) and at the western end of the Khawr al-Hammâr lake and marshlands region, about 160 km/100 miles as the crow flies from Başrâ. The town is surrounded by date-groves extending along the river bank, but the marshy country, that extends into Başrâ, makes the air very unhealthy.

Sûk al-Shûyûkh was founded in the first half of the 18th century as a market-place (sûk) of the confederation of the Muṭṭâfik (q.v.) Arabs; 4 hours to the east there was formerly the residence of the chief Shaykh of the Muṭṭâfik, called Kût al-Shûyûkh; the plural shûyûkh designates the members of the clan of this chief. To the opposite bank of the Euphrates. Before 1853, the Muṭṭâfik Shaykh disdained to live in the town, but in Petermann’s time (1854) he had a house there; this last-mentioned traveller estimated the number of the population at 3,900. At the end of the 19th century the number 12,000 is given (Cuinet, Sâmî), of whom 2,250 were Sonnîs possessing two mosques (dju’âmî), and 8,770 Shî’îs with one sanctuary (masju’d). The population also included 280 Jews and 700 Mandaens or Şûbbâ. The latter lived for the greater part in the suburb Şûbbîyê on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. Before 1853, the Mandaen population had numbered 260 families, but the oppression of the Muṭṭâfik had caused 200 families to emigrate to Amârû. The German orientalist Petermann in the year 1854 visited Sûk al-Shûyûkh, the high priest of the Mandaens, Shaykh Yahûy. As elsewhere, these people are here silversmiths; they are also builders of a special type of boats.

Under Ottoman Turkish administration, Sûk al-Shûyûkh became the capital of the kada’t of the same name in the sandjak of Muṭṭâfik. In post-Ottoman ‘Irâk, the town was involved in the 1920 tribal uprising and in the unrest of 1935-6. In Republican ‘Irâk,
it now comes within the governorate of Dhu Kar, and continues to be a centre for date-growing and the cultivation of rice along the western and northwestern fringes of the Khawr al-Hammār.

However, these same sources also strongly emphasise the dark side of the personality of the woman, as well as her negative behaviour, which was regarded as not altogether consistent with the conduct of a respectable woman. Despite her youth and beauty she was never veiled (she was bare) nor followed the rules of a confined life-style. Moreover, she exhibited culpable coquetry in the way that she showed off her beauty with a special hair-style, a style which was actually named after her as al-tumr al-sukaynaya, “Sukayna-style curls.”

Another way in which she laid herself open to very sharp criticism was in her relations with the poets of the qaṣīda. It is certainly known that ‘Umar b. Abī Rabi‘a [g.e.] made her the heroine of one of his pieces (Sharh dīvān ‘Umar b. Abī Rabi‘a, Beirut 1412/1992, 67), and perhaps also the same applies to al-‘Arḍī (al-Mudīfīt, 69). Her marriages and love life are represented in a tendentious manner, more like the excesses of a less scrupulous woman, as if she were ready to marry anyone. But it is easy to forget that for a woman to have many husbands was a common occurrence in Kuraysh society. What is portrayed in her literary salon and her maqālīd are the social gatherings of a bohemian with dissolute morals (Vadet, L’esprit courtois, 66-7). Apart from her profligacy, by her conduct and by her happy and ironic irrepressibility Sukayna seems to prefigure the libertines (mawṣulāt [see muṣaffa]) of the 2nd/8th century.

But Sukayna stood out from her companions, the ladies of the Hijāz aristocracy (as listed in Vadet, op. cit., 68-72; for other names see Mudīfīt, 60-68) because of her cultural involvement in the spheres of poetry and ornamental music. All this activity was encouraged by the prevailing atmosphere of peace in the region after 79/698.

Very often the great ghazal poets of the Hijāz school came to recite their poems, to listen to remarks, and to flaunt their talent. It is known that they broke with the traditional nask [g.e.] and introduced into ancient Arabīca new small narrative expositions, by using exchanges on the subject matter between the principal protagonists. Sitting beside ‘Umar b. Abī Rabi‘a they would quote al-Abwahas, Dīaml b. Ma‘āmar, Kuthayyib b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān and their transmitters. Among those who went there when they were in the neighbourhood were Dīarrāz and, in particular, al-Farazdāk.

Several kinds of schemes were given approval there. It was Sukayna who would open the discussion thus: “Was it you who wrote the following verses?” she would enquire. The poet who replied in the affirmative would find himself rewarded with money. At other times, she would make remarks on the inadequate use of an expression, an overlapping of elements, or a motif that had appeared in the verses that were cited (Aghdānī, xxii, 277, where she shrewdly points out the clumsy expression of the motif of the self-sacrifice of the lover in al-Namīr b. Tawlab). Much less often she would embark on a comparison, citing the same motif as it had been used by someone else (ibid., xvi, 161-3, the famous madīs with Dīarrāz, al-Farazdāk, Kuthayyib, Dīaml and al-Abwahas). It is easy to imagine the scene; one can also speak of an embryonic literary discussion with fragmentary remarks on certain points of detail.

Sukayna’s support revived the knowledge of elegiac poetry in her epoch. In this way, she encouraged the ghazal poets to continue in their style of poetry during the time when they were being censored by the higher society of the country. Moreover, it is possible to detect within her a preference for what could be called natural composition (maḥbūt), which worked to the detriment of the poetry of effort. This was why in her eyes the poetry of Dīarrāz was superior to that of al-Farazdāk (Aghdānī, xxi, 366-7), and the compositions of Dīaml surpassed those of his peers. Nevertheless, she esteemed truth more highly than any other quality, and this led her to condemn a triplet by al-‘Arḍī and a threnody dedicated by ‘Urwa b. Udghayna to the memory of his brother Bakr, because of the discrepancy between what was reality and the much-embellished portrait that had been drawn by the piece (Aghdānī, xvii, 328, 354; Ibn ‘Asākir, fols. 444-5).

Sukayna had a lasting influence on music in the Hijāz, and Ibn Surayj [g.e.] considered himself her protegé. He would reserve for her the freshness of all his new creations, and more than once she would send him verses and ask him to set them to music for her. He is reported to have forsaken music after his conversion but he did not come any less frequently to her house; he came for three days at a time to sing with ‘Azzā al-Maylī (Aghdānī, xvii, 46-7). ‘Arḍī was the slave of Sukayna, and it was she who discovered the musical talents he possessed, presided over his training and decided what his speciality should be. The Aghdānī reports that Sukayna sent her slave, who was called ‘Abī al-Malik, to Ibn Surayj and demanded that he teach him the funerary melodies (nushāt). On the death of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya he was entrusted with the singing of the funeral songs. He excelled so much in this duty that the women cried out, “Lamentations like these are overwhelming (ghardari),” which is why he was given the epithet Gharīr (Aghdānī, i, 255).


(A. Arazī)
SUKHF (A.), a word which the Arab lexicographers apply almost exclusively to the intellect (ṣukhkh [q.v.]), connecting it etymologically with the form X word sukkhūfīn, and giving its root meaning as “thinness”, “lack of substance”. The adjectival form is sukhyfīn; a noun is sukhyfīn “when he is shrewd-minded (mujīn and frivolous [ṣukhkhīf])” (Ibn Durayd, Qamhāratah al-bugha, Haydarbād 1345/1926-7, s.v.). It is often used indiscriminately to designate “obscenity” (which is, more properly, ḥabīd), in which cases it frequently goes hand-in-hand with mujīn [q.v.].

The mediaeval Arab literati appear not to have used sukhyfīn as a designation of a poetic genre, preferring mujīn. It is difficult to determine when sukhyfīn and sukhyfīn mean “shallow-wittedness” and when they mean “obscene”: see e.g. the opinion expressed by Ibn Sallān al-Djumāhī (d. ca. 232/847 [q.v.]) concerning the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr [q.v.], that he had the least tendency to sukhyfīn (Tabākāt fuhul al-shu’ārā’ [q.v.]), ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo 1952, 53), “levity”, or “foolishness”, and its rebuttal by the poet-caliph Ibn al-Mu’tazz (d. 908 [q.v.]), who construes it as meaning “obscene”, quoting two verses of a vulgar and abusive nature (al-Marzubān, Muqaddimah, ed. by A.M. al-Badawī, Cairo 1965, 55-60) (see further G.J. van Gelder, The mediaeval Islamic underworld, Utrecht 1993; J.E. Montgomery, and the fair sex, For references to cultivation in Persia belong to the period immediately following the Islamic conquest, but it was possibly known somewhat earlier; papyrus evidence indicates that sugar cane was grown in Egypt by the mid-2nd/9th century and diffusion across North Africa was steady although its entry into areas of the Iberian peninsula under Muslim domination may not have occurred until the 5th/11th century. From Crusader times, the eastern coast of the Mediterranean and later Cyprus, were important sources of supply for Christian Europe.

Plant terms in Arabic frequently varied from region to region and possibly over time as well. Supposed synonyms can lead to confusion. The same is true of the by-products of the sugar-cane resulting from different stages of preparation and refinement, that is, pressing, filtering and decocting. For example, two common terms for types of sugar are sukkar tabarzad and sukkar nabāt. Maimonides states they are the same, the latter replacing the former in Egypt, while Ibn al-Kuff lists them separately as distinct varieties. The difference appears to be that tabarzad set hard in moulds (sugar loaf) while nabāt set on palm sticks placed in the recipient where it was being prepared; nabāt was also produced from other substances such as rose syrup or violet syrup. Al-Anṣārī, on the other hand, describes tabarzad as produced by adding to the sugar one-tenth of its bulk in milk while the mixture of tabarzad and nabāt may only have reflected a practice in Syria. Another common type of sugar was called fānīd, made in elongated moulds and which “melted quickly in the mouth” (Ibn al-Kuff, 314); its highly refined state was produced by adding the oil of sweet almonds or finely-ground white flour to the process of decoction. Finally, a sugar called al-dāmiṭīn, was made from hardened “red sugar” (ṣukkar ʿalmar) broken into pieces and further cooked to remove any impurities (Tadhkira, i, 194). Sugar was one of several substances used as a “sweetening” agent in mediaeval cooking as well as medical preparations. Honey, molasses (dibz) and fruit sugars were also commonly used. At times, their purpose served as a preserving agent for certain foods. It is impossible to judge the relative popularity of one sweetener over another. One medical writer, al-Tamfīl (d. late 4th/10th century) wrote of sugar that although “not one of the manna fallen from the sky” it was the “full brother of honey, its equal and associate”. Its benefits included aiding the performance of ingested drugs, both laxative and non-laxative varieties, because it broke up their bitterness, softened any coarseness in their mixtures and eased their acceptance by the body, “conducting them to the very depths of the bodily organs” (Marin and Waines, Manuscripts, 130). Sugar was described in Galenic terms as hot and moist. Despite its many benefits, sugar was nonethe-less judged to be harmful to the stomach at times.
when yellow bile prevailed in it; the tabarzad variety, however, because it was less warm and moist than other sugars, was therefore less likely to be transformed into yellow bile. A number of medical receipts employing sugar are preserved in Abu l-`Ala` Zuhar`i's K. al-Mudjamahàt, although they are considerably outnumbered by those using honey.

On the other hand, in a late culinary manual, the Kânc, al-fasúid, sugar appears more frequently in preparations than honey. Moreover, unlike medical receipts in which sugar and honey rarely occur together, this is often the case in dishes prepared in the domestic kitchen. Dishes containing meat and vegetables were prepared in which sugar and honey rarely occur together, this is generally classified as either "sour" (or "acidic").


AL-SUKKARI, `Abd Sa`d al-Hasan b. al-Husayn b. `Ubayd Allah b. al-`Ala`. Abu `Abduh b. Muhammad al-Makbul, Arabic philologist from Baghdàd, noted for his expertise in Arabic poetry, 275/888. His Muhabbid [q.v.] ancestry seems to be rather a link of clientage, as was the case with other scholars also (cf. Ibn al-Alhír, al-`Anbàh, s.v. al-Muhallabí). Al-Sukkarí makes a mistake in the process of collecting and composition, commenting and edition of poetic dívasán.

The exact dimensions of his personal contribution to the shape of materials which he received from his teachers or informants is hard to assess in detail, since old pieces of evidence are rare. We may perceive from what is preserved of his works, however, that he transmitted and edited collections, and also gathered and composed poetic dívasán himself.

Born in 212/827-8, he cannot have met with the early authorities in this field, e.g. Abú `Amr al-Shaybânì, Abú `Ubaydah and al-`Ašmâ`i, as Yâkút rightly points out (Udûdî). Even so, he often refers to them in his commentaries; much of the material seems to have come to him through Muhammad b. Habib [see IBN GHARÁBI], who is the most important of his teachers. Al-Sukkarí transmitted his al-Muhallabí, Najd al-Qur'ân wa l-Farasîsí and possibly al-Mughâlibnîn (GAS, ii, 179), and used Ibn Habib's collection of verses and commentaries as a starting-point for his editorial activity as editor-transmitter. In this manner, al-Sukkarí's redactions of the—preserved—dúnas of Hassán b. Thâbit (ed. W.N. `Arafat, i, 11), `Ubayd Allah b. Kayl al-Rakâyât (ed. N. Radokanakis, p. iii), Imru` al-Kays (ed. Ahlwardt, p. vi), al-Husayn`î (ed. N.M.A. Tahâ, 13), al-Aghârî (ed. A. Sulhani, 3), Dıqar (ms., GAS, ix, 28), Surâkî b. Mirdâs al-Aqghârî (ed. S.M. Husayn, in JIRAS [1936]) are related to the authority of this teacher. A short version (muhâhasîn) of Ibn al-Kalbî's Dıimhârat al-naṣab, a work also transmitted by Ibn Habib, is attested as a redaction of al-Sukkarí as well (W. Caskel, Gambarat an-naṣab, Leiden 1966, i, 100). This list can in no way lay claim to completeness, but may give an impression of the importance of the materials which he handed down to us.

Al-Sukkarí is also known for his "composition (dîm) of dívasán" as al-Dhahabî expresses it (Siyar, xii, 126), and most famous among his works of this kind is the edition and commentary of the tribal dívan of the Hudhâyîl [q.v.]. Another tribal dívan in his redaction was that of Taghlib as used by `Abd al-Kâdir al-Bîghîdî (Khiżnát al-adâb, i, 304, 309; cf. GAS, ii, 2 398). Also, the poetry of individual poets was gathered together and transmitted by him, like that of Kays b. Zuhayr (ed. T. Kowalski, 1) and many others. Ibn al-Nâfîm has a long list of poets whose díivasan al-Sukkarî gathered or transmitted (Fihrist, ed. Tadjadddud, 178). No manuscripts of his works on lexicology and poetry have, it seems, survived, but Hâdîjî Khâlîsa (Kashf al-zunun, ed. Flügel) testifies, apart from díivasan, to a Kîšb al-`Uwhîsh and al-`Abîyî al-iš-`irî. Fragments of his editorial work in poetry, as well as narrative materials about poets, are to be found scattered in classical Arabic literature. He was, of primary importance, the Âghânî here, for instance, a collection of the poetry of Ghyâlîn b. Salma is quoted from a copy of al-Sukkarî's own handwriting (Aghârî, xii, 231) and his famous Âghânî al-lasî, parts of which are also preserved with the dívan of Tahmân b. `Amr al-Kilâbi (ed. W. Wright, in his Opuscula arabica), are mentioned (Aghârî, xxiv, 169).

Bibliography: Brockelman, I, 108-9, Sl, 168; Sezgin, GAS, ii (poetry), viii (lexicography), ix (grammar), passim (see indices). For the Âghânî, see M. Fleischhammer, Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kîšb al-`Agînî, Halle/Saale 1965 (unpublished ms.), ch. 3, no. 36, ch. 4, no. 42; in addition to the biographical literature mentioned in these reference works, see Dhahabi, Siyar d`âm al-na`bâtà, xiiii, 126.

SUKNÀ (a.), lit. "abode". This is a Kur'ânic legal term referring to a woman's right upon her husband to provide shelter for her (XL, 6). It also refers to her right to stay in the matrimonial house during her waiting period following divorce or death (XL, 1). A famous statement of Fâtima bt. Kays is recorded by al-Bukhârî and Muslim in their collections of hadith, that suknd and nafaka were not granted to her by the Prophet when she was irrevocably
divorced. Her statement lead to a disagreement among scholars. Hanafis follow the view of 'Umar and 'A'isha who rejected Fatima's statement on the ground of the strength of the opposing Kur'anic verse and prophetic traditions. Other scholars, including 'Ali, Ibn 'Abbas and the Imami school of the Shi'a, deny both sukun and nasfa on the grounds of Fatima's statement. These two rights are only given to a woman who has not been irrevocably divorced. The Hanbalis Ibn Kudama extended the range of exclusions to include a woman divorced before the consummation of the marriage. The Shafi'i and Malikis schools maintain that the right to nasfa would be lost following a final pronouncement of divorce, unlike the right to sukun, since it is specified by Kur'an, LXV, 6. The Hanafi tendency is unreservedly to give a divorcee both nasfa and sukun seems to be the tendency adopted by some modern Muslim Family laws, including the Pakistani Ordinance, 1961.


SUKRAT, the Greek philosopher Socrates. There is no specific discussion of the teachings of Socrates on the part of the Arabo-Muslim authors who mention his name. This also applies to bibliographers such as Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani (Sukun al-Ishana), Ibn al-Nadim (Fihrist), Ibn al-Kiffi (Tarikh al-hukma') and Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (Uyun al-anba'). The small amount of information supplied by these diverse authors is, furthermore, repetitive. According to Abu Sulayman, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle acquired Egyptian wisdom from Pythagoras. S. id' al-Andalus's analysis is influenced by the sources:

The contrasting variation of the "value" of silence in Islamic law seems to place significant importance on the psychological "state" of individuals performing contracts. This is best represented in the sukun that is taken as acceptance (rida) in wedding ceremonies when a virgin bride is asked, "do you take this man to be your husband?" This is based on the grounds that she is too embarrassed to say "yes". This contrasts with the previously married woman who is expected explicitly to declare her will.


SUKUTRA (other transcriptions: Sukura, Sukutra, Sokota, Socta, Socrata and Socotra; in Arabic, the final letter may be an a sil mukarna or a ta marbutta), is an island in the Indian Ocean, at a distance of approximately 300 km/186 miles from the coasts of Arabia (Ras Farak) and 240 km/150 miles from Ras Asir (Cap Guardafui) in Africa. Its geographical coordinates are, from east to west, Ra's Manfi (12° 32' N. 54° 30' E.) to Ra's Shu'ab (12° 32' N. 53° 5' E.), and from north to south, Ra's Halal (12° 42' N. 54° 06' E.) to Ra's Kataan (12° 21' N. 53° 33' E.). The dimensions of the island change according to the sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Breadth</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EL (1934)</td>
<td>132 km</td>
<td>40 km</td>
<td>km² 3579.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Arabia</td>
<td>138 km</td>
<td>37 km</td>
<td>(1946) (75 miles) (20 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Sea Pilot</td>
<td>129 km</td>
<td>37 km</td>
<td>km² 4801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1967) (70 miles) (20 miles)</td>
<td>(1,400 sq. miles)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djuzighyfa</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(1,400 sq. miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Yemen</td>
<td>130 km</td>
<td>40 km</td>
<td>(1979)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is part of an archipelago which includes at least three other islands: 'Abd al-Kuri' (12° 12' N., 52° 13' E.) and the "Brothers", that is, Djuzirat Sambha (12° 09' N., 55° 03' E.) and Djuzirat Darsa or Darra (12° 06' N., 55° 16' E.). According to EL, the population was estimated at 13,000 "Moslem"; the editors of West Arabia (1946) calculated that it was between 6,000 and 8,000; according to the Djuzighyfa, its inhabitants are 1,500; and finally, Alain Rouaud states that in 1979 the population was around 20,000, to whom 200 inhabitants of 'Abd al-Ku'ri must be added.
1. Topography and demography.
Situated near the track of vessels bound to and from the east, Sukutra is generally sighted by vessels entering or leaving the Gulf of Aden; but being exposed to both monsoons and having no harbours in which vessels can at all times anchor with safety, it is but little visited. Jabal Haggier is the summit of the island, and attains an elevation of 1,419 m/4,654 feet.

The southern-western part of the island is arid and barren, but much of the remainder is comparatively fertile, being well-watered by the monsoon rains of July and December. The southern coast preserves a nearly unbroken line, but the northern and western coasts are broken into a succession of small bays, generally with streams at their head, affording anchorage according to the seasons, but none of them is safe at all times of the year. Over a broad area, hills rise abruptly in vertical cliffs several hundred feet high, but at other places there are plains, which attain a breadth of as much as 9 km/5 miles between the base of the hills and the coast. On the southern side is the plain of Naukad, the largest plain, which, extending nearly the whole length of the island, is for miles covered with clumps of drift sand. On the northern side, these plains occur chiefly at the mouth of streams, and are the sites of the only places which may be called towns.

The internal part of the island may be roughly described as broad, undulating, and intersected by limestone plateaux, with an average elevation of about 300 m/984 feet, that flank westward, southward and eastward, a nucleus of granite peaks, which attain elevations of over 1,200 m/3,936 feet. These are sedimentary rocks, free from clouds, but when the weather is clear their appearance is broken and picturesque. The whole of this hilly region is deeply intersected by ravines and valleys, which, in the rainy seasons, are occupied by roaring torrents, but the majority are empty in the dry season. There are, however, many perennial streams.

The population has a composite character that struck the travellers of Antiquity: Arabs, Indians, Somalis, and blacks, the descendants of mixed slaves. Inland, they are nomad "Bedouins" and live in caves. They practise a rotation of the pasture land to feed their flocks of goats, sheep and camels. They also gather the resin of dragon's blood (Dracaena Cinnabari), incense and aloes, and make the most of some palm groves and tobacco plants. The southern coast is deserted. The inhabitants of the northern coastline are scattered in some twenty small villages: they practise fishing and exchange their surplus with the "Bedo" against meat and milk.

The language spoken in the island is Sukutri (Soqotri, Socotri, etc.); see below, 3.

2. History.
The long history of Sukutra extends back into mythology. One suggested derivation of the name is from the Sanskrit, Daspa Sukhadhara according to Western Arabia, or daspa shahata, according to J. Tkatsch in El'f, which are to be translated "Isle of the Abode of the Bliss" or "Isle heureuse". There is also a theory that this was corrupted into Sük al-Katra "market of the exudations", but this is apparently untenable on philological grounds.

Sukutra has been identified with the Panchaia of Virgil, which is connected with the story of the Phoenix, which lies down to die in a perfumed nest of cinnamon and frankincense speigs. A connection has also been suggested with Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri, twin sons of Jupiter and Leda, whence possibly the Roman name Dioscoridis Insula. To this day, the Arabs call dragon's-blood dam al-alhamayn "the blood of the two brothers".

Iskuduru, one of a list of countries conquered by Darius (5th century B.C.), is believed to have been Sukutra. The island was apparently visited, along with the Land of Punt, by the ancient Egyptians in order to obtain frankincense by the direct sea-route. The anonymous writer of the Periplus referred to Sukutra as containing (1st century A.D.) a mixed Greek-speaking population, trading with Arabia and India, especially in turtle-shell of high quality; while Cosmas Indicopleustes, visiting it in the 6th century, thought that the Greek-speaking people had been placed in "Dioscorides" by the Ptolemies. Traders from Musa (the Arabian Red Sea coast) and Barygaza (the Gulf of Cambay) visited the island for turtle-shell.

The island is mentioned in pre-Islamic inscriptions from Hadramawt, spelt in the musnad script s'hrd, as an appanage of Hadramawt. In Islamic times, as far back as the 10th century it was a noted haunt of pirates from Cutch and Gujrat. Marco Polo, among other writers, described the harpooning of whales round its coast for ambergris and sperm oil.

Several Arab geographers, among them Yâkût, al-Kazwînî, al-Ishrî, al-Bâghdâdî (d. 739/1338) and al-Hamdânî (d. 945/1539), mention Sukutra in their descriptions. The information which they give is, however, limited to mentioning the gathering of aloes [see šabr] and dragon's blood, and they state that most of the inhabitants are "Christian Arabs". Al-Ishrî adds that Alexander the Great had replaced the primitive inhabitants of the island with Greek immigrants on the advice of his tutor and friend Aristotle. In 1507, the Portuguese Afonso de Albuquerque conquered the island, but this occupation did not last long; it was, however, the first contact with expanding Europe.

The islands for long formed part of the domains of the Imâm of Maskat and the Mahâri Sultan of Ḥiṣn and Sukutra. The island was occupied by a British force, following an agreement with the Sultan in 1834, for about five years while the Government of India was negotiating the purchase of the island as a coaling station. In 1886 the Sultan accepted a Protectorate Treaty. All the islands then became part of the Aden Protectorate, administered from India through the Resident at Aden, till the transfer of the Protectorate to the Colonial Office in London in 1937. The Sultan, whose capital was Ḥadibû, ruled with the help of his ważir and of headmen appointed from the coastal settlements and the pastoral clans of the interior.

The first landing ground for aircraft was established on the Ḥadibû plain in 1940. This was replaced in 1942 by a larger landing-ground on the northern coastal plain, some 2 miles west of Kathub. According to Alain Rouaud, "the Soviet Union apparently used the same landing grounds for their planes operating in the Indian Ocean; they also established a base for their fleet of submarines and 30 other boats. The presence of these military bases explains the thick veil and the absence of information which the South Yemenis kept over the island, since camps for political prisoners were to be found there. Situated at the same distance from Mogadishu and Addis Ababa on the petroleum route that passes by the Cape of Good Hope, or on that going through the Suez Canal, Sukutra is a particularly strategic centre in a zone of conflicts".

On 22 May 1990, the Arabic Republic of Yemen and the Popular Republic of Yemen joined to form
the new state of the Republic of Yemen, in which Sukutra is now included.

Bibliography: Most of the bibliographies, even those dealing specifically with the Arabian Peninsula, ignore the existence of Sukutra. Moreover, theMassals and the MSALs which for historical, geographical and economic reasons is the only MSAL having contact with S.

The first document regarding S dates back no further than 1835, when J.R. Wellsted compiled a list of 246 words and expressions in this language. At the end of the 19th century the Viennese scholar, D.H. Müller, in the context of the Sudan Arabic Exposition, provided Semitic scholars with a veritable library of texts in S from Sukutra and ‘Abd al-Kürf, studied and analysed by M. Bittner, W. Leslie and E. Wagner. Studies conducted since 1966, by T.M. Johnstone, V. Naumkin and the Mission Française d’Enquête sur les Langues du Yemen (A. Lonnet and M.-Cl. Simeone-Senelle) have revealed a rich dialectology and made it possible to complete and revise certain assertions which were formerly applied to only a small number of S dialects, the only ones studied in previous works.

Among the MSALs which, it may be recalled, present a number of traits original and internal to the southern group of western Semitic, S occupies a particular place; its geographical and historical isolation has definitely been the cause of an evolution different to that of the MSALs of the mainland, in permanent contact with one another.

In terms of phonology, as with the other MSALs, the consonantal system of S is characterised by the presence of ejective glottalised consonants: ʾ, k, ǧ, ʿ (these correspond to the Arabic series of emphatics, with the exception of ʿ, a supplementary phoneme peculiar to the MSALs), of two lateral fricatives (of which traces are found in the writing of ancient South Arabian languages, in Hebrew and in Ge'ez) including ʾ (the Arabic homologue of which is the letter ʾād [ʾא], which seems to have exhibited a lateral articulation, cf. the ʾādāb of Šabwah).

It should be stressed that, contrary to what has sometimes been stated, the velar fricatives x and ã part form the phonological system of S, although it is true that, in some dialects, there has been coalescence with the pharyngals: in Kalansīya, xte “night” and gav “man” correspond to lṭe and Ṿy in Hadīf. On the other hand, within the MSALs, S is distinguished by a consonantal system lacking interdental.

From the purely phonetic point of view, there are two traits typical of S which should be noted. One is the consequence of rules of accentuation: the existence of a so-called “parasitic” ū which permits the prolongation of a syllable which has become short and unaccented (mēšāber “stable”, but in the dual ʾāmušāt), ēs “camel”, ēs “tongue”).

Other phenomena of phonetic combination, also existing to varying degrees in other MSALs, are present in S: the palatalisation of voiceless, glottalised and voiced velars: îcēb “he writes” (koth “he has written”), marbīṯ “poisoned” (ʾīb “he has been poisoned”), dīġāatham “scorpion”, ʾṣyṣ “man”, in certain dialects ʾṣīg “man”; the fricative realisation [z] of /ʿ/; ḏz (for /al/, negative particle), ḏzāḥ “he helped”, kāṯā “Allah.”

The vocalic system of S differs from that of other
MSALs, in that certain dialects include ə and ö in addition to the i, e, a, o, u, a, of the "basic" MSA system. The timbre and vocalic quantity are closely linked with accentuation and, as in Ḏibbālī [see supra], contrasts in vocative duration seem to have no phonological relevance. The syllabic structure is of the Cv or CvC type. The accent, in comparison with the other MSALs, is "retracted" towards the beginning of the word; it applies to the penultimate, or antepenultimate syllable (except in certain conjugations) and under its effect, the vowel is often realised long (šmāh "five"). Vowels play an important morphological role. In nouns, they contribute to distinction of gender: tāhrar (masc.) and tāhār (fem.); "wild goat", kārkān and kārkīm "yellow", ṣūbr "old man" and ṣūbrī "old woman" and to distinction of number: ṣām (sing. and ṣām (pl.) "big", nāhrar and nāhrūr "nose/noses". They have a similar function in verbs where, in addition to gender and number, they indicate the person and the diathesis: ṭāteb "you write" (m. sing.) and in the fem. ṭāteb, tā "he ate, they (fem.) ate" and tā "they (masc. and dual) ate", ḏūkī "he shaved". In verbs, are conjugated in the inaccomplished aspect including a prefix ṭ- added to the first persons singular and dual, as well as the second of the plur., have the endings -i and, unlike in the other MSALs, it is not necessary followed by the numeral trēh (masc.), trīh (fem.) "two". The nominal dual is very active; it is marked by the suffix -i and, unlike in the other MSALs, it is not necessary followed by the numeral trēh (masc.), trīh (fem.) "two": Nouns have both internal and external plurals and often several plurals for one singular.

As in the Ṣahrī spoken in the Yemen Republic, but different from the MSALs in Ṣ the Madīnah, there exists in S no definite article.

In nouns, they contribute to distinction of gender: tāhrar (masc.) and tāhār (fem.); "wild goat", kārkān and kārkīm "yellow", ṣūbr "old man" and ṣūbrī "old woman" and to distinction of number: ṣām (sing. and ṣām (pl.) "big", nāhrar and nāhrūr "nose/noses". They have a similar function in verbs where, in addition to gender and number, they indicate the person and the diathesis: ṭāteb "you write" (m. sing.) and in the fem. ṭāteb, tā "he ate, they (fem.) ate" and tā "they (masc. and dual) ate", ḏūkī "he shaved". In verbs, are conjugated in the inaccomplished aspect including a prefix ṭ- added to the first persons singular and dual, as well as the second of the plur., have the endings -i and, unlike in the other MSALs, it is not necessary followed by the numeral trēh (masc.), trīh (fem.) "two": Nouns have both internal and external plurals and often several plurals for one singular.

As in the Ṣahrī spoken in the Yemen Republic, but different from the MSALs in Ṣ the Madīnah, there exists in S no definite article.

The morphology of autonomous and incorporated personal pronouns includes a form of the dual, including the first person; with all the persons (excepting the dual) there is distinction of gender. The verbal system does not differ from that of other MSALs; it comprises three simple forms: GəCaC and GəCaC (active voice), GəCaC (middle voice and CaCaC (passive voice), four derived passive forms (by internal modification, prefixation or infixation): CaCaC (intensive-conative), CaCaC (factive and "intermediate" value), CaCaC and CaCaC (causative-reflexive), CaCaC and CaCaC (reflexive). The verbal paradigms, as in Arabic, are arranged in prefixal and suffixal conjugations (corresponding to the imperfect and perfect aspect). In contrast to Arabic, S, with the MSALs, is distinguished by the existence of a dual in three persons. In the perfect state, the two first persons sing, and dual, as well as the second of the plur., have the endings -k; the third person fem. has the endings -h, -h: -h: ṭaw."I have been afraid", ṭaw. "the two of us have been afraid", ṭaw. "she has been afraid", and -t when the verb is followed by a complementary pronoun: ṭāfārī "she has spat" and ṭāfārät-ī "she has spat it". The subjunctive differs from the indicative in its particular vocalic scheme and it includes a prefix l- added to the first persons sing. and dual, and to the third persons masc. sing. pl. A certain number of verbs, especially simple passive verbs, are conjugated in the inaccomplished aspect without the prefixed personal indicators y- and t-; however, the subjunctive has l- in all persons, except the first of the plural. Some derived forms have an imperfect tense with a supplementary -a. S is the only one of the MSALs to possess no specific form for the future. The jussive is expressed by the imperfect indicative, but the prohibitive is expressed by a negative particle followed by the subjunctive: zečēm "you sit", ḏa ḏezm "do not sit!"

In syntax, two features clearly distinguish S from the other MSALs. The notion of possession is expressed by a prepositional syntagm (the preposition is followed by the independent or incorporated pronoun referring to the possessor) preceding the noun which refers to the thing possessed: diḥō bēbe my šem ūlī (of me independent pron.) father of-him [incorporated pron.] name 'Ali "my father, his name is 'Ali". For the construction of negation, S is the only MSA language in which the negative particle is always anteposed to the element negated; furthermore, it differs (except in the dialect of 'Abd al-Kūrī) in terms of the mode of the verb: ūlā with the indicative in assertive or interrogative phrases and ūlā (or ha) followed by the subjunctive in prohibitive phrases.

As regards the lexis, in S numerous roots are encountered which belong to ancient Semitic lexical stock; but what is striking is the number of original words, original even in terms of the MSA lexicum, which cannot be associated with any of the languages (African, Indian, European) which could have been in contact with S. It should only be noted that the dialect of 'Abd al-Kūrī has been strongly influenced in its phonetics and its vocabulary by the Arabic dialect of the region of the Ḥadramawt, with which contact is regular and continuous.

Bibliography: References to the MSALs as a whole are to be found in T.M. Johnstone's art. MAĐH. All references to S by the scholars of the Sūdarābīsī Expedition of Vienna, D.H. Müller and M. Bittner, are to be found in W. Leslau, Lexique soqotri, Paris 1938. Numerous lexical terms are also present in Johnstone, Mehī lexicon, London 1987. For works subsequent to E. Wagner (Syntax der Mehr-Sprache ..., Berlin 1953) and not quoted by Johnstone (1986), see Johnstone, The non-occurrence of a t- prefix in certain Soqotri verbal forms, in BSAO, xxxi/3 (1968); A. Lonnet and M-Cl. Simone-SENELLE, La phonologie des langues sudarabiques modernes, in A. Kaye (ed.), The phonology of selected Asian and African languages, Wiesbaden 1995; V. Naumnik, Sokotrišči ("The Soqortis"), Moscow 1988; idem, Island of the Phoenix, Reading 1993; Naumnik and V. Pockhomovskiy, Očerki po etnolingvistike soqorti ("Studies on Soqotri ethnolinguistics") Moscow 1981; Simone-SENELLE, Récentes développements des recherches sur les langues sudarabiques modernes, in Proces, of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress 1987, Vienna 1991; eadem, Notes sur le premier vocabulaire soqorti: le Mémoire de Wellsted (1835), in Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques (MAS), n.s. 3, 4 (1991, 1992); eadem, L'expression du futur dans les langues sudarabiques modernes, in MAS, n.s. 5 (1993); eadem, La négation dans les langues sudarabiques modernes, in MAS, n.s. 6 (1994); eadem, Aloe and Dragon's Blood, some medicinal and traditional uses on the island of Soqotra, in New Arabian Studies, ii (1994), 186-98; eadem, Magie et pratiques thérapeutiques dans l'Mémoire de Soqorti: le médecin-médecin, in PSAS, xxv (1995); eadem and A. Lonnet, Lexique des noms des parties du corps dans les langues sudarabiques modernes, in MAS, n.s. 3, 4 (1985-6, 1988-9); eadem, Lexique soqorti: les noms des parties du corps, in Semitic studies in honour of Wolf Leslau, Wiesbaden 1991, i; eadem, Compléments à Lexique Soqorti: les noms des parties du corps, in MAS, n.s. 4 (1992); D. Testen, The loss of the personal marker in Ḏibbālī and Soqorti, in BSAO, xiv (1992); University of Aden, Research Programme Soqotra Island.

(M.-CL. Simeone-Senelle)

SULAHFĀ, SULAHFAYA’, SULAHFAYA, SULAHFAY, pi. sulahfīf (a.), feminine substantive denoting the tortoise or any large reptile, terrestrial as well as aquatic. The root s.l.h.f. is drawn from an ancient and unidentified language, unrelated to Arabic. Besides this classical term and the synonyms ḥaylam for the male and ṭawama for the female, dialectal names are encountered according to regions: thus in the Maghrib, ṣakrīn, ṣakīr, ṣakīrīn, ṣakīrīn, ḍīrīn, ḍīrīn, ḍīrīn, ḍīrīn, ḍīrīn, ḍīrīn from the Berber ṣakrīn, ṣakīn, ṣakīn, in Syria and Lebanon, karka’ta. I. Species. The order of Chelonians with a carapace, sulahfayyāt muldmara’āt (Greek ξεκένων, Latin testudo), comprises three families:

A. Terrestrial Chelonians, barriyyāt or chxies, including, in Arab countries: (1) Hermann’s tortoise (Testudo Hermanni); (2) The Greek or Moorish tortoise (Testudo graeca, mauritiana); (3) The Caspian emyde (Mauremys caspica); (4) The bordered tortoise (Testudo marginata); and (5) The Barbary tortoise (Testudo tangeri).

B. Marsh Chelonians, munka’yayt or chelodines, including: (1) The lute turtle (Dermochelys coriacea), which can exceed 2 m in length and 500 kg in weight; (2) The caret or caretta (Caretta caretta); and (3) The green turtle or true chelon, la’da’ khadrd (Chelonia mydas); and (4) The imbricated chelon, la’da’ sahfyya’ (Chelonia imbricata).

II. Utility. A. The shell of the tortoise, ḍāhīl, has always been highly valued for the manufacture of combs and bracelets, ṭawam.

B. The carapace, boyt al-sulahfā, of large marine turtles is used, especially among nomads, as a cradle for new-born infants. It is also employed in various domestic functions, serving, e.g. as a basket or a basin. It should not be forgotten that in ancient times, this carapace, fitted with vibrating strings, constituted the original lute, ‘atd, ancestor of the lyre which among the Greeks and the Romans was attributed to Hermes/Mercury.

C. The meat of certain turtles is a popular foodstuff, as were their eggs; consumption of these is permitted according to Kurānic law.

III. Specific Properties. In a place of ice and intense cold, if a living tortoise is laid on its back, feet in the air, the atmosphere immediately becomes clement. The blood of the tortoise is an effective ointment for all maladies of the joints. Carrying on one’s person the tail of a tortoise supposedly favours sexual endeavours and finally, seeing a tortoise in a dream foretells an attractive bride, perfumed and finely adorned, or the acquisition of great wisdom.


V. Proverbial usage. Al-Damfn cites the adage abjad min sulahfā “more stupid than a tortoise”, but it is not clear what aspect of the behaviour of this useful creature is supposed to justify such an assertion.

A variety of minor treatises on Sufi practices. His principal commentary on the Qur'an, Hakaf'ik al-tafsir, is a voluminous work which still awaits publication as a whole, although extracts of it have been published by Massignon and Nwyia. Some time after the completion of the Hakaf'ik al-tafsir, al-Sulami wrote a separate Qur'an commentary entitled Zafdit hakaf'ik al-tafsir (ed. G. Bowering, Beirut 1995), an appendix to the former extant in a unique manuscript. This work was completed some time after 370/980, the date by which, in all probability, the Hakaf'ik al-tafsir had been completed. Significant portions of both Qur'an commentaries were integrated into the Andi's al-bayan fi hakaf'ik al-Kur'an (2 vols., Cawnpore 1301/1884) of Abü Muhammad Rabi'ih bin al-Bakî (d. 606/1209).

Biography: For al-Sulami's life and work, see Sezgin, GAS, i, 671-4; the introductions to the editions of Sulami, Tabakát al-siyasa; S. Ateş, Sültem ve tasavvuf teşrîfi, Istanbul 1969; G. Bowering, The Qur'an commentary of al-Sulami, in W.B. Hallaq and D.P. Little (eds.), Islamic studies presented to Charles J. Adams, Leiden 1995, 153-60; idem, The major sources of Sulami's minor Qur'an commentary, in Qums (1995). Extracts from Sulami's Hakaf'ik al-tafsir were published by L. Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, Paris 1922, 368, 392; P. Nivyia, Le Tafsir mystique attribué à Gêfar Sîdîq, in MUSJ, xxiii (1968), 181-200, repr. in 'All Za'îrî, Al-tafsir fi 'l-Kur'ân 'ind al-Sûdîk, Beirut 1979, 125-212; P. Nivyia, Sentences de Nîrî cited par Sulami dans Hoqiq al-tafsîr, in MUSJ, xvi (1968), 145-7; idem, Trois ouvrages inédits de mystique musulmane, Beirut 1995. The items of Ibn 'Atîq's Qur'an commentary included in Sulami's Hakaf'ik al-tafsir have been tr. into German with intro. by R. Gramlich, Abu 'l-Abbâb b. 'Abî: Sufi und Koranwissenschaftler, Stuttgart 1995. Minor works attributed to Sulami known to have appeared in print: Rûslât al-mâlâmâtîya (ed. Abu 'l-Alâ' al-Abbâs, Cairo 1364/1945); Kitâb al-Abbîn fi 'l-tasawwuf, Haydarâbâd 1369/1950; Kitâb Aâdîn al-Abbâs, ed. M.J. Kister, Jerusalem 1983; Kitâb Manählât al-Marâzîn, 'Abbâs ibn 'Abbâs, 'Afsâ al-fikâr, Beirut 1410/1990; Qawwâlîn 'ind al-siyasa, ed. E. Kohlberg, Jerusalem 1976; Usûl al-âfsa wa-mudâtâstâhâ, ed. idem, Jerusalem 1976; ed. Majdî Fathî al-Suyîyd, Tanţa 1410/1990; Kitâb al-Futawwada, ed. S. Ateş, Ankara 1397/1977; cf. also F. Taeschner, in Studia Orientalia J. Podesz产生了部, Copenhagen 1953, 340-51; Al-Mukaddima fi 'l-tasawwuf wa-hukmâtîk, ed. Yuûsuf Za'dân, Cairo 1406/1987; ed. Husayn 'Amin, Baghdîd 1984; Manahlât al-ârîfîn, ed. Kohlberg, in TAJ, i (1979), 19-39; Manahlât al-ârîfîn, Manahlât al-ârîfîn, ed. Abu Muhammad, Shafi'i jurist and Ash'arî theologian—this latter tendency caused serious tension between him and the Ayyûbîd sovereign al-'Ashraf Musa who was, if al-'Abbâs is to be believed, won over by the doctrines of the Damascus Hanbalis (see Tabakat al-siyasa al-kubrâ, Cairo n.d., viii, 218-29) where his profession of faith is reproduced—al-Sulami also took a very close interest in Sûfism, becoming a convert to it under the influence of Şihâb al-Dîn al-Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234), author of Aṣâfîr al-ma'âfîr. In Egypt, where he spent the last twenty years of his life, his 'Izz al-Dîn al-Sulamî "the Damascene" was the leading Şâfi'î authority of his generation, the majority of biographers attributing to him the status of muhtâhid, a distinction not often awarded at this time (according to al-Suyûtî, quoting Ibn Ka'îrî, at the end of his life al-Sulami regarded himself as an "absolute" muhtâhid whose judicial opinions were no longer tied to any constituted school, see Hsm al-muskâhara, Cairo 1968, iii, 315 and idem, Kitâb al-Radd 'ala man aklâdâ ila 'l-ard, Beirut 1983, 76, 193).

In Damascus, in terms of law (fikâr [q.v.]), his masters were Fâhûr al-Dîn Ibn 'A'sâarî (d. 620/1223)—the Banû 'A'sâarî were one of the most prestigious scholarly families of Şâfi'î and Ash'arî persuasion in Damascus—and the Sa'dîc al-Dîn al-Amidî (d. 614/1217) while Sayf al-Dîn al-Amidî (d. 631/1233) instructed him in the usûl, this meaning either the methodology of law (usûl al-fikâr [q.v.]) or theology (ilm al-kalâm [q.v.]) or both. The term usûl can denote either of these two disciplines and al-Amidî was an eminent exponent of both of them.

A Şâfi'î jurist and Ash'arî theologian—this latter tendency caused serious tension between him and the Ayyûbîd sovereign al-'Ashraf Musa who was, if al-'Abbâs is to be believed, won over by the doctrines of the Damascus Hanbalis (see Tabakat al-siyasa al-kubrâ, Cairo n.d., viii, 218-29) where his profession of faith is reproduced—al-Sulami also took a very close interest in Sûfism, becoming a convert to it under the influence of Şihâb al-Dîn al-Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234), author of Aṣâfîr al-ma'âfîr. In Egypt, where he spent the last twenty years of his life, his 'Izz al-Dîn was a frequent visitor to Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shihâdî (d. 656/1258, another ed., Cairo 1968), in which, in particular, he considers "dis-course on the detailed questions of Sûfism" (al-kalâm fi dakhîl al-tasawwuf) to be a "laudable innovation" (bi'da mandâhîba) (ed. Cairo 1934, ii, 175). Similarly, the identification of the notions of uthûrîyya—the "prudence" in legal matters characteristic of the Şâfi'î school—and of uthûrîyya—the "spirit of scruple" advocated in so-called "Sûfism"—practised by al-Sulami in the same book (ii, 14) is an eloquent expression of the pertinence of Şîfî doctrines for judicial theory. His affirmation (ii, 1999, according to which the genuineness of spiritual influences on the law is to be believed) and his "prudence" (ii, 14) betray the same influence. This is in fact a fairly typical feature of a major trend in the legal thinking of the time, and al-Sulami's work is just one of its representatives. His more strictly judicial thinking is centred around the notion of "the interest of the community" (masâlîh) which is, likewise, scarcely original for its time.
His extensive reputation, his popularity during his lifetime and his posthumous renown, the “Sultan of the scholars” (sultân al-islâmâd), the nickname given to him by Ibn Daqîq al-Id (d. 702/1302), his most eminent pupil—all of these owe less to the quality of his biblical or legal knowledge than to his exemplary life, to his militancy placed exclusively at the service of the community, to his independence in dealing with political authorities—“he avoided praising kings, rather, he lectured them” (Ibn Kâdî al-Dimaschî, Tabâkât al-dârîyya, Beirut 1987, i, 441)—and the zeal with which he conformed to what he regarded as the most important mission of the scholar in society, sc. to command the good and to forbid the reprehensible (al-amr bi 'l-ma'rûf wa 'l-nâhi 'an al-munkar). It is definitely this image of the militant sage which accounts for the renewed popularity of 'lzz al-Dîn al-Sulâmî and of his works in the contemporary Arabo-Muslim world (in Damascus, Cairo and Beirut, editions of his texts have proliferated in recent years).

Thus the biographers pay particular attention to various episodes in the life of 'lzz al-Dîn. In Damascus, while he was officially responsible for preaching the sermon (al-khâthûra) at the Friday mosque of the Umayyads, he abolished “numerous innovations introduced by preachers” (dressing in black, preaching in verse, etc.); Ibn Kâdî al-Dimaschî, op. cit.). When, in 638/1240, the Ayyûbîd al-Sâhîh Ismâ'llî, then ruler of Damascus, made an alliance with the Frankish invaders against the Ayyûbîd ruler in Cairo, and ceded to them towns, fortresses and territories in exchange for their aid (see al-Makîn b. al-Amîd, Chronique des Ayyoubides, Paris 1994, 71-3), in the course of one of his visits 'lzz al-Dîn expressed his courageous and public opposition to the policies of al-Sâhîh, who had him imprisoned. It was on this occasion that 'lzz al-Dîn, having been released (very quickly) from detention, decided to leave Syria and make his way to Egypt. He was accompanied by the eminent Mâlikî jurist lzz b. Abd al-Salâm), a certain notoriety (dân an wadî), and for this reason would not have been completed and which was, in Egypt, the first establishment providing instruction in the four rites (see K.A.C. Creswell, in BIFAO, xxi, 33-4). The biographers indicate that he was the first to teach Kur'anic commentary in Egypt (al-Suyûtî, op. cit., i, 315; he composed a brief tafsîr which has not survived). Furthermore, it was with his customary zeal—a little too much for the taste of al-Ishârî—that he pursued his mission of the scholar closely involved in issues concerning the community. The biographers refer to two compilations of his judicial decisions: al-Fâdîsû al-ma'tuqûa and al-Fâdîsû al-

Besides the above-mentioned al-Rau'dî al-kabîn, in which he was largely inspired by the 'Sûhâbî al-imâm of al-Bayhâkî (d. 458/1066) and of which he composed a summary (al-Rau'dî fî ši'âhîd al-mawzû' al-mu'sumamnî bi 'l-Rau'dî al-sagîr), Cairo 1988), al-Sulâmî is the author of a Ma'dâqîz al-Kur'ân which earned a certain notoriety (K. al-Ishârî 'ûtâ 'l-tîfîz fi bîdî al-'awm al-madâqîz, Cairo 1896) and which he also abridged. Other texts attributed to al-Sulâmî have been published under titles which do not correspond to those mentioned by his early biographers (see for example al-Subkî, op. cit., viii, 247-9). One of al-Sulâmî's sons, Abd al-Latîf (d. 695/1296 in Cairo), was also a jurist (see al-Subkî, op. cit., viii, 312) and seems to have composed a biography (sîra) of his father, claimed by al-Subkî as direct inspiration for the long article devoted to al-Sulâmî in his Tabâkât.

Bibliography: A very characteristic member of the intellectual elite in post-classical Sunni Islam, 'lzz al-Dîn al-Sulâmî definitely deserves the distinction of a separate monograph. In addition to works cited in the article, the following of his texts have been published: Hant al-nâzîz wa-mâ'âfîkh al-kuntz, Cairo 1899; al-Rau'dî fî ma'âtkh al-Kur'ân, Kuwait 1967; Mâstîl al-ta'râkî fî 'l-im al-akhirîa, Cairo 1904; Nûdîg al-kalâm fî nush al-Imâm, Cairo 1991.

SULAWESI, formerly Celebes [q.v.], sometimes Celebesi, derived from sula bôr, iron knife or kris [?], one of the four biggest islands in Indonesia, stretching from 4° N. to 7° 6. and 118° to 126° E. The island consists of four major peninsulas, linked together by a central part. Administratively, it is divided into four provinces: South, Southeast, Central and North Sulawesi. Its population comprises a number of ethnically and linguistically quite different tribes. While the seven tribes of Minahasa (northern tip of the island) and the Toraja (northern part of South Sulawesi) predominantly, and the people of Central Sulawesi to a large extent, became Christians, Islam became the decisive religious factor in most of the other areas, except some parts of the interior where traditional religions still survive.

 Makassar [q.v.], situated in South Sulawesi, was the most powerful sultanate on the island. The forceful Islamisation of the neighbouring Buginese kingdoms, which started immediately after the two Makassaresc kingdoms Gowa and Tallo united themselves after their Islamisation was completed in 1607, resulted in an enduring enmity with Bone, the greatest Buginese kingdom. In 1660, a member of the royal family of Bone who became famous as Arung Palakka (d. 1696), raised an abortive rebellion against the sultan of Makassar. After his defeat he fled with his followers to Java and asked the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) for shelter. When the Dutch, on their part, launched their final attack against Makassar in 1667-9, Arung Palakka came to their help and brought Makassarese rule over the Buginese kingdoms to an end and likewise its suzerainty over other kingdoms in the region like Umbawa [see Sunda Islands], Buto and Manado (in the north of Sulawesi). In 1672, Arung Palakka became king of Bone.

The expansionist zeal of Makassar after its Islamisation had strained relations with the sultaneate of Ternate which, since its ruler had gone over to Islam in 1490, had established its own sphere of influence over most of the spice islands, including the southern Moluccas.
with Amboina, and the eastern and southeastern parts of Sulawesi. There, on the island of Buton and its twin island Muna off the southern shores of Southeast Sulawesi, a small sultanate had emerged. In 1542 the sixth rāgī (king) of Buton, Sultan Muhammad, was converted to Islam, influenced by an Arab teacher named 'Abd al-Wahīd from Gujurāt. His dynasty had apparently assumed power at the beginning of the 15th century and had close relations with the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, from where Hinduism was introduced to Buton. When Majapahit was Islamised early in the 16th century, many Hindu noblemen and scholars sought refuge in Buton. This explains the heavy resistance by them and the native people against their forcible conversion to Islam. However, many pre-Islamic beliefs were continued after this conversion, and Islam itself was understood according to its Šī‘ī tradition. To this effect, relations must have been established with Aceh [see Ṭaḥān], the cradle of Malay tasawwuf in the archipelago, and with Java [see ḤAlawata; and also Indonesia]. A constitution of the sultanate, promulgated during the reign of the fourth sultan La Elang (1578-1615), with the help of a divine named Shari‘a Muhammad, was based on the notion of the “seven worlds”, or “levels” (Mal. murtabat tujuk). Politically, Buton had accepted the sultanate of Ternate as overlord, and it resented the aggressive expansion of Makassar. A Makassarese expedition in 1666 of roughly 15,000 men against Buton to protect their interests there against the Dutch, was destroyed by the VOC and their ally, Arung Palakka, and was thus one of the preludes to the final attack on Makassar itself. The sultanate of Buton was, like the other sultanates still existing with the exception of Yogjakarta, abolished after the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed.

After the defeat of Makassar, the VOC finally implemented rigorously its policy of a trade monopoly in the Eastern islands and ordered all clove trees to be cut down except those on Amboina. As a result, poverty spread among the people, and particularly the Makassarese merchants, additionally hit by Arung Palakka’s caliph’s ruin, which led to the decline of their incomes and moved in great numbers to other areas or contributed decisively to a new tide of piracy. Many of them settled down in Gorontalo on the northern peninsula of Sulawesi and became active, too, in the promotion of Islam, which soon spread to the neighbouring principality of Bolaang-Mongondow.

In Manado, the Portuguese allies of Makassar were driven away, and the Spaniards withdrew to the Philippines. Thus Minahasa became an open field for Christian missions. Because of its relative secure situation, however, the Dutch used it also as place to resettle Muslim rebels from other islands, especially during the 19th century. Famous among them was Kyai Mojo, the spiritual adviser of Prince Diponegoro who initiated the “Java War” (1825-30). The Kyai and some of his followers were resettled near Tondano lake and founded there Kampung Jawa Tondano.

Later on, other exiled Muslims were added to their community which until now maintains its “Melayu” Islamic identity. Prince Diponegoro himself was exiled to Makassar (Újung Pandangle), where he died in 1855; his tomb still attracts many pious visitors. Also, Imam Bonjol, one of the famous leaders of the Padrì [q.v.] War in West Sumatra (1821-37) found himself exiled to a village at the outskirts of Manado where he, too, established a Muslim community which until now has preserved its Islamic character amidst a predominantly Christian neighbourhood.

After the independence of Indonesia was acknowledged by the Dutch in December 1949 and the Republican government under Soekarno began restructuring the state, South Sulawesi became the scene of one of the different Darul-Islam rebellions which shook Indonesia for many years. This one was led 1950-56 by Kahar Muzakkar, a Buginese who had received religious training in the Mu'allim or college of the Muhammahdiyān, an Indonesian “modernist” Islamic organisation in the tradition of the Salafiyā, in Solo, and who had served in the Indonesian armed forces. In spite of the many atrocities committed during its campaigns against both Muslims and non-Muslims, this Darul-Islam movement needs careful analysis also in order to understand its real roots and the intentions of its leader against the background of the special character of Islam as maintained by the Buginese [see Barbara S. Harvey, 1989 in Bibli.]


The Sulayb, the generic and proper name of a tribal group in the northern half of the Arabian peninsula and in the adjacent deserts to the north in what are now Jordan, Syria and Iraq. Sulayb seems to be a diminutive form, as often, found with a contemptuous meaning, sing. Sulâfî, colloquially Sîlîbî. They are one of the Hutaym tribes, often described as pariahs, as also such gypsy groups as the Nawâr. For lists of their subsections, their living areas, etc. see Musîl, Arabiha deserta, 231; French Government in Syria, Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, 71; von Oppenheim, Die Beduinen, iv, 150; El art. Sulâbî.

The reasons for their low status centre around occupation, political independence and origin. Each affects the other to a varying degree, inter-dependent. The distinctions drawn between Sulayb and other Hutaym and Bedouin distance the two categories on the basis that the Bedouin provide their own security and are independent, while the Hutaym are not able to do this and buy security from the Bedouin. Different authorities, whether western scholars or Arab tribal experts, emphasise one area or another as the fundamental ground for seeing the Sulayb as distinct, sometimes to the extent that Sulayb are seen as non-Arab in origin. The more exotic behaviour and origins attributed to the Sulayb thus parallel their ascribed social position.

The Sulayb call themselves Awlad Šalbî or Awlad Qâhîn; the Bedouin use Šulâbî, Sulabba or Sulbâb. Earlier derivations of the Sulayb from Sabaeans or Christian (sometimes Crusader) origins have been refuted by Caskel (in von Oppenheim, op. cit., 148), who sees Sulayb as a classificatory term for widely-spread groups of different origins; those of al-Hâsâ coming from southern Persia between the end of the 13th and the 15th century, while those of Syria and western Arabia may be the descendants of groups defeated by Wahhabis, following a suggestion by Rousseau or by “fanatical Bedouin”. Butler suggested they are aboriginal inhabitants.

Arab tribesmen see the Sulayb as without genealogy, and sometimes as probably unbelievers or Jews (Doughty, Arabia Deserta, i, 326), but usually as Arabs. Some Sulayb told Doughty that they did not know
their lineage, others that the name of their ancestor
was M`ayb. At Medina`in Sālih, Dougherty met a Sulayb
family from Wadjh who said that they were formerly
Bedouin with herds and villages who had become weak and,
in order to live, had taken up smithing and hunting.

The Sulayb spread over the northern half of the
Arabian peninsula, roughly from Medina to Rijād
and as far north as Aleppo and Mawṣil. Dickson, The
Arab of the desert, 515, says that Sulayb had large set-
tlements with their own headmen outside Kuwait town
and Zubayr. The desert-dwelling Sulayb lived among
the tribes on friendly terms.

Musil describes Sulayb social organisation, which
has a subdivision into clans, called al`3, like the Bedouin
beni. The al`3 is the vengean group, while the su`ūd
is the ensemble of man, woman and children living
in one tent. Each Sulaybi`i al`3 paid its Bedouin an
agreed sum for protection, and the tribe appointed
one or more “brothers” who compensated its Sulayb
for property taken from them by other tribesmen.
Musil, op. cit., 231-3, gives a list of the “brothers”
of the Sulayb in northern Arabia. Each Sulayb section
had a chief, some of whom, according to Dickson,
owned large flocks and herds of camels and were up
to a point respected.

The distinction between Bedouin and Hutaym,
including Sulayb, was epitomised in that no Bedouin
would marry from the Hutaym, because the Hutaym
bought protection, and therefore were not independ-
ent. They had honour, according to Musil, “as white
as that of the Rwa`ala, but were not held in esteem”;
this was recently reiterated by a Rwelt. Sulayb would
not marry a slave or a smith; they were free, whereas
slaves and smiths were not.

The Sulayb have often been characterised (see
Caskel, in op. cit., 103-11) as following despised occupa-
tions, like other Hutaym, but in their case, as con-
centrating almost exclusively outside herding; as
hunters, as wood, metal and leather workers, and as
doctors of animals and people, as professional poets
and musicians, as fortune tellers and makers of witch-
craft; as finders of pasture, as guides on hunting, and
as noted breeders of donkeys sold in Bagdad and
Damascus (Musil, op. cit., 269). Some occupations were
seasonal, and some geographically limited, like gazelle
hunting in eastern Syria. Sulayb also herded camels,
sheep, goats, just as Bedouin hunt, work in metal,
wood and leather, compose poems and tell fortunes on
occasions. The difference was that the Sulayb, in addi-
tion to supplying their own needs, worked for profit.

The Bedouin respected the Sulayb for their knowl-
dge of the inner deserts, referring to them as peo-
ple who could live in regions where the Bedouin with
their camels cannot subsist in a particular year, but
where the Sulayb can with their donkeys and goats.
Doughty remarked the Sulayb were called et-Khilas or
“the desolate” because they lived apart from each
other, and that the Bedouin used the same term of
themselves when they camped on their own. The
Sulayb were able to use the inner desert in the summers
because of their knowledge of small wells and their
hunting skills. Doughty quoted the Bedouin as saying
that the Sulayb “are like herdsmen of the wild game”.
Musil reported that families of Sulayb owned partic-
ular valleys and slopes of the desert, and that the
family of a young man gave a portion of their prop-
erty to the father or brother of his bride, which was
then hunted on only by his wife’s father and broth-
ers. This expert knowledge meant that Sulayb were
hired by Bedouin as finders of pasture, as guides on
long-distance raids, and for finding men lost on raids.

The Sulayb were unique in being outside the raid-
ing economy of the Arabian peninsula; other Hutaym
groups did raid. The Sulayb, because of their knowl-
dge of the desert, provided rescue services, and were
protected by a neutral group, whose security was rarely
contravened.

Many authors from Burckhardt to Musil and von
Oppenheim, comment on the appearance and cus-
toms of the Sulayb, especially the wearing of gazelle-
skin smocks and cloaks, on their gazelle-skin tents and
dancing (Dickson, op. cit., 518-20: Montagne, Contes
poitiques bedouins, 98). Most Sulayb dances are com-
mon to those seen among other tribes; the dancing
of men and women together, described by Dickson
and said to be considered disgraceful, is not unknown.

Musil mentioned that the Sulayb “worship the enor-
mous boulder of al-Weli albu Razuma” in the Syrian
desert. Dickson reported that the Sulayb “are said to
be Muslim, but few pray properly.” Commonly
assumed to be unbelievers, they suffered Wahhabi raids, with a notorious massacre in the Walid ‘Arar.

After the suppression of the Ikhwan rebellion by
Ibn Su`ud, the Sulayb were compensated. By 1937, the
Sulayb could enrol in the ‘Irak Army and Police,
where they had a high reputation as trackers. By the
Second World War, they were enrolling in the Kuwaiti
Army and Police. With the diminution of game, the
decline of camel-herding and increased participation
by the Bedouin in national economies, the Sulayb
have also changed their methods of livelihood; some
herd their own camels, sheep and goats; others work
as shepherds for Bedouin owners or in the oil com-
panies and service industries of the new towns along
the pipe-lines. Some have urban properties and live
from rents or other investments; while others are now
employed as teachers, accountants, security personnel
and other mainstream occupations. Some continue to
practise particular types of traditional medicine. In ca.
1990, the term Sulayb was formally abandoned as a
social category in Saudi Arabia; some assumed the
identity of the tribes with whom their section had
been associated, but many continue to call themselves
Sulayb.

Bibliography: J.L. Burckhardt, Notes on the Bedouins
and Wahabys, London 1831, i, 14; C. Doughty,
Travels in Arabia Deserta, Cambridge 1888, index s.v.
Sulubba; J-B. Rousseau, Voyage de Bagdad à Alep
(1808), Paris 1899; M. von Oppenheim, Vom
Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf, i, Berlin 1899, 220 ff.;
Capt. A. Butler, A journey from Baghdad to Jaffa,
in GJ, lxvii (1909), 527; W. Pieper, Der Panaastam
ster der Slih, in Le Mondre Oriental, xvi (1923); A. Musil,
Arabia Deserta, New York 1927, 231; idem, The
manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouin, New York 1928,
325, 644; French Government in Syria, Les tribus
nomades et seminomades des Etats du Levant placés sous
mandat français, Beirut 1930, 71; R. Montagne, Contes
poitiques bedouins, in BEO, vi (1935), 33-120; H.R.P.
Dickson, The Arab of the desert, London 1949, 515;
W. Dostal, Die Suliaba und ihrer Bedeutung für die
Kulturgeschichte Arabiens, in Archiv für Volkerkunde, ix
(1956), 15-42; J.B. Ghubb, The war in the desert,
London 1960; W. Caskel, introd. to von Oppen-
heim, Die Beduinen, in Paristämme in Arabien,
Wiesbaden 1967, 121-53; EF' art. Sulubi (Pieper).
(W. and Fidelity Lancaster)

SULAYHIDS, an Isma`ili dynasty ruling over much
of the southern highlands and Tihama [g.v.] region of the Yemen between the
years 439-532/1047-1138 approximately.
1. History. Firstly, a word should be said about sources. Isma'īlī sources have in the past always been difficult of access and we still suffer from their general policy of secrecy in this matter. Still a major source is 'Umāra's Ta'ārīkh al-Tamān (the author died in 569/1174) and the best edition of it remains Kay's (see Bibl. below). The work is scarcely ideal, however, the author, writing for the high officials of the Fātimid caliph in Cairo (see Kay, 1, and H. Derenbourg, "Oumara du Yémen, sa vie et son œuvre", PELOV, IV serie, x-xi, Paris 1897-1904, 92-3), produces a confused account in which dates in particular are often lacking. He also appears to have known little of the internal affairs of the Isma'īlī da'wā in the Yemen (see M.L. Bates, Notes on some Isma'īlī coins from Yemen, in ANS Museum Notes, xviii [1972], 149-62, 150). We are fortunate, however, to have available al-Hamdanī's al-Sulayḥiyān (see Bibl.), for the author was able to draw on mediaeval Isma'īlī sources not available to other scholars.

The period of Sulayhid history in the Yemen can be divided into two: the 8th/14th centuries, 439-480/1047-87 approximately, and of those of Dhu Ḫibla, 480-529/1097-1138. The founding of the dynasty, "Alī b. Muhammad al-Sulayḥī, came from the mountainous region of Ḥārāz to the south-west of Ṣa'īd and appears to have had an orthodox Ṣāḥīfī upbringing, but at a young age in the early years of the 5th/11th century, he was befriended by the Fātimid da'āʾī in the Yemen, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allah al-Zawahlī. The latter, it seems, gradually taught his friend, "Alī b. Muhammad, the doctrines of the Isma'īlī cause and eventually appointed him to the rank of khāliṣī within the dawta. The sources do not mention the date, but it was probably in 439/1047 that "Alī rose to arms on Ḍjaḥal Maswar in his native Haraz region. He marched on through the Ḥudūr area between Ḥarāz and Ṣa'īd. In the later he fought off Ṣaydī [see Ṣayyida] and Sunni Nadīḥīdī [see Nadjahīdī] armies. By 453/1063 he was in control of the whole of the south of the Yemen below Ṣa'īd and the capital itself. He appointed governors in Tihama, al-Djanad, near Ḍjaḥal, and Samamit, in the highlands near Ḩjb. Suddenly the sources fall silent. We are not even sure of the date of "Alī's death, 459/1066 or 473/1080. At any rate, he was murdered by the Nadīḥīdī ruler Sa'īd al-ʿAlwāl in al-Maḥdjam in northern Tihama and his wife Asma'ī was taken captive.

"Alī was succeeded by his son, al-Mukarram Ahmad. Confident after their killing of "Alī and taking captive of his wife, the Nadīḥīdīs were able to recover much land previously controlled by them in Tihama and they even pressed the Sulayḥīd hard in their strongholds of Ḥarāz and al-Ta'akar. It is quite possible that at this time Sulayḥīd territory was reduced to the Ṣa'īd area. In 460/1068 al-Mukarram Ahmad succeeded in rescuing his mother from the grasp of the Nadīḥīdīs, and his Sulayḥīd armies began to fight back on all sides.

Once again we slip into a confused period of Sulayḥīd history. In 461/1069 al-Mukarram Ahmad married a lady who was to become renowned even outside the country, al-Saṣṣyāda Arwā bt. Ahmad. In either 467/1074 or 474/1086 he handed over the affairs of the country, al-Sayyida Arwā bt. Ahmad. In either 467/1074 or 474/1086 he handed over the affairs of the Nadjahīdīs, and his Sulayḥīd armies began to fight back on all sides.

Once again we slip into a confused period of Sulayḥīd history. In 461/1069 al-Mukarram Ahmad married a lady who was to become renowned even outside the country, al-Sasy-depth-bn. Ahmad. In either 467/1074 or 474/1086 he handed over the affairs of the country, al-Sayyida Arwā bt. Ahmad. In either 467/1074 or 474/1086 he handed over the affairs of state to his wife, who had borne him four children. Perhaps in 480/1087, Arwā denounced Ṣa'sā as the capital of the Sulayḥīd state and left for a small town, founded in 459/1066, which lay beneath the towering mountain of al-Ta'akar in the southern highlands. Thus begins a period of rule by the Sulayḥīds from Dhu Ḫibla, a period of some brilliance, presided over by the famous Yemeni queen Arwā bt. Ahmad, Bilkīs al-Suṣṣarā as she is known in Yemeni tradition.

The Dhu Ḫibla phase of the history of the Sulayḥīdīs is very much the history of Arwā bt. Ahmad herself and her household. The town was only about twenty years old when she arrived with her followers, and we are told that she converted the original palace into a mosque. The ḡāmūtī can still be seen to this day and the tomb of the queen is still preserved in it (see R. Lewcock and G.R. Smith, Two early mosques in the Yemen: a preliminary report, in AARP, iv [1973], 117-30). To replace the original palace Dhu Ḫibla built a new one, a grand building called Dār al-ʻĪrz, which, if it is not the same construction as the present-day palace in the town, is probably on the same site and its original building materials provided those of the present structure.

The queen appointed three state officials. The first, Ṣabā' b. Ahmad, was famed for his fierce hostility towards the Nadīḥīdīs, against whom he fought with great vigour. Although he married Arwā after the death of al-Mukarram Ahmad, he never appears to have succeeded in persuading her to consummate the marriage.

The second, another strongly loyal supporter, was al-Mufaddal b. Abī l-Barakāt, the lord of al-Ta'akar, the lofty stronghold to the south of Dhu Ḫibla to which reference has already been made. He had originally been appointed by al-Mukarram Ahmad, and it appears to have been under his supervision that the Sulayḥīd treasures were transferred to al-Ta'akar for reasons of security. Al-Mufaddal also participated frequently in the wars against the Nadīḥīdīs in Tihama.

The third official associated closely with Queen Arwā's rule centred in Dhu Ḫibla was Ibn Nadīb al-Dawlā. He entered the Yemen in 513/1119, despatched, it would seem, by the Fātimids in Cairo in an attempt to revive the flagging fortunes of the Sulayḥīdīs in the Yemen. Operating from al-Djanand, he did much to pacify the southern areas and keep them within the Sulayḥīd fold, as well as joining in the general effort to keep the Nadīḥīdīs at bay. In 525/1129 he appointed a governor of Tihama. But Arwā fought back and her supporters besieged Ibn Nadīb al-Dawlā in al-Djanand. He was brought, humiliated, to the queen in Dhu Ḫibla. Her judgment was that he be sent back to Egypt in a wooden cage, and that is how he left the Sulayḥīd capital. He never reached Egypt, however, dying at sea. Our sources peter out; Arwā died at the ripe old age of 88 in 532/1138. There was no one of the dynasty to carry on.

2. Minās and money. The earliest coins struck by the Sulayḥīdīs from 445/1053 so far published are the dinārs of "Alī b. Muhammad minted in Zabīd and described by P. Casanova (Dinars inédits du Yémen, in Revue Numismatique [1894], 200 ff.). N.M. Lowick (Some unpublished dinars of the Sulayḥīdīs and Zayrīyāds, in Num.Chron., 7th series, iv [1964], 261-70) publishes other dinars minted in Dhu Ḫibla and Aden. It was the Sulayḥīdīs, al-Mukarram Ahmad, precise, who in 479/1086 instituted a new variety of dinār called the malākī. The date is given in "Umāra (Kay, 37) who also quotes the inscription. The malākī outlived the Sulayḥīdīs and the Zayrīyāds [q.v.] (473-569/1080-1173), originally their vassals, later the independent rulers of Aden. We know, for example, that they were used in Ayyūhīd Aden (Ibn al-Mudawwar, Ta'ārīkh al-Mustashrif, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1914-1, 138).
SULAYHIDS — SULAYM 817


SULAYM, an Arabian tribe, a branch of the so-called Northern Arabian federation of Kays ‘Ayłân [q.v.]. Its genealogy is given as Sulaym b. Mansûr b. ‘Irîma b. Khaṣâfa b. Kays ‘Ayłân. The tribe's territory was in al-Ḥijáz [q.v.]. The härta or basalt desert [see Ḥarâr. 1] that was once called Harra Bani Sulaym, and is now called Harat Ruhdt, is roughly located at the center of their former territory. The härta was easy to defend because cavalry could not operate in it, and the ḥims [q.v.] or protected pasturing areas of Sulaym were along its eastern and western slopes. The Başra and Kufa pilgrim roads and the inland road between Mecca and Medina passed through Sulam’s territory, which meant that both towns had to be on good terms with the Sulaym.

The Sulaym were divided into three subdivisions. The Imamî al-Kays, perhaps the strongest one, lived on the eastern slopes of the Harra and included three tribal groups: the Khîfâf b. Imamî al-Kays, which in turn contained ‘Uṣayya, Nâṣira, ‘Amîra and Mâlik. The most prominent family among the ‘Uṣayya was the Śajarîd. The Bâh b. Imamî al-Kays included Meccâ’s rich ally, al-Ḥaḍjlâdî b. ‘Ilâ, who owned the gold mines in the land of Sulaym (M. Lecker, The Banû Sulaym. A contribution to the study of early Islam, Jerusalem 1989, 133-4; cf. P. Crone, Meccan trade and the rise of Islam, Princeton 1987, 93-4). The ‘Awf b. Imamî al-Kays were divided into the Mâlik b. ‘Awf and the Sammâl b. ‘Awf. The Mâlik b. ‘Awf included the following clans: Râ’î (led at the time of Muḥammad by al-Abbâs b. Anas), Māţûd and Kunufûd. The Hârîth subdivison generally inhabited the western slopes of the Harra. It contained the following tribal groups: Mu‘āwîya b. al-Ḥârîth, the members of which settled in Medina before the arrival there of the Aws and Khazarad [q.v.] and were in due course Judaised; Zâfar b. al-Ḥârîth, part of which was incorporated into the Aws; Ri‘âfâ b. al-Ḥârîth; Ka‘b b. al-Ḥârîth, a member of which was the last custodian of the idol Suwâ‘ (Kur‘an, LXXI, 23) located in Ghrûrân; and ‘Abbâs b. Ri‘atâ b. al-Ḥârîth, which included the Dji‘riya family. One of the Dji‘riya, the poet and warrior al-Abbâs b. Mîrîd[ q.v.], worshipped before his conversion to Islam an idol called Dimâr or Dâmar. Al-Abbâs was put by Muḥammad in charge of levying the sadaka from the brother tribes Sulaym and Mazín. A member of the ‘Abbâs was the last custodian of the idol al-Uzâ‘ [q.v.] located in the Harûd valley which drains into Nakhlâ [q.v.] al-Sha‘miyya.

The Thâ‘labâ subdivision contained two tribal groups. The Mâlik b. Thâ‘labâ, also called Badjlâ after their mother, broke away from the Sulaym and became the ‘protected neighbours' of the ‘Ukayl [q.v.]. But far more important were the Dibân wân b. Tha‘labâ (also referred to as ‘Tha‘labâ’) who, on the eve of Israel were Mecca’s closest Sulamî allies. Before they formed an alliance with Mecca, one, Muḥammad b. Khužâ‘îf, was reportedly crowned by Abrahâm [q.v.] and put in command of a troop from Moḍâr [see Ka‘fîn and Moṣârîn]. The Dibân wân married into some of the most important Kuraśî families, and their member, al-Hâkîm b. Umayya, in his capacity as muḥíasû‘ in pre-Islamic Mecca, supervised law and order with the consent of all the clans of Kuraśî [q.v.]. The Prophet’s Companion Saḥâwân b. al-Mu‘āṣâl [q.v.] and Lecker, op. cit., 91-2, 111), living in Medina, was an exception among the Dibân wân.

Sulaym’s genealogy was of major political and military importance, as shown by the fact that their links with other Kays ‘Ayłân tribes, above all the Hawâzîn [q.v.], were far closer than with those other tribes. Among Sulaym’s pre-Islamic āyûm [see AYYAM AL-‘ARA‘A], there were several long-range expeditions into the Yemen as well as battles against tribes living in southwestern Arabia on the road to the Yemen. For instance, in order to carry out a raid against the Zûayd and Kuţâ‘a [q.v.], al-Abbâs b. Mîrîd recruited warriors from all the clans of Sulaym. In addition, battle against Kinda took place near Sa‘dâ and the Kuţâ‘a killed, again near Sa‘dâ, a brother of al-Abbâs b. Mîrîd. The Yemenî expeditions should possibly be linked to Sulaym’s activity in escorting caravans. Abu ‘l-Bâkî Hîbat Allâh mentions that the Sulaym and Hawâzîn used to conclude pacts with the kings of al-‘Hira [q.v.]. They would take the kings’ merchandise and sell it for them in ‘Ukâz and in other markets (see al-Manâkîth al-maqusiyya, eds. Darâdîka and Khûsîrât, ‘Amman 1404/1984, ii, 375). These pre-Islamic expeditions, which involved other Kaysî tribes as well, are relevant to the debate about the origin of the Kays—Yaman antagonism (cf. Crone, Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad period political parties?, in Isl., Ixxx [1994], i fi).

Many Sulamîs were agriculturalists, before Islam and in early Islamic times, a fact which may easily be overlooked because the bulk of our literary evidence relates to the military exploits of the tribe. The 3rd/9th century geographer ‘Arrâmî al-Sulamî said about the Sulamî stronghold of al-Suwâårîkîya that it belonged to the Sulamî alone and that each of them had a share in it. It included fields, dates and other kinds of fruit. The Sulamîs born in al-Suwâårîkîya, he added, lived there while the others were nomadic (bâdyâ) and roamed around it, supplying food along the pilgrim roads.

The Sulaym had friendly relations with Medina. Sulamîs brought horses, camels, sheep and clarified butter to the markets of Medina. An idol called Khaṁs was worshipped by both the Sulaym and the Khazrad. Before Islam, the Sulaym once intervened in the fighting between two clans of the Aws, and at the time of Muḥammad al-Abbâs b. Mîrîd lamed the expulsion of the Jewish al-Nadîr [q.v.] (Lecker, op. cit., 99-100).

The Sulaym played an important role in the struggle between Muḥammad and Kuţarâ. Under ‘Abd al-Mu‘âṣâl b. al-Tufayl [q.v.] (who was not a Sulamî, but a member of the Dja‘far b. Kûlân), several Sulamî clans carried out in Sa‘f 4/625 the attack at Bitr’s Ma‘ûnî [q.v.] (M. Kister, O God, tighten Thy grip on Mudar, …, in JESHO, xxiv [1981], 242-73, at 255-6; idem, The expedition of Bitr’s Ma‘ûnî, in Arabic and Islamic Studies in honor of H.A.R. Gibb, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 337-57). In the battle of Khândak [q.v.] 5/627, the Sulaym under ‘Abd al-Shams of the Dibân wân still co-operated with Kurâshî. However, when
Muhammad set out to conquer Mecca in Shaban 8/January 630, the Sulaym or most of them were already on his side. Several weeks later, the Sulaym participated in the battle of Hunayn with the exception of Abu 'l-'Awar (the son of Sufyân b. 'Abd Shams), who fought with the partisans.

At the time of Abu Bakr, several clans of the Sulaym apostatised [see Ridda in Suppl.] and were crushed by forces loyal to Medina. The rebels included the 'Usayya, especially the Sharid family, the 'Amirra (one of whom was the famous rebel al-Fad'î), the 'Afw b. Imrî al-Kays, the Djarîya family of the 'Abs and also perhaps the Djarkwân. Soon afterwards, we find the Sulaym among the forces heading to Irak and Syria.

Although there were no doubt Sulamîs among 'Ali's supporters (cf. MME, iv [1989], 177), Sulaym's contribution to Mu'awiyah's success was fundamental. At this point, it should be observed that the evidence about Sulaym's history in the first decades of the Islamic era, and particularly during the time of Muhammad, was probably influenced by their role in the 'Ali-Mu'awiyah conflict. This can be illustrated by the dispute regarding the Companion status of the aforementioned Abu 'l-'Awar, who became one of Mu'awiyah's generals (Ibn Hadjâr, Isbâ, ed. al-Bidjâwi, Cairo 1392/1972, iv, 641).

Some Sulamîs appointed as governors in early Islam owed their nomination to pre-Islamic ties with Kûraysh.

1. The wealthy Companion 'Utb b. Farkâd (Rihâ'a b. al-Ḥârîh) was closely connected with Mecca and his mother was of Kûraysh. In 20/641 'Umar appointed him as the governor of al-Mawwil [q.v.] and later he made him governor of Qâdirâyân [q.v.].

2. Abu 'l-'Awar (Djarkwân) was under Mu'awiyah the governor of al-Urdunn [q.v.]. His mother and grandmother were of Kûraysh (M. Kister, On strangers and allies in Mecca, in JSAI, xii [1990], 11-54, at 134; Ibn 'Ašâkîr, Ta'rikh maddânat Dimashq, facs. ed. xiii, 463 li. 10-20, 464 li. 16-6; cf. Ibn Hadjâr, Isbâ, iv, 641).

The assumption that Abu 'l-'Awar's mother was Christian [see Abu 'l-'Awar] is based on a corrupt text in Ibn Rusta, 213; cf. al-Hilli, ed. al-Bidjâwi, xiii, 463 li. 2, where he is called 'Abd Allah (Zafâr b. al-Harith).

3. Yazid's son, Ahmad, was later in the 'Abbasid period governor of al-Mawwil and Arîmiyyah.

Other Sulamîs remained in Arabia, as is shown by the Sulamî rebellion of 230/845. The Harb [q.v.], who probably came from the Yemen and settled between Mecca and Medina towards the end of the 9th century, gradually absorbed the original inhabitants of that area, including the Sulamîs. In the 5th/11th century, the descendants of Sulamîs and Hâliîs [see Hîla] who had settled in Egypt left and spread into the predominantly Berber North Africa [see Al-ʿArâb, iv], conquering within a short period Bârka [q.v.] and Tripolitania. At the end of the 12th century, the Sulamîs invaded Tunisia [q.v.] and Morocco, making North Africa both Bedouin and Arab and pushing the Berber element to the background (Ibn Sа'īd al-Maghribî [q.v.] and Andyol, al-Maghribi, b. al-Maghrîb, ed. al-Abîyârâyî, Cairo 1383/1963, 123-4).
which contained the "unpublished" traditions concerning 'Ali and his descendants. In his turn, two months before his own death, Abān gave this work to another Shī‘ī, 'Umar b. Uthayma (d. before 169/785), and it is to to that last that we owe the book, much venerated by the Shī‘īs of all shades of belief. If this tradition is to be believed, Sulaym b. Kayṣ must have lived during the 1st century A.H., spanning the 7th and early 8th centuries A.D. He is said to have then died during al-Hadhdjādī’s life-time, i.e. before 95/714.

Nevertheless, the very existence of this man, and of his work, should be regarded with caution, since, apart from Ibn al-Nadīm, of the older biographers, only a few Shī‘īs mention him, and then only in a very terse and laconic fashion. Ibn al-Nadīm himself drew his information on Sulaym from a Shī‘ī source, probably from a ‘Alī b. Ahmad al-‘Aţīk (d. after 298/910), whose information is also reproduced by later biographers, such as al-Tūsī (d. 460/1067), amongst others. Ibn Abī l-Hadīd, a scholar of rare erudition and one fully conversant with Shī‘ī works, openly questioned the existence of Sulaym, by asserting that he had people say ‘that this man was nothing but the pure invention of the imagination, no such writer having had any earthly existence and his alleged book being nothing but the apocryphal work of a forger’ (Sharh Nahād al-balāgha, Cairo 1965-7, xii, 216-17).

Ibn Abī l-Hadīd certainly did not mince his words. He probably alludes to certain Imāms of Twelver scholars, such as Ahmad b. ‘Ubayd (d. 333/941) and Abī Abd Allah al-Qaḍānfarī (d. 411/1020), who denied the authenticity of Sulaym’s book on the following bases:

1. One of the pieces of information in the work indicates that the Imāms numbered 13 contradicting the Shī‘ī tradition limiting them to 12;

2. A second piece of information states that Muhammad b. Abī Bakr [q.v.] censured his dying father, whereas the son was at that time only 3 years old.

3. It is alleged that the book was transmitted solely by Abān b. Abī ‘Ayāḥ, when the latter was only some 14 years old.

Al-Hilī attacked this thesis (Rīḍākī, loc. cit.), but without much success; his arguments were too unconvincing to sweep away such doubts. Other, later Shī‘ī biographers were content to reproduce verbatim al-Hilī’s words without adding anything. Moreover, Abān, the prime source for the work, was equally attacked. Thus Ibn Khallīkān affirmed that certain traditions of high authority, such as Shu‘ba b. al-Hadhdjādī (d. 160/176 [q.v.]) taxed Abān with lying. This is why this traditionist was excluded from the two Sahīhs of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Hence one would seek in vain for his name amongst the imāds of these two scholars (Waṣīyat, ed. ‘Abbās, ii, 339).

This information in Ibn Khallīkān, added to that of Ibn Abī l-Hadīd, leads one to adopt a circumspect attitude towards the book as must be adopted towards its presumed author.

Whatever the truth, this K. al-Asr or K. Sulaym is considered by Shī‘ī scholars as one of the oldest sources for Shī‘ism and as being equal to the four master-works of Islamic tradition (sc. the two Sahīhs, the Musnad of Ibn Hanbal and the Maznawī of Mālik) (al-Kh‘ānsārī, Rawdāt, 318). Others go so far as to say that “it is the alphabet of Shī‘ism, which no Shī‘ī can do without” (al-Mamakānī, ii, 54; Tihrānī, Dharr‘a, ii, 152). It is clear that this work was a collection of traditions about ‘Ali and his descendants. It is said that Sulaym allegedly gathered his information from the mouths of eminent men, beginning with ‘Ali himself, via Abī Dharr al-Ghāfīrī and Salmān al-Fārisī to al-Hasan b. ‘Ali and his brother al-Ḥusayn [q.v.].

At all events, the work was a main source for Shī‘ī writers, notably al-Kullānī, who took from it a considerable number of traditions for his Usūl al-kaff (i, 44, 46, 297-8, 529, ii, 391, et passim).

If Tihrānī (ii, 156-7) is to be believed, there exist at least five mss. of Sulaym’s work preserved in the private libraries of certain Shī‘ī scholars of Najaf, including those of Muḥammad al-Samāwī and Shaykh al-Ḥādi Ǧahīf al-Ghīrātī. A third one exists at Tehran (Ibn-i Yusuf, Kitāb al-qānūn, v, 150). The book was published at Najaf in 1961.


MOKTAR DJEBLI

SULAYMĀN, the name of a range of mountains running roughly south-north and to the west of the Indus river in modern Pakistan.

The Sulaymān range rise from the low tract of the Derdājāt which lie along the right bank of the Indus and run, in a series of long, sharp-backed ridges and jagged peaks, from the Bugīf and Mart districts of north-east Balūcistan in the south to the Gomal Pass [see GOMAL in Suppl.] and river in the north, thereafter continuing as the Wazirīstān hills (i.e. they lie between latitudes 28° 50' and 32° 20' N.). It is at the northern end that the highest peak of the range, Takht-i Sulaymān, is situated (3,374 m/11,066 feet). The range can only be crossed through the defiles and chasms carved out by the few rivers running through it, and it has accordingly formed, all through history, a barrier to movement between the middle Indus valley and Afghanistan.


(C.E. Bosworth)
Mawlay Sulayman was an energetic builder and a number of monuments are owed to him; in Fas, he restored the palaces of Miknas and the great mosque of Marrakush.

### Bibliography:


### (CH. DE LA VERONNE)

**SULAYMÁN, ŠĀḤ, Šafawid ruler, reigned 1067-1105/1666-94; oldest son and successor of Šāḥ ‘Abbās II born to a Circassian mother, Nikahāt Khānum, in December 1647 or January 1648.**

Originally named Šāḥ Mihām, Šāḥ Sulayman was first crowned as Šāṭ II on 30 September 1666, an event preceded by a great deal of court intrigue.

Having spent his entire life in the confines of the harem, Šāṭ II was ill prepared for his task as ruler. Once crowned, he threw himself into a life of pleasure, also engaging in many acts of generosity, liberally granting favours and gifts, and filling all vacant administrative positions, all of it at the expense of the treasury, which by 1668 was reportedly empty. The resulting impecuniosity, coinciding as it did with Ozbek and Cossack raids across the northern borders, earthquakes in Shīrwan and Tabrīz, and drought followed by famine, convinced some court astrologers that the Šāḥ’s coronation had occurred at an inauspicious moment. Šāṭ II thus was re-crowned Sulayman on 20 March 1667.

He now underwent a radical shift from liberality to frugality, and the number of troops of the royal guard was drastically reduced, many posts were left vacant for long periods of time, and the military budget was curtailed. At the same time, royal revenue was increased through new and higher taxes. This policy not only exacerbated Persia’s military weakness but also furthered the development of the country’s economic base, so that there were frequent merchant bankruptcies and the circulation of a great deal of debased money. Widespread poverty and food riots in Iṣfahān in the 1670s were the result.

Eyewitness observers lay much of the blame for this state of affairs on Šāḥ Sulayman, portraying him as a lecherous and superstitious weakling and drunkard, with resultant irrational, cruel and violent behaviour. Modern scholarship has built on this to dismiss his entire reign as a period of effeminate sloth and uneventfulness. Sulayman has been especially criticized for refusing all overtures by Western powers to make war on Persia or to lure Persia into an anti-Ottoman alliance. A closer look at the sources, however, reveals that his pacifism was not a matter of principle or simply a question of cowardice. Under him, the Persian army set out to counter Ozbek raids and Balhāf aggression. The Šāḥ’s decision to preserve peace with the Ottomans and not to enter an alliance with the European powers was rather based on strategic calculations of relative military strength and potential benefits. It is also not true that he did nothing to counteract economic prob-
lems or to remedy abuse. Most of his measures, however, were short-lived and rendered ineffective, such as a half-hearted currency reform of 1684. He made a judicious choice with his selection of Shaykh 'Ali Khān, an official of integrity, who served him as Grand Vizier for almost ten years, during which time the daily affairs of state were left in the hands of his astrologers, he often did not appear in public for weeks or even months, during which time the Queen-Mother and the court censors were in control. In this period, the signs of crisis multiplied, with Ozbeg raids in Khurasan, rebellions in Georgia and Kurdistan, and Balūcī incursions in the Kirman area. He died on 29 July 1694, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sulayman Hānum [q.v.].


SULAYMĀN b. ‘ABD AL-MAʿLĪK, seventh caliph of the Umayyad dynasty [q.v.], r. 96-9/715-17, born probably in Medina about 55/675, son of the subsequent caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān [q.v.] and of Wallādah b. ‘Abbās b. Dīyāz (or Dīyāz) from the Banū ‘Abs, a tribe considered part of the Northern Arabian confederation of the Ghatafān [q.v.].

There is almost no substantial information on the first three decades of Sulaymān’s life. It is likely that he came to Syria during the initial stage of the Second Civil War (60-73/680-92) in the company of other members of the Marwānid branch [q.v.] of the Umayyads emigrating thither. In 81/701 he led the ḥajj. At the latest after the death of ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān [q.v.] (85/704), brother of the then ruling caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and his successor as designated by their father Marwān b. al-Hukam [q.v.], ‘Abd al-Malik nominated as successors his own sons al-Walīd [q.v.] and Sulaymān. During the reign of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik (96-9/716-75), Sulaymān acted as governor of the ḡund Filasīn [q.v.], where he was engaged in developing o ḍa ramlam as the new capital of Palestine. Some time after 90/710, Sulaymān granted asylum to some clansmen of the Muhallabīs [q.v.], who had been in disgrace with al-Hājdīdād b. Yūsuf [q.v.], but had escaped from jail. Among these refugees was Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who later became Sulaymān’s governor of ‘Irāq and Khūrāsān. Though the reasons are not known, the behaviour of Sulaymān points to a certain disagreement with al-Hājdīdād and also with al-Walīd. The sources do not provide sound arguments whether there was a connection with the efforts to exclude Sulaymān from the succession in favour of ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Walīd, which are said to have been supported by al-Hājdīdād. In this respect, it should not be overlooked that al-Walīd, in his endeavours to designate his own son as his successor, acted in the same way as all his Umayyad predecessors. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, after the death of al-Walīd (13 Qumādād II 96/24 February 715), Sulaymān acceded to the throne unchallenged. Syrian sources prove that he obviously chose Jerusalem as his principal seat of government. In 97/716 he led the ḥajj, and it is likely that he soon afterwards moved to Dabīk [q.v.] in northern Syria, the supply centre for the campaign against the Byzantine empire of 97-98/716-17. It was at Dabīk that he died on 12 Safār 99/24 September 717.

To form an appropriate picture of Sulaymān’s reign is difficult because of his short term of office. Basically, the policy under Sulaymān seems to have been the same as under his predecessors, even though in probably every province of the empire new governors were appointed. The choice of governors does not give the impression of bias—for example, when he appointed loyal functionaries and by breaking with arbitrary conditions under long-established and powerful governors. Prominent cases of the latter are: Musa b. Nūṣayr [q.v.], the conqueror of Spain, and his sons; the clan of al-Hājdīdād b. Yūsuf (who had himself already died in Ramadān 95/June 714); Uṭmān b. Ḥaŷyān al-Murūt in Medina; Khalīl b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Karrī [q.v.] in Mecca; and Kutayba b. Muslim [q.v.] in Khūrāsān, who fell victim to an insurrection by Wāḥīd b. Abī Sūd (Dhū ‘l-Hijjād 96/ 9 August 715), subsequently self-appointed governor and soon dismissed by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, governor of al-Trāk, then additionally of Khūrāsān.

The expansion of the Arabo-Islamic empire more or less came to a standstill—not least caused by the appearance of effective counterforces; only the conquests of Buğdūn and Ṭabaristan deserve mention. But that does not mean that the impulse of expansion and conquest slackened under the rule of Sulaymān. As proof of this may serve the huge campaign against Byzantium, which was launched by the end of 97/716 under the supreme command of Maslāma b. ‘Abd al-Malik [q.v.] via land, and at the beginning of 98/716 via sea under the command of ‘Umar b. Hubayrā al-Fāzārī. This campaign culminated in an unsuccessful siege of Constantinople (early summer 98/717 summer 99/718).
With a hoped-for conquest of Constantinople and with the approaching year 100 of the hijra came chiliastic expectations. The popularity and effectiveness of messianic ideas at that time and in those circumstances is as difficult to evaluate as the actual meaning and the importance of the religious notions of the ABD AL-MALIK. Several references to Sulayman as the expected Mahdi [q.v.], which appear in the panegyrics of Djarf and al-Farazdaq [q.v.]. While the role of Sulayman as the "rightly-guided one," who restores justice after oppression, has a more or less clear contemporary and authentic base, this can hardly be said about his appearances in the world of literary anecdotes and religious instructions. There he is depicted on the one hand as a glutton, a conceited and cruel voluptuary, well-versed in the use of Arabic, while on the other hand, he typifies the unjust ruler (zilâm) who, for concreteness and humility, falls a victim to sermons by pious religious figures. In a similar way, Sulayman figures in descriptions of his alleged relations with his successor 'Umar II, the famous exception among the Umayyad caliphs, credited with having been exemplary pious.

In nominating a successor, Sulayman most probably was not bound by the testament of 'Abd al-Malik in favour of the two subsequent caliphs Yazid II and Hishâm [q.v.], and so like all his Umayyad predecessors he designated his own son, Ayyûb, who, however, already died before his father (about the end of 98/717 or the beginning of 99/717). Ample space in the sources is given to accounts which attribute to Radjá [q.v.]—a somewhat enigmatic figure appearing as a kind of court theologian or spiritual counsellor in the period from 'Abd al-Malik to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azîz—the leading role in securing the nomination of and the hâya [q.v.] to 'Umar II. Most of these traditions are connected more or less directly with Radjá b. Haywa himself, and it is very likely that his role during the events in Dâbik at the time of Sulayman's death has been exaggerated. More reasonable seems a succession of 'Umar II by means of traditional patterns, like seniority and well-founded claims; 'Abd al-Azîz b. Marwân had never denied his father's claims; [q.v.].

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Arabic works of tarîkh, adab, poetry and "religious learning", dealing with early Islam, and quoting more or less explicitly hitherto lost earlier works, such as Khalfâ b. Khâyûyâ, Tâ'rîkh, index; Tabârî, index; Balûdhûrî, Futûh, index; Balûdhûrî, Anâb (relevant parts are to some extent still in ms.); Ibn Sa'd, index; Fasawi, K: al-Mârifa, ed. al-'Umarî, index; Tâ'rîkh al-bulûgh, ed. Gryaznevî, index; Ibn 'Asâkir, Tâ'rîkh Dimashq (provides several early source materials not quoted in other works; most of the relevant parts are still in ms.); Aghânî, index; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihî, 'Ibîd, index. Besides these and other works of more general content, it is worth consulting local histories, and, furthermore, relevant Armenian, Byzantine, Latin and Syriac sources listed in the secondary literature.


(R. EISENER)
shrines and statues and costly vessels (ibid., 13). His armies were recruited from men and ajinn (ibid., 13). The devil frequently sought to convict him of infidelity, but in vain (II, 101). On a certain occasion he failed in the observance of his religious duties, and that was when his admiration for his stud of horses led him to forget his prayers. In atonement he sacrificed them, cutting their legs and necks (XXXVIII, 31-3). For a time he seems to have been restored to his place, and promised divine favour in Paradise (XXXVIII, 34, 35, 40). When he died he was resting on his staff, and no one knew of his death.

When he died he restored to his place, and promised divine favour in Paradise (XXXVIII, 34, 35, 40). When he died he was resting on his staff, and no one knew of his death until a worm bored its way through the prop and the body collapsed. Then the ġīnm were released from their labours (XXXIV, 14).

Latter legendary lore has magnified all this material, which is chiefly Rabbinic in origin. Solomon's control over the ġīnm and his knowledge of them in his building operations are derived from the Miḥrab on Eccles., ii. 8. His kingdom is even made universal, perhaps after the analogy of that of the 40 (or 72) kings of the Pre-Adamite ġīnm, who were each named Solomon (Lane, Arabian nights, Introd., n. 21; d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque orientale, v. 372). His renowned wisdom included "the wisdom" for which Egypt was famous, i.e. occult science. Pythagoras is said to have received his knowledge from Solomon in Egypt (al-Suyūṭī, Husn al-muḥammad fi akhkhār Muṣir, i, 27). Solomon is said to have been the pupil of Mamlūk the Egyptian Theurgist (G.R.S. Mead, Thrice-greatest Hermes, iii, 283 n.). Hence his reputation in tales as a magician. This magic power of his was effected by means of a talismanic ring engraved with "the most great name" of God. Permission to use this was also vouchsafed to him by the magical seal, which the demon Sakhr procured from the sun under a canopy composed of all the birds of the air. A magic carpet of green silk for aerial transportation was woven for him. On this he could leave Syria with all his equipment in the morning, and reach Afghanistan by evening. Untold wealth of precious stones and gold and silver was accumulated with the help of the servile ġīnm. They also assisted him in erecting palaces, fortresses, baths and reservoirs. Various relics of these operations are pointed out in the Persian, Arabian and elsewhere (see Revue des traditions populaires, ix, 190; Naṣīr-i Khusrav, Saffar-nāma, ed. Schefer, 56, 76, 84, 85). He had 1,000 glass-roofed houses containing 300 couches and 700 wives (al-Thālabī, Kiṣaṣ, 204).

The blocks of stone for the building of the Temple were hewn by means of the miraculous pebble Samur (şimır) which the demon Sakhr procured from the sea-eagle. Solomon sheltered himself from the heat of the sun under a canopy composed of all the birds of the air. A magic carpet of green silk for aerial transportation was woven for him. On this he could leave Syria with all his equipment in the morning, and reach Afghanistan by evening. Untold wealth of precious stones and gold and silver was accumulated with the help of the servile ġīnm. They also assisted him in erecting palaces, fortresses, baths and reservoirs. Various relics of these operations are pointed out in the Persian, Arabian and elsewhere (see Revue des traditions populaires, ix, 190; Naṣīr-i Khusrav, Saffar-nāma, ed. Schefer, 56, 76, 84, 85). He had 1,000 glass-roofed houses containing 300 couches and 700 wives (al-Thālabī, Kiṣaṣ, 204).

The blocks of stone for the building of the Temple were hewn by means of the miraculous pebble Samur (şimır) which the demon Sakhr procured from the sea-eagle. Solomon sheltered himself from the heat of the sun under a canopy composed of all the birds of the air. A magic carpet of green silk for aerial transportation was woven for him. On this he could leave Syria with all his equipment in the morning, and reach Afghanistan by evening. Untold wealth of precious stones and gold and silver was accumulated with the help of the servile ġīnm. They also assisted him in erecting palaces, fortresses, baths and reservoirs. Various relics of these operations are pointed out in the Persian, Arabian and elsewhere (see Revue des traditions populaires, ix, 190; Naṣīr-i Khusrav, Saffar-nāma, ed. Schefer, 56, 76, 84, 85). He had 1,000 glass-roofed houses containing 300 couches and 700 wives (al-Thālabī, Kiṣaṣ, 204).

The blocks of stone for the building of the Temple were hewn by means of the miraculous pebble Samur (şimır) which the demon Sakhr procured from the sea-eagle. Solomon sheltered himself from the heat of the sun under a canopy composed of all the birds of the air. A magic carpet of green silk for aerial transportation was woven for him. On this he could leave Syria with all his equipment in the morning, and reach Afghanistan by evening. Untold wealth of precious stones and gold and silver was accumulated with the help of the servile ġīnm. They also assisted him in erecting palaces, fortresses, baths and reservoirs. Various relics of these operations are pointed out in the Persian, Arabian and elsewhere (see Revue des traditions populaires, ix, 190; Naṣīr-i Khusrav, Saffar-nāma, ed. Schefer, 56, 76, 84, 85). He had 1,000 glass-roofed houses containing 300 couches and 700 wives (al-Thālabī, Kiṣaṣ, 204).
was aged 53, having reigned for forty years. The exact location of his tomb is uncertain. Some place it in Jerusalem, in the Kubbat al-Sakhra; others near the Sea of Tiberias. The Prophet said (according to al-Tabarî-Bal'ämî, Chronique, i, 60) that it was "in the midst of the sea... in a palace excavated in a rock. This palace contains a throne on which Solomon is placed with the royal ring on his finger appearing as though he were alive, protected by twelve guardians, night and day. No one hath arrived at his tomb except two persons, Affân and Bâlûkîya" (Lane, op. cit., xx, 96; see Mirghând, and, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (Les Merveilles de l'Inde, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayans folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazier, The Golden Bough, iii, 418; idem, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in Studia Semitica et Orientalia, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mâkedûa, Queen of 'Azêb, may be found in C. Bezold, Kebra Nagast, and, in E.W. Wallis Budge, The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik [see Mënäk]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Tha'labî, op. cit., 202; Jacques de Vitry, in labf, 202; Jacques op. cit., riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit. xi, 96; see Mlrkh ii, 454 and, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (Les Merveilles de l'Inde, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayans folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazier, The Golden Bough, iii, 418; idem, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in Studia Semitica et Orientalia, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mâkedûa, Queen of 'Azêb, may be found in C. Bezold, Kebra Nagast, and, in E.W. Wallis Budge, The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik [see Mënäk]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit., 202; Jacques de Vitry, in labf, 202; Jacques op. cit., riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit. xi, 96; see Mlrkh ii, 454 and, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (Les Merveilles de l'Inde, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayans folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazier, The Golden Bough, iii, 418; idem, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in Studia Semitica et Orientalia, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mâkedûa, Queen of 'Azêb, may be found in C. Bezold, Kebra Nagast, and, in E.W. Wallis Budge, The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik [see Mënäk]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit., 202; Jacques de Vitry, in labf, 202; Jacques op. cit., riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit. xi, 96; see Mlrkh ii, 454 and, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (Les Merveilles de l'Inde, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayans folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazier, The Golden Bough, iii, 418; idem, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in Studia Semitica et Orientalia, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mâkedûa, Queen of 'Azêb, may be found in C. Bezold, Kebra Nagast, and, in E.W. Wallis Budge, The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik [see Mënäk]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit., 202; Jacques de Vitry, in labf, 202; Jacques op. cit., riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit. xi, 96; see Mlrkh ii, 454 and, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (Les Merveilles de l'Inde, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayans folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazier, The Golden Bough, iii, 418; idem, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in Studia Semitica et Orientalia, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mâkedûa, Queen of 'Azêb, may be found in C. Bezold, Kebra Nagast, and, in E.W. Wallis Budge, The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik [see Mënäk]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit., 202; Jacques de Vitry, in labf, 202; Jacques op. cit., riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit. xi, 96; see Mlrkh ii, 454 and, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (Les Merveilles de l'Inde, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayans folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazier, The Golden Bough, iii, 418; idem, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in Studia Semitica et Orientalia, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mâkedûa, Queen of 'Azêb, may be found in C. Bezold, Kebra Nagast, and, in E.W. Wallis Budge, The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik [see Mënäk]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit., 202; Jacques de Vitry, in labf, 202; Jacques op. cit., riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit. xi, 96; see Mlrkh ii, 454 and, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (Les Merveilles de l'Inde, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayans folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazier, The Golden Bough, iii, 418; idem, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in Studia Semitica et Orientalia, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mâkedûa, Queen of 'Azêb, may be found in C. Bezold, Kebra Nagast, and, in E.W. Wallis Budge, The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik [see Mënäk]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit., 202; Jacques de Vitry, in labf, 202; Jacques op. cit., riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit. xi, 96; see Mlrkh ii, 454 and, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (Les Merveilles de l'Inde, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayans folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazier, The Golden Bough, iii, 418; idem, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in Studia Semitica et Orientalia, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mâkedûa, Queen of 'Azêb, may be found in C. Bezold, Kebra Nagast, and, in E.W. Wallis Budge, The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik [see Mënäk]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit., 202; Jacques de Vitry, in labf, 202; Jacques op. cit., riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit. xi, 96; see Mlrkh ii, 454 and, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (Les Merveilles de l'Inde, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayans folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazier, The Golden Bough, iii, 418; idem, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in Studia Semitica et Orientalia, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mâkedûa, Queen of 'Azêb, may be found in C. Bezold, Kebra Nagast, and, in E.W. Wallis Budge, The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik [see Mënäk]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit., 202; Jacques de Vitry, in labf, 202; Jacques op. cit., riddles may be seen in al-Thâlabî, op. cit. xi, 96; see Mlrkh ii, 454 and, 102-3).
SULAYMAN B. HASAN — SULAYMAN B. KUTULMISH

 Hindi, whereas a minority, mainly in Yaman, accepted Sulayman’s claim. Because of this schism the former became known as the Dāwīdīs while the latter as the Sulaymanīs [q.v.].

Contemporary Dāwīdī sources give a detailed account of this schism, which is corroborated by independent Mughal sources in its main outlines. The Sulaymanī sources, on the other hand, are spotty and apologetic. According to these sources, two widows of the late Dāwīd b. ‘Adjabghā, their two sons, and a confidential scribe of the late dātī, were accused of embezzling money from the treasury. To counteract those charges, the accused schemed to challenge Dāwīd b. Kutbghā’s authority by forging a document of succession in favour of Sulayman by using the stolen seal of the late dātī, a plan in which their kinsman by marriage, Sulayman, acquiesced. Sulayman then announced his claim as the twenty-seventh dātī, but the plot was uncovered and Sulayman was dismissed from his position. Unable to garner support in Muhāfīz, Sulayman went to Ḥarāz, was rebuffed by the chief deputy of the dātī in Yaman and others, hence went to Naḍjrān, inhabited by the influential Bānū Yām [q.v.], a subdivision of the large and ancient tribe Hamdān who had embraced the Ismā‘īlī faith, and succeeded in winning their support. Soon he was imprisoned by the Turkish authorities, until after three years he managed to escape and fled to India. He arrived in Ahmādābād in 1005/1595 and tried to assert his claim by resorting to litigation against Dāwīd b. Kutbghā at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar. But before the case was decided in favour of Dāwīd, Sulayman died in a battle on 25 Ramādn 1005/12 May 1597; his body was taken to Ahmādābād and interred there.

He was an eloquent speaker and wrote several works on Ismā‘īlī doctrines, asserting his claim and refuting that of his opponents, but most of them are lost.

Bibliography: I. Poonawala, Biobibliography of Ismā‘īlī ši‘a, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 242-4; Farhad Daftary, The Ismā‘īlīs: Their history and doctrines, Cambridge 2000, 304-5 (his statement that Dāwīd b. ‘Adjabghā had died in 999/1591, or in 997/1589 according to the Sulaymanīs, is incorrect), 318; Ismā‘īlī Jamā‘at Badripresswala (ed.), Akhbarud dawatī abra- mât (in Gudjaratī), Rajkot 1356/1937, 110-68. See also SULAYMAN B. KUTULMISH.

SULAYMAN B. KUTULMISH

In the form of the name Kutulmīsh, see 14 n. 1, M.F. Koprulu, Türk onomastique ’i hakkinda, in Istanbul Ünde Edisbyat Fak. Turşu Dergisi, 1 [1950], 227-30.

Sulayman’s attempt to side with one of the most prominent of Turks, was able to overrun most of western and central Anatolia (see the Greek sources in S. Vryonis, The decline of medieval Helenism in Asia Minor, Berkeley, etc. 1971, 105-6). An expedition sent against him by the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik Shāh under Bursuq [q.v.] failed to bring Sulayman to heel, although it killed his brother Manṣūr, and, since Alexius Comnenus had to withdraw troops from Anatolia for the Balkans, the Emperor concluded a treaty with Sulayman acknowledging his suzerainty in the territories under his control (Anna Comnena, The Alexiad, tr. E.R.A. Sewter, Harmondsworth 1969, 198). Around this time, Greek sources refer to Sulayman as “sultan”; unfortunately, no coins of his have come to light.

Sulayman now turned his ambitions eastwards, possibly with the intention of challenging Malik Shāh
SULAYMÂN b. KUTULMİŞ — SULAYMÂN b. SURAD

for control of the Seljuq empire, and attacked Cilicia and northern Syria, capturing Antakiya (Antioch) in 826.

There is no evidence that it was Malik Shah operating independently on the frontiers of the Seljuq empire; there is no evidence that it was Malik Shah who originally sent him to conquer and rule Anatolia.

Bibliography

SULAYMÂN b. MIHRAN [see Al-A'AMARI].

SULAYMÂN b. ŞURAD b. al-Dżawn al-Khuza'i, Al-Muhammadsizadeh, Fatih Kutalmi§oglu Suleyman§ah, Istanbul 1972 (diwari)

SULAYMÂN b. MIHRAN [see Al-A'AMARI].

SULAYMÂN b. ŞURAD b. al-Dżawn al-Khuza'i, Al-Muhammadsizadeh, Fatih Kutalmi§oglu Suleyman§ah, Istanbul 1972 (diwari)

SULAYMÂN emerges as a proto-typical Turkmen chief, operating independently on the frontiers of the Seljuq empire; there is no evidence that it was Malik Shah who originally sent him to conquer and rule Anatolia.

Bibliography

SULAYMÂN b. MIHRAN [see Al-A'AMARI].

SULAYMÂN b. ŞURAD b. al-Dżawn al-Khuza'i, Al-Muhammadsizadeh, Fatih Kutalmi§oglu Suleyman§ah, Istanbul 1972 (diwari)

SULAYMÂN emerges as a proto-typical Turkmen chief, operating independently on the frontiers of the Seljuq empire; there is no evidence that it was Malik Shah who originally sent him to conquer and rule Anatolia.

Bibliography

SULAYMÂN b. MIHRAN [see Al-A'AMARI].

SULAYMÂN b. ŞURAD b. al-Dżawn al-Khuza'i, Al-Muhammadsizadeh, Fatih Kutalmi§oglu Suleyman§ah, Istanbul 1972 (diwari)

SULAYMÂN emerges as a proto-typical Turkmen chief, operating independently on the frontiers of the Seljuq empire; there is no evidence that it was Malik Shah who originally sent him to conquer and rule Anatolia.

Bibliography

SULAYMÂN b. MIHRAN [see Al-A'AMARI].

SULAYMÂN b. ŞURAD b. al-Dżawn al-Khuza'i, Al-Muhammadsizadeh, Fatih Kutalmi§oglu Suleyman§ah, Istanbul 1972 (diwari)

SULAYMÂN emerges as a proto-typical Turkmen chief, operating independently on the frontiers of the Seljuq empire; there is no evidence that it was Malik Shah who originally sent him to conquer and rule Anatolia.

Bibliography

SULAYMĀN b. WĀHAB [see WĀHAB].

SULAYMĀN b. YĀḤYĀ, nicknamed Ibn ʿAbī ʿl-Zaʿwād, minor Medinan poet of the period straddling the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties. He was of Arab origin from the tribe of the Saʿd b. Bakr (Hadāḏ). and seems to have owned his nickname to a malformation of the legs (fleshy excrescences showing on the legs); in ʿAḥqāfī (xv, 34), the poet is nick-named ʿdhuʿ l-zaʿwādʾ ("he who has fleshy excrescences"). The ancient sources, with one exception only, are silent regarding him; K. al-Waraka and the Ḥabīb b. Ibn al-Muʿtazz, while mentioning numerous Baghdadī artisans of the same social level as Ibn ʿAbī ʿl-Zaʿwād, simply ignore all extra-Trāki literary activity.

Biographical information concerning him is by no means negligible: the major part of his life was spent in Medina. In spite of his responsibilities as ʿām of the great mosque of ʿAḥqāfī, al-ʿAṣr, and the administrative head of the Medinan state, he frequented the houses of ʿAṣma, inn (ʿAḥqāfī, xv, 127) and the promenades of Medina (ibid., 128-9), accompanied by udābī (Ibn Dāb), poets (Ibn ʿAbī l-Saʿlāt) and members of the Medinan aristocracy (Ṭāḥib, al-Zubayr and Khubayb, great-grandson of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr). During the reign of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) he made his way to Baghdad, but did not enjoy life there, as is shown by a poem in eight verses which he composed, bemoaning the irritations caused by the fleas of the great metropolis and expressing nostalgia for his native town (ibid., 126); the light-hearted tone is indistinguishable from that of verses evoking the same motif attested in the poetry of ʿAḥqāfī. From the 2nd/8th century onward (al-Dжаḥīz, K. al-Hayyānī, Cairo 1938-58, v, 385-92). The place and date of his death are both unknown.

The wife, the spouse, but also the mistresses and the singing slave-girl, constitute the basic theme of what survives of his poetry; the spouse is evoked here as an old, hideous and decrepit woman, and the tone is extremely coarse (ʿAḥqāfī, xiv, 125-3), in a manner noted above, he finds difficult, but his final order of headings is Ch. 1, first principles, properties of the heavenly sphere, stars used by navigators as rhumbs and expressing nostalgia for his natal town (ibid., 158-59). The place and date of his death are both unknown.

The wife, the spouse, but also the mistresses and the singing slave-girl, constitute the basic theme of what survives of his poetry; the spouse is evoked here as an old, hideous and decrepit woman, and the tone is extremely coarse (ʿAḥqāfī, xiv, 125-3), in a manner noted above, he finds difficult, but his final order of headings is Ch. 1, first principles, properties of the heavenly sphere, stars used by navigators as rhumbs and expressing nostalgia for his natal town (ibid., 158-59). The place and date of his death are both unknown.
SULAYMÂN AL-MAHRI — SULAYMÂN PASHA

(ākhnān) and as Pole Star altitude measurements (kiyās), i.e. a chapter of general theory. Ch. II, use of stars as compass bearings. Ch. III, bearings between ports around the coasts of the Indian Ocean. Ch. IV, bearings around Alexandria. V, list of values of Pole Star altitudes for ports of the world. Ch. VI, examination of reasons for sailing out from various ports. Ch. VII, descriptions of routes throughout the Ocean.

This arrangement is not very logical, and lends itself to confusion. Sulaymân was not satisfied with the result. He began a second work, the Tuhfa al-fuhūl, in which he intended to write down only the theory of navigation, omitting the lists of Pole Star altitude results and tables of bearings which are found in the 'Umda. This was a short treatise taking only six folios in the Paris ms. Its chapters are arranged in a logical sequence and it gives only the basic theory necessary for navigation. The order of chapters is 1. Generalities, 2. Compass bearings, 3. the ḡām, 4. Types of routes, 5. kiyās theory, 6. Theory of masfāt (distances measured along the line of latitude), 7. Theory of winds. Later, Sulaymân complemented this with a "commentary" (ākhnān) similar to the commentaries of classical writers writing round the Kūrān or some legal work. Of this he seems to have been proud, and it was probably his last work. However, it does not help either the scholar or the Indian Ocean navigator who already has the original Tuhfa. For although it was five times as long as the original work, it had little more to say. He states a sentence from the Tuhfa, prefixing it with the word kulta ("I have said"), and then after the word akulah ("now I say"), he expands it, stretching out phrases, sometimes repeating a word or line, attempting to explain something which was quite clear before. Rarely does he clear up any obscure point; occasionally he adds something which he has omitted in the Tuhfa but which occurs in one of the other works. Therefore, with the other works in one's possession, the commentary to the Tuhfa is completely unnecessary.

The list of results (latitudes, bearings etc.) which were in the 'Umda, but which he omitted when completing the Tuhfa, was then prefixed to the Tuhfa, in the form of a codex (fajhir). Although this work may contain corrections to actual values it is not as rewarding for the modern scholar as the 'Umda. It loses that straightforward plan of theory plus results equals descriptions of set voyages, which the navigator would appreciate and perhaps Ibn Mādjīd himself might have been aiming for but never actually achieved. The real value of the Manhadh is that corrected values give a more accurate picture of those parts of the Indian Ocean in the higher latitudes, i.e. around Dhidda, Ra's al-Ḥadd and Chittagong (Ṣāḥīdām). It also gives distances along the line of latitude (masfāt) not listed before except incompletely in Ibn Mādjīd's Ḥaṣaynī. It also has a section on birds, seaweed, etc. (iğārāt) which was not given in the 'Umda, but at this stage, Sulaymân has begun to lose his purpose again and a section on the revolutions of the sun and moon is irrelevant. This material is not strictly navigational, and introduces theory which has been avoided so far in the Manhadh. Theory of winds and cyclones is also explained, and attempts to state which types of wind would be relevant. What one might expect would be a list of sailing dates which depend on the monsoon winds. Sulaymân closes the Manhadh with a revised survey of the set voyages in South-East Asia and the Bay of Bengal, although not the rest of the Ocean. We have no universal series of sailing directions as we are given in the 'Umda, and generally, the Manhadh is inferior when compared with the former work.

One other treatise remains. This is the Kildūd al-ṣūmus, which gives calculations necessary for converting Muslim years to solar, Byzantine, Coptic and Persian years and vice-versa. As the seasons for sailing—i.e. the monsoons—were in day after the Persian (Yazdigirdian) Nawrūz, this treatise has a very practical advantage. It consists of just over two folios of important formulae, written clearly after the manner of the 'Umda and it is possible that it comes from the same period as the latter work.

Bibliography: For his Ed. art. on Sulaymân, G. Ferrand worked entirely from the Paris ms. A French version of this article appeared in Annales de Géographie, xxxii, 298-312, as Les instructions nautiques de Sulaymân al-Mahri. The Arabic text of Sulaymân's work was published from the B.N. ms. by Ferrand as Instructions nautiques et routes arabo-portugais, 3 vols., Paris 1921-8. A critical edition of the four ms. versions of the texts was prepared by Ibrahim Khoury, Arab nautical sciences: navigational texts and their analysis (al-'Uṣūm al-hadhīyya 'ind al-'arab), 4 vols., Damascus 1970-2. There are no complete translations of Sulaymân's works into European languages, only extracts in works on geography, navigation, etc. These are many, but the most detailed are probably in Ferrand, Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient, 2 vols., Paris 1913-14; G.R. Tibbetts, A study of the Arabic texts containing material on South-east Asia, London 1979. The Turkish text of Şefī Čelbi's Miyâbî, which includes what is virtually a translation of Sulaymân's five works, is not in print but only appears as a partial translation in English by J. Hammer-Purgstall, Extracts from the Miyabi, that is the Ocean, a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian Seas, in JASS (1834), 545-53, (1836), 441-68, (1837), 805-12, (1838), 767-80, (1839), 823-30, and in German by M. Bittner and W. Tomaschek, Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels, Miyabi, Vienna 1897. Detailed bibls. can be found in works on Arab Indian Ocean navigation in the 16th-17th centuries; e.g. A. T. Wright, The Arab and Persian pol's; ob ornaoqkh i pravilakh morskoy nauki, Moscow 1965; G.R. Tibbetts, Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese, London 1971, and in the work of I. Khoury mentioned above. Other works of interest are given in the bibliographies to the arts. Ibn Mādījīd and Milâja. Useful works in Arabic are A.I. al-Nahgānī, al-Mîlahā fi il-khdāyîd al-arâbî, Kuwait 1969 and Hasan Salîh Shihâb, Fann al-mîlahâ 'ind al-arâb, Şântîa' 1982. (G.R. TIBBETTS)

SULAYMÂN PASHA, AL-FARANSAWI (Sèves or Sève Pasha, 1788-1860), one of the French officers serving in Muhammad 'Ali Paşa's [g.r.] army.

Joseph Anthelme Seve was the son of a Lyons draper. When fifteen years old, he enlisted as a gunner in the French army, and later served in the Hussars. He fought in Napoleon's Prussian campaign (1806-7) and was promoted to the rank of adjutant, and during the "Hundred Days" (1814), he served on the staff of Marshal Ney. After the fall of the Empire, he went to Egypt in 1815, and was eventually attached to the staff of İbrahim Paşa [g.r.]. Sève became an instructor of the infantry, consisting of Albanian, Syrian and Maghribi "Arab" as well as "Turkish" Ottoman subjects. He established a training camp at Assân [see USWAN], where from 1823 onwards he was able to form six regiments of infantry, and was given the title of Bey. From 1824 to 1827,
he served under Ibrāhīm Paşa in the Morea [see MORA] against the Hellenic insurgents. In 1831 he became a major-general. He served in the war against the Ottoman Sultan, and distinguished himself in the battle of Konya (1248/1832), upon which he became a Paşa, afterwards successfully organising the retreat to Suez.

In his later years, he was relegated to minor tasks. In 1833 he supported the activities of the “Saint-Simoniers” led by “le Père” Enfantin in Alexandria, and in 1834 he assisted Linant de Bellefonds in the construction of dams in the Nile delta. He maintained a grand life style, including a harem in his palace in Cairo, where he received many prominent guests from France e.g. the painter Horace Vernet, Marshal Mar-mont, Gustave Flaubert and Maxime Du Camp. His conversion to Islam must have greatly benefited his relationship with his trainees. His principal consort, Sitti Maria, gave him a son, Iskandar Bey. His last- ing reputation was evident from a statue and a street named after him in Cairo till 1956.


**SULAYMÂNIS, a branch of the Musta’lian Ismā‘īlīs, so called after Sulaymān b. Ḥasan [g.v.], who claimed the succession for himself after Dāwūd b. ‘Adhabgāh as the twenty-seventh dā‘ī muilik.** They are predominantly found in Yaman, where their total number may currently be placed at more than 70,000, living mainly in the northern districts and on the northern border region between Yaman and Saudi Arabīa. Besides being represented amongst the Bānī Yām of Najd, the Sulaymānīs are also found in Haţar, Džabal Magharība and in Haizan, Lahlāb and ‘Attārah, and in the district of Hamdān and in the vicinity of Yārin. The Sulaymānīs of Yaman, on the other hand, called the Sulaymānī Bohras, number a few thousand only and live mainly in Bombay, Baroda, Ahmadābād and Hijārdābād. In Yaman there are also some Sulaymānīs in Pakistan.

Sulaymān was succeeded by his minor son Dja’īr, after which the dā‘ī’s were run by Safl al-Dīn Muhammad b. Fahd al-Makramī (d. 1042/1633 [g.v.]), one of the earliest supporters of Sulaymān during the Dāwūdi-Sulaymānī succession dispute and originally from Tayba, a town northwest of San‘ā’. After winning the confidence of the influential Bānī Yām, settled in the Nadjīrīn region, he adopted Badr as his da‘ī, and this successively became the capital of the Sulaymānī dā‘īs. His son Ibrāhīm succeeded as the 30th dā‘ī in 1088/1677. After then the office has remained in the Makramī family except for a few interruptions. The Makramī dā‘īs not only ruled the Yām but, at the height of their power, their influence extended to the Mikhāl Sulaymānī in the north and to Hadramawt in the east. In 1174/1764 they felt strong enough to invade Nadjīr and inflicted a crushing defeat on the rising power of the Wahhābīs. However, they were unable to curb the subsequent Wahhābī encroachment against Nadjīr, as they had also to withstand the hostilities of the Zaydī Imāms in Yaman. Their rule over Nadjīr came to an end in 1194 when it was annexed to the Su‘udī kingdom, and their 45th dā‘ī, ‘Ali b. Mūsān al-Šībīn, was pensioned by the Su‘ūdī government. This marked the end of the political significance of the Makramī family of Sulaymānī dā‘īs and their followers in Yaman.

The Sulaymānīs continued the traditions of the post-Fātimīd Yāmani Ṭayyibs. The dā‘īs do not use honorific titles and are simply addressed as Ṭayyibs, and are known in Yaman as the dā‘īs of the kabā‘ī dā‘ī. In Yaman, the dā‘ī’s chief representative, known as the mānsūb, resides in Baroda, and is assisted by a number of āmils or māullās residing in various cities where the Sulaymānī Bohras live. The assistants conduct the communal prayers, perform religious ceremonies, and collect the dues for the dā‘ī. In Yaman the official language of the Sulaymānī dā‘īs is Urdu, but Arabic is used in correspondence between them and their dā‘ī in Yaman.

In Yaman, the Sulaymānīs have enjoyed a great degree of cohesion and have become an effective fighting force. In India, the Sulaymānī Bohras, in contrast to the Dāwūdīs, have developed closer ties with other Muslims in terms of language, dress and customs. They have also experienced a much greater degree of freedom from their dā‘ī’s and their mānsūbs. As a result, the small Sulaymānī community not only represents a progressive group, approving of social change and encouraging modern secular education, but has also produced, proportionately speaking, a significant number of prominent public figures. Asaf Ali Aqshar Fyzee (1899-1981), an outstanding Islamicist and eminent scholar of Muslim law in the Indian subcontinent and India’s ambassador to Egypt, belonged to the well-known Tyabji family of Sulaymānī Bohras of Bombay. Badr al-Dīn Tyabji, another member of this family, was the first Muslim president of the Indian National Congress in 1887.


**SULAYMĀNĪDS** [see MAKKA. 2. ii].

**SULAYMĀNIYYA, a town and district in southern Kurdistān, since the Ottoman reconquest of Irāk from the Safawīs in the 11th/17th
SULAYMANIYAH

century under nominal Ottoman suzerainty, and since the aftermath of the First World War in the kingdom and then republic of 'Irāk. The town lies in lat. 35° 32' E. and long. 45° 27' N. at an altitude of 838 m/2750 feet, and is 90 km/54 miles east of Kirkūk [q.v.], which it is connected by road.

The historical region of Sulaymaniyya lies between what is now the 'Irāk-Persia frontier, the Diyāla [q.v.] and its upper affluent the Tandrjar and Sīrwān, the region of Kirkūk and the upper basin of the Little Zāb. To the northeast of the basin of these affluents of the Tigris rise the ranges making up the Zagros massif and running northwest to southeast (see further on the geography of the region, KURDS, KURDISTAN, D.).

1. History to 1920.

The district of Sulaymaniyya is known from the earliest times. Mount Nišār (in Lullutu: Kūnib), where according to the Babylonian epic the ship of Gilgamel rested during the Deluge, can only be Pr-ʾUmar-Gurdirn. The region of Sulaymaniyya corresponds to the land of Zamua occupied by the Lullutu people, the southern frontier of which was on the col of Barber (the modern Bāzān). In 880 B.C. Assur-nāṣir-pal conquered all the kings of Zamua. A stele found at Darband-i Gāw, north of Kān-daḡ, seems to belong to a Lullutu king. Brzozowski mentions another ancient base-relief at the entrance to the defile of Derbend through which the Little Zāb forces a passage, to the extreme northwest of the territory of Sulaymaniyya. Herzfeld (in Isl., xi, 127) mentions ruins at Sītak in the canton of Sīrōch. In 743 B.C. Tiglath Pileser III transplanted to Mazamua (Μῆτ-Ζαμμα, Mīṯ-Zamma, Forrer, 43) Aramaeans who had lived in northern Mesopotamia. In the Sāsānīd period we have in the extreme southwest of the territory of Sulaymaniyya the famous monument of Paikuli (cf. SHAHRIZUR). In the history of the Syrian church the district of Sulaymaniyya formed part of the diocese of Bēṯ Garmāi (Hoffmann, Auszüge, 253).

In the Islamic period, the history of the region was at first involved with that of Shahrizur. Sulaymaniyya had a more or less autonomous existence from the end of the 11th/17th century to 1267/1850. The local dynasty called Bābān. According to the Shahr-nam-e Kābūd (cf. SHAHRIZUR), the fosters of the family of Baban, the Sāhāruddin family had kept their tribal organization under their suzerainty lived several other warrior tribes (ṣāḥīb), of which lists are given by Rich, i, 280, and Khurshid Efendi, 217. The principal of these tribes was Dāṯī, [see SANANDAJ and SHAHRIZUR]. We often found mention the turbulent tribe of Hamāwand of Cīmčām which claimed to have come from Persian Kurdistān (its name resembles those of the Lur tribes). The Hamāwand in the course of their razzias used to come down as far as the banks of the Tigris (Cheot, Armenie, Kurdistān et Mesopotamie, Paris 1892, 295-311).

Beside the clans which had kept their tribal organisation there were in Sulayastān, as elsewhere in Kurdistān, the peasants (gārān, kelawspi “white caps”), according to Rich, i, 80.

At first the capital of the Bābāns was at Shara-Bāzār (Shahr-i bāzār) in the first valley conquered by Pr-ʾUmar Babē, but Ibrāhīm Pasha moved his residence to the canton of Sar-ezmār, where he founded 1199/1784 (Rich, i, 383). The town of Sulaymaniyya on the site of the village of Malik Hindī (Malik Khandī) built around an ancient mound which had to be cleared away on the occasion. The town was called after Büyūk Suleymān Paşa (of the family of Georgian Mamulūk), governor of Bāzān in 1780-1802 (Cl. Huart, Histoire de Bagdad, Paris 1901, 159). Towards 1820, the town had 2,000 households of Muslims, 130 of Jews, 9 of Chaldaean Catholics (who had a little church) and 5 of Armenians, in all 10,000 souls. There were 5 mosques in Sulaymaniyya. In 1868 Lycklama estimated the population at 6,000 Kurds, 30 families of Chaldaeans and 15 of Jews.

Under Ottoman rule, Sulaymaniyya remained the nursery of an indefinite Kurdish movement. The local Kurds supplied Turkey with a large number of officials and, particularly, armed officers. Several Bābāns became distinguished in Istanbul like Ismāʿīl Khāk Paşa, the intendant of the Sublime Porte. Mahmud Pasha, who received themselves held a very subordinate position with respect to the Sublime Porte. Mahmūd Paşa, who received Rich on his memorable journey through Kurdistān and in whom Rich (i, 322) tried to arouse the Kurd national pride, finally submitted to the Persians. The latter invaded Sulaymaniyya in 1842 to re-establish Mahmūd Paşa, but by the treaty of 1847 Persia withdrew all claims on the town and sangāk of Sulaymaniyya in favour of the Turks. The last ruler of the family of Bābān, ʿAbd Allāh Paşa, was deposed by the Turks in 1267/1850 (Khurshid Efendi, 209).

It may be mentioned that the Bābān family was simply a conquering and warrior caste. Alongside the Bābān and under their suzerainty lived several other warrior tribes (ṣāḥīb), of which lists are given by Rich, i, 280, and Khurshid Efendi, 217. The principal of these tribes was Dāṯī, [see SANANDAJ and SHAHRIZUR].

Bibliography:
SULAYMANIYYA — SULDUZ


SULDUZ, SULDUZ, a Mongol tribe which played a considerable role in mediaeval Islamic history of the Mongol and Il Kânîd periods.

According to Berenzi, the correct Mongol form would be Sülde (pl. sülde "good fortune"); Vladi-mirots interpreted sulde as "le génie-protecteur habitant le drapau". L. Lepin, Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kürgi, in Künst Comma Archive, i (1925), saw in the ending of Suld-uz, as in Kûk-iz, the remains of an ancient Turkish plural suffix (cf. biz "we", siz "you", etc.) and as a hypothetical singular quoted the name of a Kûrîgîl clan Sult. Raghîd al-Dîn classes the Sulduz amongst the dürükîn Mongols, i.e. of "common" origin, in contrast to the närûn "pure" ones, who were, however, descended from the dürükîn through Abu Go'û, the miraculous grandmother of Cîngiz (Cingis) Kânî.

Sorkan Shira Sulduz one day saved the life of Cîngiz whilst the latter was fighting with the Tayîçît, and this exploit gained the Sulduz great prestige with Cîngiz Kânî and his successors.

The children of Sodo Noyon came to Persia with Hûlegü, whose wife Yestîjin, the mother of Aboqâ, was a Sulduz. Malik is said to have overrun Persian Kurdistân. In 688/1290, under the Il Kânî Arghun, an act of bravery brought to the front Cîbân, son of Malik, and he afterwards distinguished himself in the reigns of Ghausan and Oldjeytî [q.v.]. The Ta'rîkî-i Oldjeytî written by Abu l-Kâsim Khâshâi (ed. Mahîn Hambly, Tehran 1969), in a list of amîrs mentions Cîbân (amîr-i bâzûq mâkaddam-i Târîk tî Turk) in the second place next to Kutlugh Shâh Mankût, but adds that in ability he is superior to them all. There is extant a letter from Pope John XXII, dated Avignon, 12 November 1321, addressed to "Coban Beglay" (Coban?). In spite of the Shi'i leanings of Oldjeytî, Cîbân remained a Sunni. When the young Abû Sa'id [q.v.] ascended the throne, Cîbân became regent, and in 719/1319 married Sâtî Beg, daughter of Oldjeytî. The detailed history of Cîbân and his sons and grandsons over the next generation or so may now be followed in the article Cîbânîs.

After the murder of Cîbân's grandson Hasan Kûçîk at Tabriz in 744/1343 (see below), the Sulduz are only occasionally mentioned by the historians. Under 807/1404, Mîrîn* and mentions the instructions given by Timûr to the Khaladji of Sawa to reinforce the troops under Pîr 'Alî Sulduz in Rasy. In the early 20th century, there was still a body of Sulduz in this region among the Shah-seven [q.v.] of Sawa.

Several women of the Cîbânîds had remarkable...
careers. Besides Baghdād Khātūn, one may mention: (1) Sātf Beg, widow of Cobān, who was first the wife of the Il Khān Arpa and in 739/1339–9 was herself placed on the throne by the grandson of her first husband, Ḥasan Kučāk. Finally, the latter married her to the new pretender Suljāmān, who reigned 740–4/1339–43. (2) Dilāhād Khātūn, daughter of Dilāhād Kučāk Khaḍāja, first of all married Ābū Saʿīd (at the same time as her aunt Baghdād Khātūn) and then Ḥasan Buzurg Dījālīr. (3) Mālik ʿIzzāt, wife of Ḥasan Kučāk, whom she killed in an indescribable and atrociously cruel fashion. She was executed by her husband’s relatives, who cut her into pieces which they then ate.

In Mongolia in the time of Čingiz, the encampments of the Sulduz seem to have been not far from the river Onon. But in the time of Rasāḥd al-Dīn, the part of the Sulduz was near to the forests inhabited by the forest-dwelling Ṭuryankīt. The Chinese list of the mongol encampments published in 1867 (Meng-gur-yu-nu-tsī, Russ. tr. P. Popov, St. Petersburg 1895) no longer mentions the Sulduz. In Turkestan, the Sulduz, with their subdivisions (?) Nukuz and Tamadur, are mentioned among the troops of Shāyānī Khān [see Shaybānīs] at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Later, the Sulduz rejoined Bābur (Shāyānīs-nāma, ed. Melioranski, St. Petersburg 1908, 137, 176; cf. the Scheiniane of N. Vambery, Vienna 1885, 273, 350). According to A.Z.V. Togan, Ṭurk̤genealogies (Ğaḏara) mention the Sulduz among the 92 ʿOzbeg clans; the people of the canton of Alīn-kul in Farghāna [q.v.] were in the early 20th century Sulduz, and there must be some in Khītu (Khaḍara) along-side of the Nukuz.


SULDUZ, a small district of western Āḏhar-bāydaḵ in Persia, to the south-west of Lake Urmīya, on the lower course of the Gādir-cāy, which here receives on its right bank the Bāzawa and Māmād-shāh and flows into the Lake. To the west it is bordered by Uṣūnī, which lies on the upper course of the Gādir, from which it is separated by the Darband gorge through which the river runs; to the north it is bounded by the little district of Dūl (cf. Dūlī Bāרīk, in Shārāf al-Dīn Khān Bidīšī, Shārāf-nāma, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 286) belonging to Urmīya; to the south and the east by the cantons of Paswa and ʿShārī wa-rīn which go with Sāʿulīh-Ulāḵ [q.v.].

Sulduz is a fertile plain producing much wheat. It is often flooded by the waters of the Gādir, which near its mouth forms marshes and salt beds (kopi). On the south side, Sulduz is bordered by the heights of Firangī, at the foot of which are numerous springs impregnated with lime. The crest Bahramīn separating Sulduz from ʿShārī wa-rīn is also of limestone formation.

We know that in 703/1303 the Il Khānīd Ghaζan distributed the land in fiefs. It is possible that it was at this time that the name of the tribe (Sulduz, in Khūrāsān [q.v.] replaced the old name of the district now lost. According to the Shārāf-nāma, in the time of the Turkman dynasties (about the 15th century), i.e. long after the Čobānīs [see Čobānīs] had disappeared, the Mukrī Kurds occupied the district, the old inhabitants of which were probably reduced to servitude. The same authority (i, 280) in a sentence now mutilated in the ms., and undated, says that Pir Buṭāḵ of the Kurd tribe of Bábān (Bābō) took Sulduz from the Kāẓīl-bāḵ, which may refer to one of these sudden outbursts of fighting on the frontier in the time of the Ṣafawīs.

In 1828 the Kadjar prince Abbās Mirzā gave Sulduz as a fief to 800 families of the Kara-papakhs [q.v.]. The newcomers were allowed to levy and collect the taxes (12,000 tāmāns a year), and in return had to maintain 400 horsemen at the disposal of the government. At this period, there were in Sulduz 4-5,000 families of Kurds and Mūkaddam Turks, but gradually the lands passed into the hands of new Shīʿī masters.

In the early 20th century there were 123 villages and small towns in Sulduz with 8,000 families. The chief settlement is Naghāda (Nahāda), with a thousand houses. This little town lies on the bank of the Bāzawa around an ancient artificial mound. Another important centre is Rāhdānā (Rah-dahna), where there is a good bridge over the Gādir, which provides communication between Urmīya and Sāʿulīh-Buṭāḵ.

The south-east corner of the district is occupied by the canton of Māmād-shāh, the name of which is mentioned in the Shārafs-nāma (i, 290). The early 20th-century inhabitants were Shāmās al-Shāfsīs Turks. With their chief Māsīf Beg, they came into Persia and received from ‘Abbās Mirzā 3 villages with 100 families of Kurd peasants (raʾyāt).

The Sunnī Kurds of the tribes of Māmād-shāh, Zarāz and Mūkī numbered in the early 20th century 2,000 families, or a quarter of the total of the population. They entirely occupied 10 villages (Ghīlān, Wāznā, etc.), and 11 others (Ghīlān, Naghāda, Māmāndī, etc.) they shared with the Kara-papakhs.

Sulduz, like Uṣūnī, is mentioned among the Nestorian bishops (Assemani, iv, 423; G. Hoffmann, Auszüge aus syrischen Akten, Leipzig 1880, 204; Sālūds, Saldos), but in 1914 there were only 80 Christian families left in Naghāda. The Jews were more numerous (120 families in Naghāda) and were probably the oldest element in the present population of the district; virtually all have now emigrated to Israel.

Under the Surī Kurds of the tribes of Māmād-shāh and the Shāfīs Kara-papakhs suffered considerably, as the Turks regarded them as Persian agents. The Turks, without success, however, tried to destroy the tribal organisation and to emancipate the raʾyāts. During the First World War, the village of Haydarabad (on Lake Urmīya) was occupied and to emancipate the raʾyāts. During the First World War, the village of Haydarabad (on Lake Urmīya) became a Russian naval base, and a light railway was built through the district. Sulduz changed hands several times, but after the departure of the Russians and Turks it has since 1919 remained within Persia.

Bibliography: Rawlinson, Notes on a journey from Tahriz, JRG, x (1840), 13-14; Ritter, Erdkunde, ix/2, 602, 939; Minorsky, in Materiali po izuž. vostoka, ii, Petrograd 1915, 453-7. (V. Minorsky*)

SULEYMĀN (926-74/1520-66), the tenth and most illustrious of the Ottoman sultans. There is a tradition of western origin, still current, according to which he was really Suleyman II, but that tradition has been based on an erroneous assumption that Suleyman Celebi [q.v.] was to be recognised as a legitimate sultan; he was one of the sons of Bāyaζīd I, who established himself at Adrianople after his defeat at Ankara. He received the epithet Kanānī “the lawgiver” at an unspecified date; this is first mentioned at the beginning of the 18th century in the work of the historian Dimitri Kantemir (see C. Kaftar, in Suleyman the Second and his time, 41), while he was known in the west as Sulaymān the Magnificent, the Great Turk, or the Great Lord.
Early years

He was born at Trebizond where his father, the future sultan Selim I, had his residence as a sandık beş. Three different dates have been suggested for his birth: 6 November 1494; 27 April 1495; and April or May 1496 (see Melmed Thüreyveyî, Sâdik-ı Şehmet, ii). One tradition, apparently going back to Jovius (see A. Fisher, in Süllemân the Second, n. 20), has it that his mother Hàşça, a Tatar, was the daughter of the Crimean khan Mêngê Giray, or of a Turkish woman; a document relating to a mosque founded in her name at Manisa showing her to be a convert to Islam denies this legend (C. Uluçay, Padişahlarımın kadiılarmı ve kazanı (1980) 27).

His childhood was spent at Trebizond, where he was taught by a certain Khayr ul-Dîn Efendi, who in 1509 (see for example the Kanûnî armagam., who publishes the registers of the transactions of the şehzâde) at Kefe [q.v.] (Caffa, Feodosiya) in the east of the Crimea. In 1513 Süllemân became sandîk beş of Manisa, a post which he occupied until his actual accession in 1520. In the interim, however, there were two separate occasions when Selim appealed for his help during his absences. In 1514-15, during the campaign in Persia, he ensured that the lieutenantcy for his father was maintained in Istanbul; and in 1516-18 he was put in charge of the defence of Adrianople in the campaign against the Mamlûks. He returned to Manisa on the premature death of his father (see Uluçay, in Kanûnî armagam., who publishes the registers of the transactions of the şehzâde).

His accession

Eight days later he had arrived in Istanbul, where his accession took place without any problems or unrest, for there were no brothers who were likely to dispute the claims of Süllemân to the throne. His reign began on 17 Şawwal 926/15 September 1520 and was the longest in Ottoman history. It coincided with the zenith of empire, when power and prestige were at its height. Observers of Ottoman decline were in retrospect to see this as a golden age and an absolute reference point, which justifies considering it as a unit (cf. e.g. the 'addet-ndme of 1595 in Inalcık, Addet-ndmeler, in Belgeler, ii/3-4, 104-5). Nevertheless, there is an opinion that the period of his reign could be subdivided into two which is very old (Koçi Beg, for example, thought that the threat of Ottoman decline could be traced from the end of his great reign).

At the beginning, the new sovereign was scarcely known and he was overshadowed by the overwhelming power of his awesome father, but he was seen as a just and peace-loving young man (cf. for example the Venetian forecast in Sanudo, Diarii, 29, Venice 1890, col. 357). His first actions, even though they were always symbolic, clearly pointed in this direction. At the same time, the energy and pugnacity of the new master were glaringly apparent to the world. The beglerbeg of Syria and Palestine, Djanbârdî al-Qhaṣâlî, a former Mamlûk chief, thought that the time had come to start a rebellion, but he was quickly subdued by a punitive force. Above all, there began an impressive series of "imperial campaigns" (sefîr-i hurâdâyân) from the spring of 1521 onwards, ten in Europe and three in Asia, in which the sovereign participated in person.

Military campaigns 1521-36

Momentarily forsaking the Persian scene in which his father had been involved, he turned to the West to seek his primary objectives, this time not only with an eye to their strategic value but once again for their symbolic significance. Taking as a pretext the ill treatment inflicted on his emissary Behrâm Çavuş), Süllemân forced the surrender of Belgrade on 29 August 1521 after his armies had taken Sâbacz and Semlin and had ravaged the countryside between the Save and the Drave. He was then able to go on and seize the "key to Hungary" and to succeed where his great-grandfather Mehmed II "The Conqueror" had failed in 1456.

His next target was the island of Rhodes, which was a fearsome stronghold held by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and a base for regular piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean (see note 3). Süllemân launched a fleet of some 235 vessels against Rhodes and mobilised about 200,000 men. The siege went on into the winter and the fleet took shelter in the Sea of Marmara. The Knights capitulated on 21 December 1522, but only after five months of ordeal. The Conqueror kept his promise which he had made to them, that they could leave the island in freedom, and this contributed to his reputation for reliability. After these two great feats, there followed a period of military inaction on the part of the sultan, and then he decided to embark on a new campaign, against Louis of Hungary, to whom a second emissary had been sent in 1524 but in vain.

Süllemân and his Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha [q.v.] set out on a march in April 1526, but because of the severity of the weather the army was only able to reach Belgrade in July. In the end, the Hungarian heavy cavalry was hewn to pieces by the fire of the Ottoman artillery, and Süllemân pursued them as far as Buda, which he entered on 11 September, without having met any opposition.

He occupied the Hungarian capital only for about ten days and then hastened to return to his own capital, constrained by news learned in the course of his retreat of the serious Turkoman revolts which had broken out in Cilicia and in Karaman; these were not crushed until the summer of 1528. After his dazzling successes of 1526, Süllemân contented himself with resting in the region south of the Danube, Szerém and Valkó, as well as with the rich booty he had gathered from Buda.

The Voivode of Transylvania, János Szapolyai or John Zapolya (1487-1540), took advantage of the fact the Ottomans had abandoned the centre of the kingdom and had himself elected as king by an assembly of nobles at Székesfehérvár (11 November 1526). But the brother of Charles V, Ferdinand of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria, soon to become king of Bohemia in February 1528, was also being enthroned (by a more limited assembly, the Diet in Bratislava, 17 December 1526).

Süllemân was obliged to choose between these two rivals, each of whom sent him ambassadors. On the advice of İbrahim and his favourite Alos Giriti, the natural son of the Doge, he quite logically opted for Szapolyai; he made him his vassal in February 1528 after negotiations in Istanbul with Hieronymus Laski, the palatin of Sieradz (December 1527-February 1528). But Ferdinand did not disarm, and his troops took possession of Buda. Therefore, despite the immense difficulties involved in these enterprises because of the distance and the problems of administration, a third Hungarian campaign was forced upon Süllemân.

The sultan left his capital on 10 May but did not reach Belgrade until 17 July. On 18 August, when again passing through Mohacs, a place now symbolic to him, he gave an audience to János Szapolyai, who
did homage to him, and Süleyman confirmed him as king of Hungary. He retook Buda without any difficulty and then made for Vienna, which he did not reach until 27 September. Then there began the famous siege, which was to be lifted on 14 October after four vain attempts to attack before the rapid arrival of winter.

The Ottoman failure was obviously linked to problems of climate and insurmountable logistics, but it was deliberately masked by Ottoman propaganda. Süleyman confirmed his support of Szapolyai, to whom he restored the crown of St. Stephen. This allowed him in 1538 to have an inscription engraved in the citadel of B Bender: “I am the Sultan who seized the crown and the throne of Hungary and restored them to a humble slave” (M. Gugoloğlu, Palæographia et diplomatica turco-osmánica, Bucharest 1958, 167, facs. no. 7; idem, L’inscription turque de Bender relative à l’expédition de Soltim en Moldavie (1538/945), in Studia et Acta Orientalia, i (Bucharest 1958), 175-87).

During this period, rivalry with the Habsburgs reached its height, Hungary being only one of the stakes of a profound antagonism which placed the Ottomans against the Habsburgs. Charles V, who had been elected as head of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire from 1519, had himself crowned by Pope Clement VII at Bologna in 1530; Ferdinand, who had been elected King of the Romans by the diet of Cologne in January 1531, subsequently had himself crowned as such at Aachen in January 1532. Süleyman was master of the world, unique by nature, hence his refusal to acknowledge that the Habsburgs had any imperial title. Charles V was for him only “the king of Spain” (papanha kral) and Ferdinand only “the king of Vienna” (Bey kral) or “king of the Czechi” (Ceh kral). Charles V, even more than Ferdinand, was to be the principal target of the fourth campaign of Süleyman in Europe, termed the “German campaign against the King of Spain” (Chr. Turetschek, Die Türk enpolitik Ferdinands I. von 1529 bis 1532, [Vienna 1968]). The triumphal arches, the exceptional pomp flouted by the sovereign, the unusual tiara crafted at that time by a consortium of Venetian goldsmiths, all served one purpose of clearly intimating to Christendom the claims of the Ottomans (O. Kurz, A gold helmet made in Venice for Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent, in Gazette des beaux-arts, lxix (1969) 249-58; for the interpretation of this object, see G. Necipoğlu-Kaçar, Süleyman the Magnificent and the representation of power in the context of the Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal rivalry in The Art Bulletin, lxii (1989)).

From a military point of view, the campaign was less brilliant, and was principally outstanding because of the laborious siege of the little town of Guns (Köseğ), and the devastating raids into Styria, at the heart of the patrimonial possessions of the Habsburgs, and in Slavonia (Tarih-i sefer-i-zâfer-i Alaman, Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Kadi-zade Mehmed küt., no. 557; Feridün Beg, i, 577 ff; von Hammer, v, 158-75). However, the threat was sufficiently impressive to drive the Habsburgs to seek a truce. Süleyman granted this to them in July 1535 on the basis of the status quo in the dividing up of Hungary between Ferdinand and Suleyman, who were both to become tributaries of the Sultan. Until then, Süleyman had appeared more pragmatic than his father with regard to the Safavid of Şh’i Persia, who exerted their religious influence on the Turkoman kizilbash of Anatolia. It is true that the death of Şah Ismâ’îl in 1524 had brought with it the long-standing minority of his successor Şah Tahmâsp, thus weakening the Şafawid state. Since his accession, Süleyman had put an end to the commercial blockade against Persia and was content to address warnings (tehid-dû-nâmê) to the young Tahmâsp to renounce his Şh’îism.

However, the schemings of provincial governors on both sides were to give him the excuse to intervene. The first of these was in 1528 and concerned the offer to surrender of a Safavid governor, Dhu ’I-Fikar Beg, who had seized Baghdad and had refused to acknowledge the authority of the Şah. He was executed shortly afterwards, but he provided a pretext for Ottoman claims to Baghdad. Then in 1530-1 it was the turn of the Şafawid governor of Ardabârâyân, Olame Tahâ, to come and offer his services to Istanbul, where he began by obtaining the disgrace of his personal enemy, Sheref Beg, the amir of Bithis. The latter left to seek the aid of the Şah, who unwisely took his part and thus triggered the Ottoman reprisal. Pâtrús were issued which obliged the sultan to restore the şâr’a and to root out heresy (rûf’d u iḥâd). At the end of 1533, İbrâhîm Pasha, once again appointed ser’asker, was despatched at the head of a great army to recover Bûtis, which had reverted to the Ottomans before his intervention, and to prepare to take Baghdad and Arab İrâq.

In the following spring, he embarked on the conquest of Persia and reached Tabriz in mid-July. Şah Tahmâsp had abandoned it to him, having resolved never to enter into combat with the Ottoman army. The sultan had left Istanbul with a reinforcement army in June 1554 and rejoined İbrahim in Tabriz on the 28th of the following September, after a journey through Erzindjan, Erzurum and the southern fringes of Lake Van. The Ottoman army then headed for İrâq.

The sultan entered Baghdad on 30 November without meeting any opposition. In the winter which followed, he devoted himself to organising new conquests and marked his conquest of Baghdad with several acts of religious significance, including pilgrimages to Nadîjâd and Karbalâ, the building of a dome over the remains of the great lawyer Abbâ Hanîfâ and the restoration of the foundations of the tomb of the great lawyer Abu Hanîfâ and the restoration of the tomb of the founder of the Kadiriyya, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Kâdir al-Dâlamî. But on learning that the Persians were threatening to take Van, Süleyman brought his stay in Baghdad to an end to go to Tabriz in pursuit of the Şah. But when, after a laborious journey across the Zagros, the sultan again reached the capital of Ardârâyân, Tahmâsp, true to his tactics of avoidance, had already abandoned it. In August, Süleyman gave the order to return to Istanbul, which he did not reach until the beginning of 1536. From this campaign, known as that of the “Two İrâks”, the empire retrieved Baghdad and the regions of Erzurum and Van, which would remain the long-term bastions of the eastern frontier.

Two months after the end of the campaign, in the night of 14-15 March 1536 İbrahim Pasha was strangled in a bedroom of the Topkapi palace. This is how that brilliant protagonist, a product of the deseîme [q.v.], the friend from his youth of a master who delighted in a bedroom of the Topkapi palace. This is how that brilliant protagonist, a product of the deseîme [q.v.], the friend from his youth of a master who delighted in
The question arises as to whether he took advantage of the weakness of the sultan or whether they had come to an agreement over the division of roles. The end of Ibrahim at least attested the wish of Suleymán to put a stop to that experience, even if the immediate causes of the event must remain conjectural.

The military campaigns of 1537-55

It was this turning point in his reign that brought to a close the period of his most spectacular conquests, but it in no way ended the military activity of Suleymán. On the contrary, in the remaining thirty years of his life he was to lead seven more campaigns. During the course of these operations, the fleet which had already been put to the test at Rhodes became increasingly important. However, the sultan understood that it needed to be reinforced in order to be able to withstand the maritime threat of his adversaries, in particular, of the Habsburgs, in the Mediterranean. The latter had had at their disposal since 1528 the assistance of an admiral of the first order, the Genoese Andrea Doria. This was the reason for the eager welcome given by the sultan to offers of service by privateers, the most important of whom was Khayr ul-Dîn Barbarossa [q.v.], the holder of power in Algiers, who was not only a mariner but an organiser on a large scale, and he made him his kapudan pasha in 1533.

This was also the period when the two parties concerned tried to bring about a diplomatic revolution for the age; the alliance between the Most Christian King Francis I and the Ottoman ruler. After the plea for help from the Frenchman, who was defeated and made captive at Pavia (1525), the Ottoman realised the advantage of holding a pawn on the chessboard of Christian Europe.

This alliance of the two principal enemies of the Habsburgs was given new impetus at sea through Barbarossa, once he had become kapudan pasha, and this gave an increased opportunity of producing actual military results. The instructions given to the French ambassador Jean de la Forêt did not only include the pursuit of commercial and judicial guarantees but also comprised plans of joint action against Charles V: Francis I was to penetrate into Lombardy, while Suleymán would attack the kingdom of Naples by land and sea from a base in Albania, with the French fleet envisaged as joining up with that of Barbarossa. But things did not proceed as expected. Francis I did not attack Milan. His fleet was very much delayed and did not reach Avlonya until 10 September. Suleymán, for his part, gave up his attack on Naples, and because his relations with Venice had deteriorated, on 26 August he arrived at last at Corfu in order to mount a siege against this possession of the Most Serene Republic. He lifted it when the French fleet eventually arrived, for it was growing late in the season. Though Corfu was saved, Barbarossa went on to seize the greater part of the Aegean islands which were still in the possession of the Venetian patricians.

Apart from this, on 28 September 1538 he achieved the greatest Ottoman naval success of the summer of 1538 imposed on the Venetians. On the occasion of the Lower Danube, where he went to quell a vassal, the Voivode of Moldavia, Petru Rareş, who was suspected of intrigues with Vienna and whose designs on Pokucia (the region of Kolomiyva and Snyatyn) risked impairing the alliance between the sultan and Poland. From 15 to 22 September 1538, Suleymán occupied Suceava, nominated a new Voivode and withdrew from Moldavia, but not without annexing the south-east of the country, the region between the Prut and the Dniestr (Bugjak) along with the fortress of Bender (Rum. Tighina). Thus he completed the Ottoman military system north of the Black Sea and secured land links with another vassal, the Khan of the Crimea.

In the years which followed, the attention of Suleymán was redirected to Hungary where the situation remained ambiguous and unstable. His tributary Janos Szapolyai remained under the thumb of Ferdinand of Habsburg, who had in February 1538 imposed on him the secret treaty of Varad (Oradea), by which both protagonists kept their title of King of Hungary and their respective possessions in the country; but Szapolyai was committed to transferring his rights to Ferdinand after his death. Now a late marriage to Isabella, one of the daughters of Sigismund of Poland, produced a son who was born several days after his own death in July 1540.

His chief advisor, Georges Martinuzzi-Utenoveni, the bishop of Vorâ, had the infant proclaimed king at Buda and asked the sultan to recognise "the son of King John", the one whom the Ottoman were to call "Istifan". Meanwhile, Ferdinand rallied to his cause most of the Hungarian lords and laid siege to Buda from May 1541 onwards. Suleymán reoccupied Buda at the end of July. He finally decided on the transformation of the central part of the kingdom into an Ottoman province (the beylerbägãt of Budun) and allocated to it a leading guardian to be "brother George", "the land of Transylvania", which meant in reality not only the actual voivodat of Transylvania but also all the eastern region of the ancient former kingdom of Hungary, with the northern and western parts of the country remaining to Ferdinand.

For the Banat of Temesvár, the sultan recognised more especially the authority of Petro Petrovics, a Serb by birth who was related to Szapolyai, on whom he conferred a sangaj by investiture. From 1543 onwards, Transylvania paid him a tribute of 10,000 pieces of gold which then increased to 15,000. In the summer of 1543, Suleymán set out again for Hungary, having prepared his campaign particularly carefully and having provided on an unprecedented scale for its provisioning and logistics. Numerous places were conquered (Valp, Székes, Pécs, and especially important, Esztergom and Székesfehérvár), but it took more than that to knock Ferdinand out of the game.

The Ottoman policy of attrition continued during the following summer, this time led by the head of the frontiers. The projected campaign for the summer of 1545 was nevertheless abandoned in view of the progress of negotiations with Ferdinand, on whom it also managed to apply pressure. The successful outcome of these negotiations led to successive truces, and a five-year peace treaty was concluded in June 1547. While this peace treaty confirmed the territorial status quo, it also instituted the payment of
a tribute to the Sublime Porte of thirty thousand ducats per year by the Archduke.
From this time onwards, Süleyman had his hands free for affairs on the Persian frontier where, since 1536, tension had been limited to sporadic border incidents. In 1539, he set out to spend the winter there as provided for by the fatwa of Elkas Mirza, the brother of Shah Tahmás and governor of Shirwán, who came to Istanbul to seek the sultan's help (cf. IA art. Elkas Mirza; J.R. Walsh, The revolt of Alqa Mirza, in WZKM, lvii [1976], 61-78). In the spring of 1548 the sultan, who had not been on campaign for five years, once again set off for Persia, and on his way through Anatolia met his sons the ghulāzīs in their respective spheres of provincial government. He got as far as Tabriz without meeting any resistance, as the Şah had, according to his usual preference, declined battle and, in the hope of eluding him, had withdrawn into the steppe lands and deserts.
Süleyman then left in the direction of Van, which he besieged. Van had been conquered in 1534 but retaken by the Persians the following year. On 25 August, after a brief resistance, Van fell [see VAN]. The sultan fortified the citadel and, leaving a strong garrison there, departed in the direction of Diyarbekir and Aleppo, where he spent the winter.
A campaign against the Georgians of Akhaltsikhe, who had conducted a raid in the frontier zones, led to a reinforcement of Ottoman control of the Tortum region. As for Elkas Mirza, he did not succeed in launching the expected uprising in Persia, but fell into the hands of Şah Tahmāsp, whose overthrow then ceased to be the priority of the day.
Süleyman set out again for Istanbul, which he reached on 21 December 1549 (for information of this campaign, see J. Chesneau, Le voyage de Mousnier d'Aravon, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887). In the following years, Şah Tahmāsp emerged again. Safavid horsemen set out to raid and plunder in 1551, and the troops of the beglerbeg of Erzurum, Iskender Paşa, suffered reverses. A new Persian campaign was then planned but the Grand Vizier, Rustem Paşa [q.v.], who had received the position of sancar, was put in charge. Süleyman declined to take part. His refusal strengthened the opinion in the army that the age of the sultan meant that he was no longer able to play the role of military commander-in-chief which the soldiers under him expected of him.
A rumour then emerged that his son Muṣṭafā intended to take over from his father. Faced with this danger, Süleyman changed his plans and set out for Anatolia at the end of August 1555, entrusting to his son Bāyezīd the defence of the European frontier, with the office of muḥāfīz of Edirne, which he himself had held in the past. On the way, he was joined by the princes Selim and Muṣṭafā with their respective troops. On 6 October, near Ereğli in Karaman, after the ceremony of kissing hands, Süleyman had his son Muṣṭafā executed as a presumed rebel (Y.T. Unal, Şehzade Muṣṭafanın Erkeğile idam edilmesi, in Anı XXVIII [1981], 9-22; Uluçay in IA, art. Muṣṭafə Sultan) and dismissed the Grand Vizier Rūstem Paşa. Then he seized the city of Antalya; was put in charge of him in Aleppo. He did not start travelling again until April 1554, which was the real beginning of what was to become the campaign of Nakhchāvān [q.v.]. He reached Kars by way of Diyarbekir and Erzurum, then went into Nakhchāvān on 28 July. Being unable to make contact with the Şah, the sultan ravaged the frontier zones of Persia and Karabığ [q.v.]. Once he had reached this goal he withdrew, and then contacts with Şah Tahmāsp ended in a truce concluded in September. The sultan arrived at Amasya on 30 October and spent the winter there, and there he received a delegation from the Şah, with whom he concluded the so-called peace of Amasya in May 1555, which formalised the official status quo of the territories of the two empires: the Ottomans kept Trak, a good part of Kurdistan and Eastern Armenia, but gave up Tabriz, Erivan and Nakhchāvān. This period of participation in person in military operations and a phase in his reign both came to an end in the 1550s.

Other military operations
After the victory at Preveza and the end of the war with Venice, in August-September 1543, Barbarossa, acting within the framework of the Franco-Ottoman alliance, laid siege to Nice, a possession of Savoy; he then went on to spend the following winter with his fleet as the guest of the King of France in the port of Toulon. Later, other corsairs were to play an active role in the naval operations commissioned by the sultan, as for example the capture of Tripoli in 1551 which was carried out by Murād Ağa and Torghud Re'tís [q.v.] (Dragut; see St. Yerasimos in Soliman le Magnifique, son temps, 529-47). In 1560 the sultan had this last great naval success, when Piraye Paşa [q.v.], then kapudan paşa, put to flight the troops of Philip II, king of Spain, from the island of Djerba. By contrast, the massive siege of Malta in 1565 ended in failure. But in the following year, Piraye Paşa again seized the island of Chios, which was the last Genoese possession in the archipelago (Ş. Turan, in Kamuni armağanı, 79-109). Other naval activities were mounted on the Eastern front in order to counter the attempts of the Portuguese to capture the former maritime trade routes of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf for the benefit of their route through the Indian Ocean.
In 1538 the beglerbeg of Egypt, Khādīm Süleyman Paşa [q.v.], who had previously been commissioned to build a fleet at Suez, launched the so-called campaign against Diu in Gujdarat with 72 ships. Firstly he seized Aden and then, in cooperation with the forces of Gujdarat, was engaged in the Indian Ocean in August-September 1543-4 and again in 1552-3. He was replaced by the Portuguese at Diu. He abandoned his efforts in the following November to return to Egypt; he reorganised on his way the province of Yemen around Aden and Zabid (H. Melzig, Hâmid Süleyman Paşanın Hind sferis, Istanbul 1943; S. Ozbaran, Osmanlı imperatolosu ve Hindistan yol, in Tarih Dergisi, xxxvi [1978], 98-104). In 1552, a second offensive led by Pirī Re'tís [q.v.] was carried out against the Portuguese. He left Suez with 25 galleys and 4 galleons, with 850 soldiers on board, and pillaged Muscat on his way; he then laid siege to Ormuz, which had been occupied by the Portuguese since 1515. Pirī Re'tís did not succeed in capturing the island, and even failed to bring back his galleys, and this led to his execution (C. Orhonlu, Hını kaptanlığı ve Pirī Re'tisin, in Belleten, xxxiv, 134 [1970], 233-54).

In 1554 Sidi 'Ali Re'tís led Båṣra and was involved in the only serious confrontation between the Portuguese and the Ottomans in the Levant. He lost several ships there before suffering a terrible storm on the coast of Makrān. He finally gained refuge in Sūrat [q.v.], when the remainder of his fleet dispersed (Seydi 'Ali Re'tisi, Mi'at'ul umenuvālī, Istanbul 1313/1895). It is clear that, in sum, Süleyman succeeded in preventing the complete annihilation of trade in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf but failed to dislodge the Portuguese from the Sea of Oman and the north-western shores of India.
The man and the ruler

This more or less favourable view which has been taken of the war leader should not obscure the aspect of the man and the statesman which has been of more interest to recent historiographers. By general opinion, Suleyman demonstrated the physical majesty and commensurality with his rank. Commentators are equally agreed on his private virtues: frugality, temperance, modesty, loyalty, generosity, faithfulness to his word, piety and even a tendency to mysticism which had been encouraged from the time of his youth at Mardin by the influence of the Khalwet (Sunbili: sherif Merkez Elendi, whom he invited to take part in the Corfu campaign (N. Clayer, Mystiques, Etat et société. Les Halves dans l'Etat balkanique de la fin du XVIe siècle à nos jours, Leiden 1994, 119-20). Then, subsequently deriving confidence from his first victories, he experienced a firmly-rooted faith in his privileged support by God (e'yld-i ilahi). It has even been shown that, in the first years of his reign, he was the focus of current thought concerning the generalised Messianic hopes of that time, appearing to some people as the šahh-ššahin [i.e.]. This Messianic excitement of the first years of his reign was not without an extraordinary taste for splendour, and this certainly went hand-in-hand with an acute sensitivity to propaganda. Conversely, he also established an eclectic aestheticism, which probably developed from the booty acquired in the West as well as from the humanist, Renaissance tastes of his vizier İbrahim Paşa, tastes far removed from the strict principles of Islam.

However, things changed greatly, later on, once İbrahim Paşa was removed from power and the innovation of the sultan darkened with age. His religious feelings began to turn to a strict austerity which bordered on puritanism, which naturally ran counter to the passions of his youth. Even the most favourable opinions on the grandeur of the sovereign are not without reserve. Did not the unprecedented influence exerted on him by succeeding relatives show evidence of a certain lack of character? Nevertheless, an ability deliberately to delegate authority may also be observed, in a way which his father had lacked. This goes equally well for the vizehr of İbrahim, and for the two long vizierships of Riistem Pasha in 1544-53 and in 1556-61, who was accused of avarice and corruption (T. Gökbilgin, Rüstem Paşa ve hakkindaki ihtimalar, in Tarih Dergisi, viii, 11/12 [1956], 11-50), but who also stimulated remarkable progress in the domain of public finance and commerce.

Other aspects concerning his private life are more difficult to justify. He was deplorably given over to outside influences, particularly those of the harems. A first concubine of Suleyman, Gülbahar, is known. But it was another woman who held the centre position in the affections of the sultan; she was a slave of Ruthenian descent known in the West by the name of Rozelana and figuring in Ottoman sources under the appellation of Khiirrem Sultan, Khiirrem-Sâh Khatun or Küsséki Khiirrem Sultan. She became the legal spouse of Suleyman in 1534 (see şahh-ššahin). There are records of eight sons born to Suleyman: three died at an early age; another, Djelalzâde, the son of Khiirrem, was an invalid and though dearly loved, died in 1553. The other four sons held provincial governments and were eligible to succeed their father: Mustafa was the only one who was not a son of Khiirrem. Mehemmed was removed from the competition by his premature death in October 1543, and he was commemorated by the Shehzade mosque in Istanbul; then there remained Selim (II) and Bıyâçzâd.

The style of the sovereign was very different from that of his father Selim “the Cruel”, or of his great-grandfather Mehemmed “the Conqueror”. His own style was that of a universal monarch devoted to realising the ideal of the tradition of the “mirrors of princes”. Order and justice were founded on the law which, in the Ottoman state, had two sources, the şerîa, the canonical law of Islam, and the kânûn, the secular law emitted by the sultan. Suleyman was therefore to remain in Ottoman Turkish tradition as the Kânûnî, the one who at one and the same time formulated laws and supervised their application. In fact, the creation of a code of general law for the empire was attributed to him. It is preserved in several manuscripts copied during his reign or afterwards. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that most of the provisions included in it in reality went back to the code of laws of Mehemmed II (H. Inalcik, Suleyman the Lawgiver, 117-36). The legislative works of the Kânûnî were therefore marked not so much by their originality but more by the effort exerted in compilation, systematisation, adaptation and diffusion. The king-pin in this enterprise was the Muhtadiş Dîbâtzade Mustafa, the so-called “great” Muhtadiş, the celebrated chancellor of Suleyman.

Inasmuch as the Ottoman kânûn was given a new slant under Suleyman, it moved towards the reinforcement of centralisation. This implied for the sultan an increased hold on the land and on the reâyâ there which could not be used without his express mandate. The acquisition of land was made possible in a limited way by large-scale, meticulous campaigns for registration on the ground, from which resulted the registration collections (tahriv defteri) which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records). The effort of codification and the unprecedent exaltation of the şerîa, which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records). The effort of codification and the unprecedent exaltation of the şerîa, which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records). The effort of codification and the unprecedent exaltation of the şerîa, which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records). The effort of codification and the unprecedent exaltation of the şerîa, which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records). The effort of codification and the unprecedent exaltation of the şerîa, which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records). The effort of codification and the unprecedent exaltation of the şerîa, which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records). The effort of codification and the unprecedent exaltation of the şerîa, which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records). The effort of codification and the unprecedent exaltation of the şerîa, which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records). The effort of codification and the unprecedent exaltation of the şerîa, which made the reign of Suleyman the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the sandıak of Anatolia and of Rûmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, tapu ve tahrid defteri, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council of the Documents and Records).
had singled him out. In fact, this primacy in the Muslim world also laid on him the obligation of coming to the aid of less important Muslim sovereigns.

Another reason which could equally explain the insistence of Suleyman on Muslim orthodoxy in his empire was the rivalry inherited from his father with the Safawids of Persia and the threat of political and religious subversion inherent in their influence on the kizîbâş Türkmen of Anatolia. This threat was evident in the great political and religious revolts of the first years of the reign of Suleyman: the revolt of Bâbâ Dhu'l-Nûn in 1526, and the revolt of Şâh Kalender in 1527 (H. Sohrweide, Der Sieg der Safawiden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert, in: Vierteljahrsschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte, 1965, 263-326); cf. H. Sohrweide, Der Sieg der Safawiden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert, in: Vierteljahrsschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte, 1965, 263-326.

The right-hand man of the sultan during this trend in increasing the Sunnit nature of the state was Ebû Suûd Efendi, the muftî of Istanbul from 1545 to 1574 (see Åbu l-suûd, and R.C. Repp, The muftî of Istanbul, Oxford 1986, 275-96). The application of the şer'îa in its Hanîfi form (notably according to the treatise of İbrâîm al-İhalâbi, the Mulaıkâ, İstanbul 1939; cf. S.S. Has, The use of the Mulaıkâ 'l-İhbar in the Ottoman madrasas and in legal scholarship, in: Osmanlı Araştırmaları, vii-viii [1988], 393-418) was stipulated for the kâfî and, as it were, regulated by the writings of the muftî himself, his fêtûhs and his muşûdât (M.E. Düzçağ, Şehîlîsülislam Ebûsusûd Efendi fêtûvalar, İstanbul 1972; P. Horster, Zur Anwendung des islamischen Rechts im 16. Jahrhundert, Stuttgart 1935), but the cleavage between several areas such as landed property, fiscal and penal matters, was reduced or blurred by the task of justifying and reformulating the kânûn according to the şer'îa. The sultan supervised the formation and the orthodoxy of the ulâmâ by the institution of numerous medreses.

Besides this, in a decisive way he reinforced the tendency which had already arisen during the preceding reigns to make the İmâyîye into a structural hierarchical body dependent on the state (I.H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı derecesi îmâyîye teşkilâtı, Ankara 1994; R.C. Repp, op. cit., 27-72; H. Inalcık, The Rûznamce registers of the Kadıasker of Rumeli as preserved in the Istanbul Muftülük, in: Türkiye.xx [1988] 251-75). But Ebû Suûd (and through him the office of the muftî of Istanbul, which in that period was more often referred to by the title of muftî el-enâm than by that of şer'î hi-İslâm, which was imposed later) put at the head of the order of clerics which was being formed (M. Zâlî, Sultan Suleyman and the Ottoman religious establishment, in: Suleyman the Second, 112 ff.).

There are still more dimensions to the politics of the increasing of the Sunnit nature of the state. A fir-mâ in 944/1537-8 arranged for the building of a mosque in every village (Mârûqâ, in: Millî Tectebülâr Meşgîmîsâlî, ii, 338), while a policy of religious persecution was being conducted on a grand scale. But this in no way affected Christians or Jews who were conversely protected by their status as dhimmis, which was completely respected; rather it concerned all faiths of heresy or dissidence within Islam. Persecution took very different forms; as, for example, a lawsuit where dissidents were examined by the highest ulâmî, if necessary in the presence of the sultan, like those who brought an action against Molla Kâbi'd [q.v.] (1527), or various şer'îs of the Melâmî-Bayramî jârîka or of the guğûlî branch of the Khalwetis (A.Y. Ocağ, Les réactions socio-religieuses contre l'idéologie ottomane et la ques-


"The Magnificent"

Contemporary Christian observers who were more aware of the conquests of the Great Turk, of his personality and above all, of the matchless splendour of his court, accorded him the epithet "the Magnificent". Before the morose austerity of his old age, Suleyman was indeed an incredible patron, by encouraging expert craftsmanship on the part of those who supported him in his Topkapî palace, or by giving external commissions to craftsmen in the capital, the provincial centres (Bursa, İzmit) or abroad (Venice, Brussels). This expertise encompassed skills concerning books (calligraphy, book-binding, illuminations, miniatures) as well as metal-working, wood carving, textiles, ceramics, sculpture in stone, and skills in setting precious stones. As a collector, he assembled in his palace Chinese porcelain from the Yuan dynasty and the beginning of the Ming dynasty as well as works of art picked up in Italy during his conquests. He himself was a poet in the manner of his father Selim and his great-great-grandfather (q.v.), and composed a discourse in Ottoman Turkish with some pieces in Persian under the pseudonym of Muhibbî "he who loves with affection" (von Hammer, vi, 248). His work was dominated by the figure of his beloved, the kâbeded Khürrâm, and many of his verses became popular.

However, it was in the realm of architecture where the sultan exercised his greatest, most spectacular and most constant patronage, since, even after he had abandoned the other arts, he continued building, with the closest possible scrutiny of operations, in a way which characterised classical Ottoman architecture. He commissioned in his own name or for his family a great number of buildings for manifold purposes; religious, charitable, utilitarian and military buildings were constructed both in Istanbul and in the rest of his empire. However, it was the capital, the historic cities of Islam and the eastern provinces that were more favoured by his patronage than European places (see the attempt to turn the old capital, Constantinople, into being an exhaustive, made of buildings commissioned by the sultan in his own name and in that of his family by A. Kuran in: Suleiman le Magnifique et son temps, 217-25).

Most of these constructions were the work of Mi'mâr Sinân [q.v.] (mi'mâr başî), from 1539 to 1588. The most grandiose of the buildings of Suleyman, the complex of the Süleymaniye mosque and its subsidiary buildings, were constructed between 1550 and 1558; they cost 897,350 gold florins, which amounted to one-tenth of the budget for the empire in 1527-8.

The campaign of Széchenyi

The old sultan sprang one last surprise on the world in the circumstances surrounding his disappearance. His health had begun seriously to deteriorate from the end of the 1540s onwards, and during this time, periodic announcements were given out that he had died. But he was in no way daunted, and after more than ten years of military activity, he embarked on a new campaign in Hungary, driven, it would seem, by his last Grand Vizier Şokollu Mehmed Paşa [q.v.], who wanted to obliterate from memory the badly-failed siege of Malta in 1565; also, he wanted to react spectacularly to the encroachments attempted by the new emperor Maximilian II.

Suleyman was in pain, was irritable and in the worst of physical conditions, but nevertheless he per-
sonally led the campaign of Szigetvár. On the way, he received his now adult protege John ... G. Veinstein (ed.), Soliman le Magnifique et son temps, Paris 1992; and H. Inalcik and C. Kafadar (eds.), Suleyman with remarkable composure and authority by the posthumous life of the sultan, which was organised this was probably not carried out on built by Sinan. Its position, beside that of Khurrem, by the governor of Egypt, by hastily despatching it to Istanbul, in the custody of Suleyman from any further anger of the mutineers the disagreement which took place in Belgrade between ... 400 cavalrymen. Suleyman was buried according to his wishes in the cemetery of the Sülemaniye, in a mausoleum built by Sinan. Its position, beside that of Khurrem, had been decided in his lifetime, but, in accordance with custom, this was probably not carried out on the orders of his son and successor Selim II until after the interment (for a discussion on the chronology of this edifice, see N. Vatin and G. Veinstein, Les obseques des sultans ottomans., in Angus Turkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts, 3 vols. Freiburg im Br. 1971. The main collections are in the Topkapı Museum, incl. two registers of dicean orders prefiguring the Muhtimm defterleri; see also U. Alintağ, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Sûnûvî Kataloğu. Istanbul 1983, 7-13, 11, 1988, 108-12. To these one should add pieces preserved in the siçûlû [g.v.] of local kadîs of the time (for Turkey, see A. Akgündüz (ed.), Şer'îye sâcilleri, i, Istanbul 1988, 83-215, and art. sv.), and the collections of Ottoman documents in foreign archives, the main ones for this period being in Sofia (see B.A. Cvetkova, Sources ottomanes en Bulgarie..., in Studi prerotomanî et ottomani, Naples 1976, 79-99, in Venice (M.T. Gökbilgin, Venedik deilet arşivindeki vestülar kitâmatanda Konu Sultanî Sûnûvî defterleri, in Bülent, 1/2 (Ankara 1963), 119-220, in Warsaw (Z. Abrahamowicz, Katalog dokumentow tureckich, Warsaw 1959, docs. nos. 19-189) and in Vienna (A.C. Szaechenfeld, Die Schreiben Suleyman des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien, Vienna 1983; idem, Die Schreiben ... an Vasallen, Militärbüro Berlin, and Richard S. von Weisbach, in J. Matuz, Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentows in the Topkapı Museum, incl. two registers of dicean orders prefiguring the Muhtimm defterleri; see also U. Alintağ, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Sûnûvî Kataloğu. Istanbul 1983, 7-13, 11, 1988, 108-12. To these one should add pieces preserved in the siçûlû [g.v.] of local kadîs of the time (for Turkey, see A. Akgündüz (ed.), Şer'îye sâcilleri, i, Istanbul 1988, 83-215, and art. sv.), and the collections of Ottoman documents in foreign archives, the main ones for this period being in Sofia (see B.A. Cvetkova, Sources ottomanes en Bulgarie..., in Studi prerotomanî et ottomani, Naples 1976, 79-99, in Venice (M.T. Gökbilgin, Venedik deilet arşivindeki vestülar kitâmatanda Konu Sultanî Sûnûvî defterleri, in Bülent, 1/2 (Ankara 1963), 119-220, in Warsaw (Z. Abrahamowicz, Katalog dokumentow tureckich, Warsaw 1959, docs. nos. 19-189) and in Vienna (A.C. Szaechenfeld, Die Schreiben Suleyman des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien, Vienna 1983; idem, Die Schreiben ... an Vasallen, Militärbüro Berlin, and Richard S. von Weisbach, in J. Matuz, Katalog dokumentow Katalog dokumentows in the Topkapı Museum, incl. two registers of dicean orders prefiguring the Muhtimm defterleri; see also U. Alintağ, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Sûnûvî Kataloğu. Istanbul 1983, 7-13, 11, 1988, 108-12. To these one should add pieces preserved in the siçûlû [g.v.] of local kadîs of the time (for Turkey, see A. Akgündüz (ed.), Şer'îye sâcilleri, i, Istanbul 1988, 83-215, and art. sv.), and the collections of Ottoman documents in foreign archives, the main ones for this period being in Sofia (see B.A. Cvetkova, Sources ottomanes en Bulgarie..., in Studi prerotomanî et ottomani, Naples 1976, 79-99, in Venice (M.T. Gökbilgin, Venedik deilet arşivindeki vestülar kitâmatanda Konu Sultanî Sûnûvî defterleri, in Bülent, 1/2 (Ankara 1963), 119-220, in Warsaw (Z. Abrahamowicz, Katalog dokumentow tureckich, Warsaw 1959, docs. nos. 19-189) and in Vienna (A.C. Szaechenfeld, Die Schreiben Suleyman des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien, Vienna 1983; idem, Die Schreiben ... an Vasallen, Militärbüro Berlin, and Richard S. von Weisbach, in J. Matuz, Katalog dokumentows in the Topkapı Museum, incl. two registers of dicean orders prefiguring the Muhtimm defterleri; see also U. Alintağ, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Sûnûvî Kataloğu. Istanbul 1983, 7-13, 11, 1988, 108-12. To these one should add pieces preserved in the siçûlû [g.v.] of local kadîs of the time (for Turkey, see A. Akgündüz (ed.), Şer'îye sâcilleri, i, Istanbul 1988, 83-215, and art. sv.), and the collections of Ottoman documents in foreign archives, the main ones for this period being in Sofia (see B.A. Cvetkova, Sources ottomanes en Bulgarie..., in Studi prerotomanî et ottomani, Naples 1976, 79-99, in Venice (M.T. Gökbilgin, Venedik deilet arşivindeki vestülar kitâmatanda Konu Sultanî Sûnûvî defterleri, in Bülent, 1/2 (Ankara 1963), 119-220, in Warsaw (Z. Abrahamowicz, Katalog dokumentow tureckich, Warsaw 1959, docs. nos. 19-189) and in


On the campaign of the two îrâks: Ferûfûn Beg, i, 584-5; Gökbilgin, Arz ve raporlarına göre İbrahim Paşa’ın İran kalkan seferindeki ilk tehdîrleri ve fâtihât, in Belleten, XXI (1957), 449-82; H. Yurdadayn, Nasuhi’s Silâh (Matruk) beyan-i menazî-i serifi-i Irâkîn-i Sultan Süleyman Han, Ankara 1976.


On the treaty of 1540 with Venice: Archives of Venice, Documenti Turchi, busta I, Fasc. 727; L. Bonelli, Il trattato turco-veneto del 1540, in Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari, i Palermo 1910, 323-63; W. Lehmann, Der Friedensvertrag zwi-
schen Venedig und der Türkei vom 2. Oktober 1540, Bonn 1936.


On artistic production, etc.: Üzünçarşı, Osmanlı sarayında Ehl-i hirfî (Sanatkarlar) defteri, in...


(G. Veinstein)

SÜLEYMÂN II, the twentieth Ottoman sultan (1099-1102/1687-91).

Süleyman II's succession to the throne came about in his middle age as the result of the forced abdication of his half-brother Mehemmed IV (g.v.) in 1099/1687. He inherited rule over an empire facing severe problems which he faced and the brevity of his reign, Süleyman II's achievements were impressive. Progress during the first year and a half of his rule was effectively blocked by the turmoil in the capital

G. Veinstein
SULEYMAN II — SULEYMAN PASHA


SULEYMAN ÇELEBI, Ottoman prince and eldest son of Bâyazed I [q.v.], ruler in Rumelia and a considerable part of northern and northwestern Anatolia in the confused years after Bâyazed's defeat and capture by Timûr at the Battle of Ankara in 804/1402, b. P779/1377, d. 813/1411.

He was a powerful force in Rumelia, with the Serb brothers, at Ankara. He managed to escape to Europe and capture by Tûmûr at the Battle of Ankara in 804/1402, b. P779/1377, d. 813/1411.

Suleyman was born in Bursa and is described as having been a disciple of Emîr Sulân [q.v.], the "patron saint" of Bursa (and son-in-law of Bâyazed I) and as having served as imâm to Bâyazed. After the latter's death (1403), he became chief imâm of the Great Mosque in Bursa, where he died and was buried. His precise birth date remains in debate. A reference to his completing the Mawlid when he was sixty led Ahmet Ateş to posit his being born in 752/1351 (Vesiletî'n necâtî, Ankara 1954, 25 ff.), Pokolay, who earlier questioned that date (IA, art. Suleyman Çelebi), now agrees (Mesûd, 36).

Tradition claims that the Mesûd was composed to counter statements of a popular preacher that Muhammad was not superior to Jesus (Gibb, HOP, i, 232-5).

Whatever his inspiration, Suleyman displayed a familiarity with the Muslim corpus of works concerning the Prophet, and the Mawlid has influence from the Qâhirî-name of Ashîk-paşa [q.v.] and echoes some of the verses interposed by Mustaṭî Darîr (an Erzurum Turk writing in Mamlûk Egypt) in his life of the Prophet (Sîyêrû'n-neswetî) (see A. Bombaci, La letteratura turca, Milan 1969, 211-12, 301-4). Many later Ottoman mesûlds appeared, but Suleyman's remained the favourite, becoming part of the official celebration of Muhammad's birth (12 Rabî' I) introduced under Murâd III (d'Özkan, tarih, ii, 358-60), and continues to be recited by Turks celebrating the Prophet's birth, marking the fortieth day after bereavement, fulfillment of a vow, etc. A vivid visual element in its place in Ottoman life occurs in the novel The clown and his daughter by Halide Edib Adıvar (see Gâlîde edîn).

Manuscripts (the earliest from the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries) and printed editions vary in length (from about 260 to some 1000 bayts) and topics covered.

The text has been translated into a number of languages, including Albanian, Greek, Serbo-Croat and Kurdish, and Schimmel has noted an echo of it in a work by Âbu 'Ali Kalandar, an 8th/14th-century Indian poet (Mystical dimensions in Islam, Chapel Hill 1975, 216-7). F. Lyman McCallum's 263-bayt English translation (The Mawlid Sherif of Suleyman Chelebi) appeared in London in 1943, and an annotated English translation of the text published by Ateş (op. cit.) formed the Senior Thesis of Stephanie R. Thomas at Barnard College in New York 1986. This text, a compilation from five manuscripts, omits the well-known Merhaba ("Welcome") section (McCallum, 23-4).

A devout work, the Mesûd has a short prose prologue in Arabic, then follows a typical mətauqawī format with praise of Allah, apology, prayer for the author, etc. The main narrative is preceded by a discourse on the Light of Muhammad [see Nûr Muḥammad], then includes not only Muhammad's birth and the wonders preceding it, but its virtues, attributed miracles, the Mârûjî [q.v.], his final illness and death. The metre is the hexametric râmal, and the language is a simple Ottoman that is both lyrical and moving.

Bibliography: For mss. and further studies, see Pokolay's 1993 work quoted.

(KATHLEEN R.F. BURRELL)

SÜLEYMÂN ÇELEBI, DEDE (?752-826/1351-1422), Ottoman poet, author of Weslet el-nefâfit (Vesiletî'n necâtî) ("Means of salvation"), a mağnâsî [q.v.] in honour of Muhammad completed in 812/1409, referred to in Turkey as the Mewlid [q.v.], and see Neclâ Pokolay, Mesûd, Ankara 1993, 1-3), Mesûd, or Mawlid-i Sherîf ("The [noble] birth").

Sources provide little biographical information, but show his forbears as religious scholars and bureaucrats closely connected with the Ottoman dynasty.

The identity of his father Ahmed Paşa is obscure. His (maternal?) grandfather Shâhîh Muḥammad lectured at an Iznik madrasa, and is credited with poetry and a commentary on the Fûtûsî of Ibn al-'Arâbî.

Suleyman was born in Bursa and is described as having been a disciple of Emîr Sulân [q.v.], the "patron saint" of Bursa (and son-in-law of Bâyazed I) and as having served as imâm to Bâyazed. After the latter's death (1403), he became chief imâm of the Great Mosque in Bursa, where he died and was buried. His precise birth date remains in debate. A reference to his completing the Mawlid when he was sixty led Ahmet Ateş to posit his being born in 752/1351 (Vesiletî'n necâtî, Ankara 1954, 25 ff.), Pokolay, who earlier questioned that date (IA, art. Suleyman Çelebi), now agrees (Mesûd, 36).

Tradition claims that the Mesûd was composed to counter statements of a popular preacher that Muhammad was not superior to Jesus (Gibb, HOP, i, 232-5).

Whatever his inspiration, Suleyman displayed a familiarity with the Muslim corpus of works concerning the Prophet, and the Mawlid has influence from the Qâhirî-name of Ashîk-paşa [q.v.] and echoes some of the verses interposed by Mustaṭî Darîr (an Erzurum Turk writing in Mamlûk Egypt) in his life of the Prophet (Sîyêrû'n-neswetî) (see A. Bombaci, La letteratura turca, Milan 1969, 211-12, 301-4). Many later Ottoman mesûlds appeared, but Suleyman's remained the favourite, becoming part of the official celebration of Muhammad's birth (12 Rabî' I) introduced under Murâd III (d'Özkan, tarih, ii, 358-60), and continues to be recited by Turks celebrating the Prophet's birth, marking the fortieth day after bereavement, fulfillment of a vow, etc. A vivid visual element in its place in Ottoman life occurs in the novel The clown and his daughter by Halide Edib Adıvar (see Gâlîde edîn).

Manuscripts (the earliest from the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries) and printed editions vary in length (from about 260 to some 1000 bayts) and topics covered.

The text has been translated into a number of languages, including Albanian, Greek, Serbo-Croat and Kurdish, and Schimmel has noted an echo of it in a work by Âbu 'Ali Kalandar, an 8th/14th-century Indian poet (Mystical dimensions in Islam, Chapel Hill 1975, 216-7). F. Lyman McCallum's 263-bayt English translation (The Mawlid Sherif of Suleyman Chelebi) appeared in London in 1943, and an annotated English translation of the text published by Ateş (op. cit.) formed the Senior Thesis of Stephanie R. Thomas at Barnard College in New York 1986. This text, a compilation from five manuscripts, omits the well-known Merhaba ("Welcome") section (McCallum, 23-4).

A devout work, the Mesûd has a short prose prologue in Arabic, then follows a typical mətauqawī format with praise of Allah, apology, prayer for the author, etc. The main narrative is preceded by a discourse on the Light of Muhammad [see Nûr Muḥammad], then includes not only Muhammad's birth and the wonders preceding it, but its virtues, attributed miracles, the Mârûjî [q.v.], his final illness and death. The metre is the hexametric râmal, and the language is a simple Ottoman that is both lyrical and moving.

Bibliography: For mss. and further studies, see Pokolay's 1993 work quoted.

(KATHLEEN R.F. BURRELL)
the Straits of Gallipoli and, as such, occupies a revered position in Ottoman tradition and historiography. However, the earliest Ottoman accounts of his deeds appear in the chronicles composed in the second half of the 9th/15th century and, although these contain obvious allusions to earlier historical writing, they belong to the genre of popular epic (dadštân), and cannot serve as historical sources. The only contemporary and seemingly reliable references to events in Suleyman Paşa’s life appear in the Byzantine chronicle of John Cantacuzenus (ed. L. Schopen, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae, xx, vols. i-ii, Bonn 1828-32). References to Suleyman Paşa therefore inevitably occur in the context of Cantacuzenus’ own relations with Suleyman Paşa’s father, Orkhan.

In 747/1346, Cantacuzenus formed an alliance with Orkhan and, with his help, seized the Byzantine throne in the following year. The first reference to Suleyman Paşa dates from 749/1348, when Cantacuzenus sought help from Orkhan against the Serbian Tsar, Stephen Duşan, which had occupied Thessaly. Orkhan sent “over ten thousand” troops under the leadership of Suleyman and his other sons, but when this force reached Macedonia, and learned that it was Duşan from whom they were to recover the Thessalian cities, they deserted “and started plundering and killing” (iii, 32). The second reference to Suleyman recalls a similar event. In 751/1350, Cantacuzenus called on Orkhan to give assistance in recovering Thessaloniki from the rebel Alexius Metochites. Again, Orkhan sent Suleyman with a force of “twenty thousand horsemen”, and again these deserted. The reason, Cantacuzenus claims, was that Orkhan had recalled them to fight a war against a neighbouring prince in Anatolia (iii, 111). A similar incident occurred in 753/1352, when the co-Emperor, John V Palæologus, attacked Cantacuzenus’ son, Matthew, near Adrianople/Edirne (gazetteer). Cantacuzenus again called on Orkhan, who once again sent Suleyman Paşa with “at least ten thousand cavalry”. On this occasion, Suleyman Paşa was victorious, leading John V to try unsuccessfully to win him over to his cause (iii, 248).

These events have left no echoes in the Ottoman historiography of events, with the “War of Candia” going from bad to worse, revolts raging in the Crimea as well as in Anatolia, which remember Suleyman as, above all, the conqueror of Gallipoli and parts of Thrace. It is again Cantacuzenus who provides what appears to be the most accurate account of these events.

In 753/1352, the Turks occupied the fortress of Tzympo (Bolayir?) in Thrace. It seems that Cantacuzenus himself had invited them there so that the soldiers would be more easily at his disposal, and that he had granted them, in return for military service, the right to tax the inhabitants (N. Oikonomides, From soldiers of fortune to Gezi warriors: the Tzympo affair, in C.J. Heywood and C. Imber (eds.), Studies in Ottoman history in honour of Professor V.L. Menage, Istanbul 1994, 239-48). The Turks in Tzympo were, it seems, under the command of Suleyman Paşa, who had control of Tzympo and, if he were to abandon it, he would require compensation. Cantacuzenus provided a thousand gold pieces, to real historical “sentベンcy” hand over the stronghold to him” (iii, 277). This was in February 755/1354. On 2 March a violent earthquake destroyed Gallipoli and the surrounding towns. The Greek inhabitants fled, and Suleyman Paşa, ignoring the agreement to abandon Tzympo, crossed the Dardanelles from his base at Pegai on the Asiatic shore, and settled Gallipoli and the abandoned towns and villages with Turks from Anatolia. He restored the fortifications of Gallipoli, making them stronger than before, and left a large garrison. Suleyman Paşa never restored to the Emperor Gallipoli and the other places which he had occupied. Cantacuzenus sought them from Orkhan, but Suleyman refused to abandon them, “replying that he had not conquered the cities by force, but merely occupied abandoned and ruined ones”.

Orkhan, however, eventually persuaded his son to hand over the towns for 40,000 gold pieces, but the agreement foundered when Orkhan failed to meet Cantacuzenus at Nicomedia/Izmid to finalise the arrangement (iii, 277-81).

In the summer of 755/1354, Suleyman Paşa also led an army eastwards, capturing the towns of Cratea/Crete and entrusting with the transportation of troops from Çeşme to the coast of war in Crete [see KANDIVA; IKRITISH] in 1057/1647. After this, he was restored to his position of Kabbe uczi. He was made Grand Vizier upon the suggestion of the influential ex-AGHA of the Janissaries, Kara-Hasan-zade Huseyin Agha on 16 Shawwal 1065/19 August 1655 and married to the princess ‘Aşik Sultan, a daughter of Sultan Ibrâhim [gazetteer], who had previously been the wife of triple Sultan Paşa [gazetteer]. The new “supremo” turned out to be unable to get a grip on affairs. It was a particularly difficult juncture of events, with the “War of Candia” going from bad to worse, revolts raging in the Crimea as well as in Anatolia, and the imperial finances out of control. The Grand Vizier confessed later to having been unable to break up the corrupt networks of patronage and protection of the leading personalities of that period of the “sultanae of women” (kadılar saltanatî [see WALIDE SULTAN]). Nor was he able to reduce the size of the Kapu kula corps. His financial policy consisted of the farming out, two to three years in advance, of certain items of taxation, the sale in rapid succession (every six to seven months) of offices and a debasement of the coinage. The Kapu kula troops, however, refused to accept their pay in the new “ţengene” or “meykânene” akçe. The Dâr al-Selâde Agha, after a long hesitation of the leading circles, advised the Walide Sultan, Turhan Khadidje Sultan, to dismiss Suleyman Paşa (2 Dümâda I 1066/28 February
Three kinds of settlement are recognised under the Şart’a. First, the defendant can, by şikār, acknowledge the settlement. Secondly, he can, by inkar, dispute or reject it. Thirdly, he can, by suktā, say nothing. The three kinds of settlement, however, are not recognised among the schools of law.

From the early classical period, the principal founders of the schools of law, especially Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/768) and al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), have differed as to which of the three kinds of settlement is binding.

Abū Ḥanīfah maintained that competence to negotiate a sulh settlement by the parties, i.e. that they should have attained their majority, bulūgh, is not essential. But sulh by şikār is not binding: it must be by şikār and suktā. Al-Shāfiʿī set no qualifications, and held that, by şikār, a sulh is binding. He also set no conditions about the claimed object, as he divided the settlement into sulh al-ṣīla, by virtue of which the object would be al-ṣaḥā (donation), and sulh al-muṭawadda, when the claimed object is replaced by another. The caliph ‘Umar is reported to have opined that all kinds of disputes should be considered as settled, irrespective of any qualifications, and his opinion seems to have been adopted by the Qur’anists.

Like sulh between two believers, the sulh between the community of believers in the dār al-islām (territory of Islam), and the community of unbelievers in the dār al-harb (territory of war), is also considered a legal ‘aḍā (a treaty), called muḥādātān or muṣūdātān, consisting of all the terms and stipulations agreed upon between the two sides which will become the law governing the relationship between them. Such a treaty is not intended to supersede the normal “state of war” existing between the dār al-harb and dār al-islām as envisaged by the early Muslim scholars. The period of such a treaty is limited in duration not to exceed 10 years (a limit set on the basis of the Prophet Muhammad’s first treaty with the people of Mecca in 2/624), although it can be renewed for one or more terms.

The early Muslim scholars and founders of the schools of law, however, differed in their views as to the conditions under which a sulh was valid, and more Abū Yusuf and al-Shaybānī, held that a “state of war” (war in the legal sense, not in the sense of fighting) had existed between the two dārs, but they made no explicit statements that the qiṣād (qz) was a war against such non-Muslims as Christians and Jews solely on account of their disbelief in Islam, because they believed in God and repudiated idolatry. For this reason, they were not denounced as the people of kafṣ, but they were often referred to as dhimmī, the protected people who lived under Islamic rule (see dhimmī). This was also the position of al-Awzaʿī in Syria, and Mālik in the Ḥijāz. It was al-Shāfiʿī who first formulated the doctrine that the qiṣād was intended to be a permanent war on the unbelievers, not one merely when they came into conflict with Islam, on the basis of Kūrān, ix, 5, which commands believers “to fight unbelievers whenever you may find them” (K. al-ʾUmām, iv, 94-5).

When conditions in the dār al-islām began to change from the 4th/10th century, and the expansion of Islam had come to a standstill, Muslim scholars began to argue that the Şart’a did not require performance of the qiṣād duty unless the dār al-islām were threatened by foreign forces. Ibn Taymiyya (qz) held that Islam should not be imposed by force on unbelievers who made no attempt to encroach upon the dār al-islām. He said, “If the unbeliever were to be killed unless he becomes a Muslim, such an action would constitute
the greatest compulsion in religion," and this would be contrary to the Qur'an, in which it is stated: "no compulsion is prescribed by religion" (II, 257). But when unbelievers from the dār al-harb (e.g. the Mongols and the Crusaders) menaced the dār al-Islām, such a situation required every Muslim to fulfill the dār al-harb as an individual duty.

It follows that sulh as a concept of peace and harmony was not applied by the dār al-Islām to the dār al-harb in regard to territorial rule, but in regard to a community or a group or even one person in their relationship with Islam. Three specific categories were acknowledged by the Qur'ān:

(1) When the dhimmī—Christian, Jews, Sabians and others who claimed to have a scripture—had passed under Islamic rule, under an agreement, a permanent peace was established between them under certain conditions; for these, see dhimmā.

(2) Non-Muslims who believed in more than one God and worshipped idols were denounced as kuffār or unbelievers; for their position, see kāfir. Any convert who had renounced Islam after the death of the Prophet was denounced as a musta'min or apostate; for his position, see mutarradd.

(3) Sulh under an amān. Despite occasional conflicts between the Byzantine and the Islamic empires, under both the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids, a number of treaties and agreements were reached between the two sides to maintain periods of peace and also to facilitate occasional commercial and cultural relationships. As the two dārs were in principle in a state of war, the entry by non-Muslims from the dār al-harb into the dār al-Islām was made possible by the granting of amān, a pledge of security by virtue of which the person from the dār al-harb, called a harbi, was at peace with Islam during his visit to the dār al-Islām. No longer at war with Islam, the harbi would become a muta'min, and he would be entitled to protection by the Muslim authorities (for details, see amān).

The institution of amān, like a passport to facilitate peaceful relationship among nations today, may accordingly be considered as a factor promoting sulh in the relationships between the dār al-Islām and the dār al-harb.

Bibliography: Abu Yusuf, K. al-Kharidjī, (ed. S. al-Munadjudījī, 1952-1953, 207-17, tr. A. Ben Shemesh, Taxation in Islam, Leiden 1969, iii, Abu Yusuf's Kitāb al-Kharidjī, ch. 6; idem, al-Rad 'alā 'alā sīr al-Iṣrā'īlī, Cairo 1931-1938; Şafi 'ī, Umm, Cairo 1931-1907, vii, 303-36 (his comments on Abu Yusuf's text of Aważī's Sīrā; Shāhānshāh, Ābā aṣ-ṣīr fī ardi al-Isrā'īl (on the relations of Islam with the Byzantine Empire), Cairo 1954; Tabarb, iii, 1323-5). In the course of events leading to the 'Abbasids' rise of power, his family became closely linked to the new dynasty. Muhammad b. Sul, who must have joined the da'wa at an early date, was longer at war with Islam, the harbi, and the dār al-harb al-Islām, and the dār al-harb al-Islām, its umbrella, were not impressed. The Jesuit Monserrate as he moved away from Muslim orthodoxy after the death of the Prophet was denounced as a musta'min, and he would be entitled to protection by the Muslim authorities (for details, see amān).

As a 'amān—Christian, Jews, Sabians and other who claimed to have a scripture—had passed under Islamic rule, under an agreement, a permanent peace was established between them under certain conditions; for these, see dhimmā.

(1) When the dhimmī—Christian, Jews, Sabians and others who claimed to have a scripture—had passed under Islamic rule, under an agreement, a permanent peace was established between them under certain conditions; for these, see dhimmā.

(2) Non-Muslims who believed in more than one God and worshipped idols were denounced as kuffār or unbelievers; for their position, see kāfir. Any convert who had renounced Islam after the death of the Prophet was denounced as a musta'min or apostate; for his position, see mutarradd.

(3) Sulh under an amān. Despite occasional conflicts between the Byzantine and the Islamic empires, under both the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids, a number of treaties and agreements were reached between the two sides to maintain periods of peace and also to facilitate occasional commercial and cultural relationships. As the two dārs were in principle in a state of war, the entry by non-Muslims from the dār al-harb into the dār al-Islām was made possible by the granting of amān, a pledge of security by virtue of which the person from the dār al-harb, called a harbi, was at peace with Islam during his visit to the dār al-Islām. No longer at war with Islam, the harbi would become a muta'min, and he would be entitled to protection by the Muslim authorities (for details, see amān).

The institution of amān, like a passport to facilitate peaceful relationship among nations today, may accordingly be considered as a factor promoting sulh in the relationships between the dār al-Islām and the dār al-harb.


(M. Āṭhār Ālī)

AL-SULH, ABū BAKR MUHMMAD b. YAHYĀ b. al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Śīl, man of letters, court companion of several caliphs, expert on poetry and chess, d. 335/947. As a prolific author, collector of poetry, and as an often-quoted authority on chess, his comments on Abu Yusuf’s text of Aważī’s Sīrā; Shāhānshāh, Ābā aṣ-ṣīr fī ardi al-Isrā'īl (on the relations of Islam with the Byzantine Empire), Cairo 1954; Tabarb, iii, 1323-5). In the course of events leading to the 'Abbasids' rise of power, his family became closely linked to the new dynasty. Muhammad b. Śīl, who must have joined the da'wa at an early date, was

ently developed under the influence of Ibn 'Arabi’s ideas.

As a ''amān—Christian, Jews, Sabians and others who claimed to have a scripture—had passed under Islamic rule, under an agreement, a permanent peace was established between them under certain conditions; for these, see dhimmā.

(1) When the dhimmī—Christian, Jews, Sabians and others who claimed to have a scripture—had passed under Islamic rule, under an agreement, a permanent peace was established between them under certain conditions; for these, see dhimmā.

(2) Non-Muslims who believed in more than one God and worshipped idols were denounced as kuffār or unbelievers; for their position, see kāfir. Any convert who had renounced Islam after the death of the Prophet was denounced as a musta'min or apostate; for his position, see mutarradd.

(3) Sulh under an amān. Despite occasional conflicts between the Byzantine and the Islamic empires, under both the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids, a number of treaties and agreements were reached between the two sides to maintain periods of peace and also to facilitate occasional commercial and cultural relationships. As the two dārs were in principle in a state of war, the entry by non-Muslims from the dār al-harb into the dār al-Islām was made possible by the granting of amān, a pledge of security by virtue of which the person from the dār al-harb, called a harbi, was at peace with Islam during his visit to the dār al-Islām. No longer at war with Islam, the harbi would become a muta'min, and he would be entitled to protection by the Muslim authorities (for details, see amān).

The institution of amān, like a passport to facilitate peaceful relationship among nations today, may accordingly be considered as a factor promoting sulh in the relationships between the dār al-Islām and the dār al-harb.


(M. Āṭhār Ālī)

AL-SULH-ī KULL, the central principle in the religious thought of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (d. 1605) and his councillor Abu '1-Fadl, appar-
appointed governor of Mawsil and Adharbaydjan under the caliph Abu 'l-cAbbas al-Saffah. Another member of the family, Abu 'Amr Mas'ada b. Sa'd b. Sul, served in the chancellery of al-Mansur and the Barakmids (Yākūt, Irshād, vi, 88), as did his son 'Amr (d. 217/832) at the beginning of his career; 'Amr was later given several high offices under al-Ma'mun (D. Sourdel, Le vizir 'abadda, Damascus 1959-60, i, 234-8; Shawkī Dayf, Tarīq al-adab al-'arabī, al-ʿar al-'abbbat al-aussūl, Cairo 1966, 552-8). From the time of al-Ma'mun until the Mutawakkil there had flourished also his great-uncle, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdāb b. Muhammad al-Śuli, who was one of the famous secretaries-poets and a master of ornate prose and poetry in habī' style (d. 243/857; cf. Sezgin, GĀS, ii, 578-80).

'Abd Bakr al-Śuli himself never held any administrative post, but mainly served as sadīm [g.v.] and tutor, positions which did not provide him with a secure rank and income, a fact reflected in his frequent requests directed to the addressee of his panegyric poetry (e.g. Aḥkām al-Rādī wa-l-Mutakakh, 14 ii, 6-12; 23 ili, 3-5; 153 ili, 7-7). Biographical dictionaries name the famous Abū Dāwūd al-Śijistānī, Thālab and al-Muḥarrār as his teachers, but the authorities most often quoted by him are 'Awn b. Muhammad al-Kindī, al-Ḥaṣan b. Umayl al-ʿAnṣārī and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Ghālabī. At first addressed to the maddūs of the caliph al-Muktāfī for his praised mastery of chess, as it seems (al-Maṣʿūdī, Muḥrīdī, ed. Pellat, § 3471; quoted by Ibn Khalīkān, ed. 'Abdūs, iv, 359-60), his excellence in literary matters was soon recognised, and al-Muktādī entrusted him to the education of two of his sons. One of them, Muḥammad, the later caliph al-Rādī (in succession to al-Kāhir, from the year 322/934), was a gifted poet and particularly attached to al-Śuli. This relationship, which lasted until the caliph died (329/940), gave him a privileged position at court. With the succession of al-Muṭṭakī, who did not entertain literati and court companions, al-Śuli had to find a new sphere of activity and went to Wāṣīṭ, where he was generously received by Bāṣjīkm [g.v.], the later Amir al-Umāra, as his humble reports (Aḥkām al-Rādī wa-l-Mutakakh, 193-4). In the reign of al-Muṣṭāfī, al-Śuli tried to find admission to court, but failed, according to a short note of Ibn al-Nadīm (al-Fihrist, ed. Taqaddud, 167) and others, was subsequently accused of ḍalīl sympathies. He then retired to Basra, where Abu 'Alī al-Tanākhī [g.v.] attended his reading of his Kitāb al-Wuzādar in the year 335/946-7 (al-Faḍlī bād al-śiṣā, Kāis 111, 113, 140, 276, 326, 402). Here he died in the month of Ramaḍān of the same year, again according to the testimony of al-Tanākhī (no. 328); biographical literature, beginning with al-Marzuqānī (d. 384/994), has also 336 as the year of his death (Muṣjam al-ṣawādī, ed. Krenkow, 465). It is not clear, in how far this accusation should be understood as a reflection of his Shi'ī leanings, but al-Śuli has become part of the Shi'ī tradition (cf. Aḥār Buzurg al-Thirrānī, Tabakat dām al-ṣīrā. Nawāshīh al-nawāt fī ṣabīʿat al-māṯī, Tehran 1971, 214), and it is most likely that he was on good terms with 'Alī and their traditions, as his Wāliʿat al-Ḍamāl (cf. Sezgin, iii, 331). Among al-Śuli has a multitude of written sources at his disposal, since he possessed an impressive library of many volumes, well arranged and with marvellous bindings. However, a strong bias against reliance on books as a sole source of transmission prevailed at his time, and even Ibn al-Nadīm mentions that his library was considered to be a stain on his scholarly reputation (168). Al-Śuli claimed, as recorded by his pupil 'Abd Bakr Ibn Shāḏān [Tarīq al-Baḥḡadādī, iii, 431], that in the course of his studies he had attended "the reading" of all the books he possessed. In spite of this attempt at self-defence, verses defining his literary—aspects of courtly life and poets, and also include a few autobiographical notes. The edition of the parts entitled Aḥkām al-Rādī wa-l-Mutakakh, Aḥdār aṣwād al-ḳawāfī; Aḥkār al-ṇawāt al-muḥaddithīn (ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, London 1934-6) did not cover all the parts preserved in manuscripts. A new and completed edition has now been announced at St. Petersburg (cf. Chalidov).

His handbook for secretaries, Adab al-kuttāb (ed. Muhammad Bahgīr al-Ṭāḥrī, Cairo 1934), which deals with the technical requirements of the secretarial profession, appears as a technical treatise, containing the right formulae of address, some administrative expertise and orthography, but also contains anecdotes and shows a strong interest in the aspects of etiquette.

His writings assign much space to the poetry of "the modern" poets (muḥaddithīn). The study of this poetry was obviously his main literary interest, which he pursued with the collection, arrangement and edi-
tion in the form of dīwāns. This scholarly work is an important contribution to Arabic literature, mainly because most of the dīwāns he collected, as they appear in the listing of Ibn al-Nadīm, belong to poets of the 3rd/9th century. As contemporary poets, e.g. Abū Shuʿrāʾ al-Kāysī, Ἀβδ b. d-Ǧāmī, Dībāl b. Abī Tkālīd b. Yaṣīf al-Ǧātībī and al-Ṣanawbarī, al-Ṣūlī's redactions of these dīwāns seem not to have survived in separate manuscripts; some are referred to in works of Arabic literature, such as those of Abu ʾl-Ṣ̄īḥ (cf. Sezgin, GAS, ii), Ibn Ṭabaṭābā and Ibn al-Rāmīf (ibid.). Excerpts from his scholarly work are preserved in the dīwāns of Ibn al-Muʿṭazz and, probably, of Muslim b. al-Walīd. Whereas his redaction of the poems of Abū Nuwās has survived in many manuscripts (cf. Wagner), the poetry of the above-mentioned Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀbbās al-Ṣūlī is preserved only in his redaction (cf. al-Maymūnī); the redaction of the dīwān of Abū Tamūmān is preserved along with his commentary (Sharḥ Dīwān Abī Tamūmān, ed. Nuʿmān).

In addition to the mere transmission of poetry, al-Ṣūlī collected narratives of the events which supposedly had inspired or provoked the poets' verses, and occasionally explain and evaluate these themes themselves. In this vein, the Akhbār Ṣudayf b. Maymūn and Akhbār al-Ṣayyid al-Ḥimṣī are mentioned as parts of the K. al-Āṣār (Ibn al-Nadīm, loc. cit.); elsewhere we find mentioned the Akhbār ṣulʿūrʾ Mīr (Yākūt, Iṣrāḥād, v, 454), the Akhbār al-ʿAbbās b. al-ʿĀbuah, used by Abu ʾl-Faraḍī (cf. Sezgin), and more may be found scattered in Arabic literature, as Sāḥīl al-Aḥtār has demonstrated with the collection of the Akhbār al-Ṭabūrī (Damascus 1956). In the Akhbār Abī Tamūmān (ed. MuḥammadʿAbd al-Aʿzām), al-Ṣūlī provides a detailed and elaborate defence of the latter's poetic style; moreover, he presents, in his Risdālwa-tahkik Sharḥ al-Muwashshah, Cairo 1937, 117-94; Marzubām, Azīz al-Maymūnī, Abd al-Ṭāhir Ibn al-Rūmī, al-Shūrāʾ al-Qaysī, ʿĀlī b. al-Rāhīb, Dībāl b. Abī Tkālīd, Dīwān, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1875, 139-71; Ibn al-Sūlī li-Dīwān Abī Tamūmān, i-ii, Baghdād 1978; Kitāb al-Shatrāndî (containing selections of the books of al-ʿAdīl and al-Ṣūlī et al.), Frankfurt 1986 (Publ. of the Inst. for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science); D. Sourdel, Fragments d-al-Sūlī sur l'histoire des vizirs ’abbasides, in BEO, xv (1955-7), 99-108; Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, Abū Tamūmān and the poetry of the ʿAbbāsid age, Leiden 1991, 38-48; Tanūfīt, al-Faraḍī ṣulʿ al-Ğidhānī, ed. ʿAbdūd al-Šālijī, Beirut 1938/1970; Ahmad Ḍāmīl al-Umārī, Abū Bakr al-Sūlī, Cairo 1973; Akram Ğiyās al-Aṭṭārī, Munāḍār al-Ǧāzārī al-Baghdādī, Beirut 1995/1975, 148-51; E. Wagner, Die Überlieferung des Abū Nuwās-Dīwān und seine Handschriften, Wiesbaden 1958 (Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Jahrgang 1957, Nr. 6), 341-56.

(S. LEDER)

SULLAM (A.), Scala, denoting a bilingual Coptic-Arabic vocabulary, and by extension, a ms. of a Coptic-Arabic philological miscellany.

As Arabisation progressed in Egypt, and the usage of Coptic, the latest form of Ancient Egyptian, diminished [see KHN], local scholars put together bilingual (and even trilingual, with Greek) vocabularies, composed to respond to the need of social adaptation or the preservation of the ancient patrimony. At the outset, the lexicographical work was a prolongation of the earlier, rich local tradition, which had already mingled the Pharaonic and Hellenistic heritages. But from the 13th century A.D. onwards, within the framework of the philological movement marking the intellectual and literary Coptic renaissance, one aspect of which was the birth of Coptic grammar of Arabic inspiration [see MUKADDIMA], new directions appeared.

The oldest and most represented genre in this lexicography is that called "onomasiological" (sc. the classification of words by subjects or themes), Editions by Munier and Kircher, unfortunately defective and incomplete, have brought to light the most developed of these vocabularies: the anonymous and composite Greco-Copto-Arabic one called "Book of degrees" (βιβλίων τῶν βιβλίων, K. Daraaj al-sullam) and the "Scala magna" (al-Sullam al-kabir), a Copto-Arabic work by the encyclopaedist Abu ʾl-Barakāt Ibn Kābar (d. 1324 [q.e.]). But many others exist (incl. Greco-Arabic lexica), still unpublished, which served either directly or indirectly as models for later compilations, whose names may go back to the pre-Islamic period, in the form of monolingual "onomastica", Greek or Coptic, or also bilingual, Greco-Coptic.

Apart from a less numerous type of vocabulary, of the glossary type, analysing Biblical and Christian liturgical texts, and another dealing with homonyms (kalim mugtābāt), not to speak of those of a hybrid character, there exist rhymed (mudājāt) alphabetically-arranged lexic on the Arabic pattern. These are owed to two other polymaths of the 7th/13th century: Abū ʾShākir Ibn al-Rāhīb and al-Muʿtaman Ibn al-ʿAssāl [q.e.]; the first has not survived, but its existence and its method of arrangement are known to us thanks to the prologue preserved with the grammar which served as an introduction (mukaddima) to it, whilst the second was edited by Kircher, in the same poor conditions as those mentioned above.

Independent of their intrinsic value in regard to Coptic lexicography, these mediaeval vocabularies proved very useful to European scholars of the last century for discovering and getting to know the ancient language of the hieroglyphs; but they also contain precious information on the lexicism of the Greek koine and the mediaeval Arabic used in the Nile Valley.


(S. Sidarou)

SULTAN (A.), a word which is originally an abstract noun meaning "power, authority", but which by the 4th/10th century often passes to the meaning "holder of power, authority". It could then be used for provincial and even quite petty rulers who had assumed de facto power alongside the caliph, but in the 5th/11th century was especially used by the dominant power in the central lands of the former caliphate, the Great Saljuks (see Saljuks. II, III.1), who initially overshadowed the "Abbásids of Baghdad. In the Perso-Turkish and Indo-Muslim worlds especially, the feminine form sulátina evolves to denote a woman holder of power. A denominative verb tasalátana was formed, with the somewhat contemptuous diminutive mutasaláta for a petty prince, whilst in Spanish Muslim sources, sulátan was used to designate Alfonso (c. 1188-1221) of Castile after he had come to the throne as a child only (Don Quixote, Supplement, i, 674).

In early Islamic usage and in the central lands of Islam.

The native Arabic verb salata "to be hard, strong" (cf. Akkad. latatū "to have power") often occurs in ancient poetry, but not in the Kur'án. Sultan, on the other hand, occurs frequently in the Kur'án, with the denominative verb sulátan fi’unus "alát anunus" "to empower s.o. over s.o." appearing in IV, 92/90, and LIX, 6. Sultan has there most often the meaning of a moral or magical authority supported by proofs or miracles which afford the right to make a statement of religious import. The prophets received this sulátan from God (cf. e.g. súra XIV, 12, 13) and the idolators are often invited to produce a sultan in support of their beliefs. Thus the dictionaries (like TAF', v, 159) explain the word as synonymous with hujjáta and burháan. There are also six passages in the Kur'án where sulátan has the meaning of "power", but it is always the spiritual power which Ibnis exercises over men XIV, 26; XV, 42; XVI, 101, 102; XVII, 67; XXXIV, 20. Now it is this meaning of power, or rather of governmental power, which is attached to the word sultan in the early centuries of Islam. The word and its meaning were undoubtedly borrowed from the Syriac giúladun, which has the meaning of power, and, although rarely, also that of the wielder of power (Payne-Smith, Thesaurus Synaxis, col. 4179; Noldke, Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg 1910, 39; A. Jeffery, The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'án, Baroda 1938, 176-7). The Kur'ánic sense of the word may probably also be derived from the meaning of power (some lexicographers try to explain it as the plural of salti, "olive oil").

Lately, an attempt was made to connect the title sultan with the meaning of "argument", and it was paraphrased as dhu 'l-hujjáta (TAF, loc. cit.).

In the literature of Hadith, sultan has exclusively the sense of power, usually governmental power (the sultan is the wall for him who has no other wall, al-Tirmidhí, i, 204) but the word also means sometimes the power of God. The best-known tradition, however, is that which begins with the words al-sultan zill Allah fi 'l-ard "governmental power is the shadow of God upon earth" (cf. Goldziher, Muhammedische Studien, ii, 61, Eng. tr. ii, 67, and idem, Du sens propre des expressions Ombre de Dieu, Khalife de Dieu, pour désigner les chefs dans l'Islam, in RHR, xxxv (1897), 331-8). Al-Utbí quotes this tradition at the beginning of the Kitáb al-Yamini, and his commentator al-Manñí says that it was transmitted by al-Tirmidhí and others as going back to Ibn 'Umar (al-Futúh al-wahbi, Sharh al-Yamini, Cairo 1286, i, 21). This tradition later played a role in the theories of the Sultanate because an allusion to the title was wrongly seen in it. Apart from Hadith, Arabic literature to the end of the 4th/10th century only knows the word sultan in the sense of governmental power (among the many examples, cf. e.g. Ya'qubí, Kitáb al-Buladun, 346, 349; Ibn 'Abdl al-Hakam, Futúh Misr, ed. Torrey, 183, where it is said that in ancient times the residence of the sultan of Ifnkiya was Carthage, and Ibn Hawkal, ed. de Goeje, 143, where al-Ma'úsí is called the residence of the sultan and of the dawn of al-Qaxála) or of the person who at a particular time is the personification of the imperial governmental power, as opposed to amir, which is rather in the nature of a title. This last meaning, which is sometimes more completely rendered by Dhu 'l-Sultan (e.g. in Hadith), and is totally different from the first, is found as early as the Egyptian papyri of the first century (for the governor of Egypt, cf. Becker, Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens, 90, n. 6) and in the following centuries sometimes also for the caliphs (the caliph al-Mansúr is called Sultan Alláh in a khutba, al-Tabari, iii, 426; the caliph al-Muwaffak is called Sultan, ibid., iii, 1894; and again in 997 the caliph al-Kádir, al-Utbí, op. cit., 265). This practice of designating a person by the word which indicates his dignity has parallels in all languages (see e.g. for Turkish official language, H. Ritter, in Islamico, ii (1927), 475; it even appears that the Assyrian form sulta was applied to foreign officials (according to Ravaiss in CMS, xii (1899), 330). The meaning of "power, government", has been maintained in Arabic literature to the present day.

The transition in meaning from an impersonal representative of political power to a personal title is a development of the stages of which are difficult to follow. Authorities writing later than this development make statements which can only be accepted with reserve. Thus Ibn Khaldun (Mukaddima, ed. Quatremere, ii, 8, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 8-9) says that the Barmaki Džafar was called sultan because he held the most powerful position in the state and that, later, the great usurpers of the power of the caliph obtained lakabs like amir al-umama and sultan. The same thing is recorded of the Búyids (A. Muller, Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland, i, 568) and of the Ghaznavids. Ibn al-Athир (ix, 92) says that Mahmut of Ghazna obtained the title of sultan from the caliph al-Kádir. This statement is not confirmed by al-Utbí, who, in giving the various lakabs conferred on Mahmód by various rulers (op. cit., i, 317), makes no mention of this title. It is, however, true that al-Utbí himself always calls Mahmut al-Sultan, giving in explanation the fact that Mahmód had become an independent sovereign (op. cit., 311); but al-Utbí sultan cannot yet have been an official title, since he gives the same epithet to the caliph (see above). The first Ghaznavid on whose coins the title appears is Ibrahim b. Mas'úd (451/92-1059-99),
apparently stimulated by the extensive use of the title by the Great Seldjúks to the Ghaznawids' west (see C.E. Bosworth, *The titleure of the early Ghaznawids*, in *Orbis*, xv [1962], 222-4). We find the Fātimids using the epithet Sultān al-İslām (Ibn Yūnus, Leiden ms.) and in the same period we find the šahak of Sultan al-Dawla among the Būyids of Fārān (Sultān al-Dawla, Ābū Shudja’ī, 403-15/1012-24 [q.x.]). The same šahak was borne by the last Būyid Malik al-Raḥmān at Baghdaḏ in the time when the usurping Seldjūk Toghril Beg received from the caliph in 443/1051 the šahak of al-Sultān Rukn al-Dawla [al-Rawandī, Ṣaḥḥat al-sūdār, ed. M. Iqbal, 105; cf. also Ibn Taghibirdī, al-Nasirīl-żahīnā, ed. Popper, 239).

Toghril Beg was also the first Muslim ruler whose coins bear the epithet or rather title Sultan, and that in the combination al-Sultān al-Mu’tazzam (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of oriental coins in the Brit. Mus.*, iii, 28-9). This fact makes it very probable that the Seldjūks were the first for whom Sultān had become a regular title for a ruler; the qualification by al-Mu’tazzam was necessary to lift the word definitely out of its use as a more or less impersonal common noun. This development would at the same time explain why the word Sultān immediately became the highest title that a Muslim prince could obtain, while in the centuries preceding, any representative of authority could be so designated. The adjective al-Mu’tazzam, essential for the title, was soon omitted in unofficial language. Thus with the Seldjūks, Sultān became a regular sovereign title. Neither the provincial lines of the Seldjūks (among whom, however, we find the proper name Sultān-šāhī) nor the Atabegs after them bore the title sultān; they were content with titles like malīk and sīk. It was only after the end of the Great Seldjūk in the middle of the 6th/12th century that the Khārazm-šāhs assumed it. The caliph al-Nāṣir was, however, able to take advantage of the weakness of Djalal al-Dīn Khwāja al-Malik al-Raḥmān at Baghdad in 1211 in order to seek the caliphate. Until then it had been reserved only for the caliph who has the right to grant the title sultān and that, in consequence, this title only belongs in reality to the sultan of Egypt. The Mamlūks called themselves in their inscriptions Sultan al-Islām wa l-ʾĪlāmīn (M. van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909). About the same time, Ibn ʿArabshāh in the biography of Sultan Djaḵmak (*JRAS* [1907], 295 ff.) calls the sultan the Khāfat al-Īlām on earth in affairs of government, while the ʿulamāʾ are the heirs of the Prophet in matters of religion; this statement contains, like that of al-ʿUṯbī, an apt allusion to the tradition (in another form).

Lastly, al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥum al-makhdūma, ii, 91 ff.*) gives a definition of the titles of sultān (he in whose possession there are mulūk) of al-Sultān al-ʾĪṣām and of Sultān al-Sultānīn, which is the highest title. In the time of the Mamlūks there were actually quite a number of Muslim potentates who called themselves Sultān; some of these, in keeping with al-Zāhirī’s theory, had even asked the permission of the fainéant Ḧabībī caliph in Cairo to bear the title.

From the beginning of the use of the title, we may say that al-ʿUṯbī, the man who bore it were Sunnīs. It is therefore not a mere coincidence that this development went parallel with the religious revival in Islam in the period of the Crusades; the great Sunnīs became at the same time the defenders of Sunnī Islam, and the originally pagan Mongol rulers, after having in general embraced this form of Islam, assumed this very title. This Sunnī significance of the title is specially noticeable in the Ottoman sultāns. It appears that some coins of Orkhaṇ [q.v.] already bear the title sultān (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of coins, viii, 41), although the first Ottoman princes were generally regarded as amirs (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 321). Bayezid I is said to have been the first to obtain from the caliph in Cairo the right to call himself Sultan (von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 235). After the taking of Constantinople, Mehmed II [q.v.] assumed the title of Sultan al-arbaʾīn wa l-bayrān (GOR, i, 88), but even in the Ottoman empire itself as the title of the sovereign it was never as regular as those of Khānakīr and Piṭḥāq. In the official protocol, on the other hand, it occupies an important place, e.g. in the formula al-Sultān ibn al-Sultān, etc., before the names of the rulers. After the extinction of the Mamlūk sultāns by the conquest of Selīm I, Ottoman rulers had become indisputably the greatest sultāns in Islam. The Ṣafawīs of Persia were called Šāh and the opposition Sultān-šāh henceforth corresponded to that between Sunnīs
and Shiʿis. It is true that officially the Safawids also called themselves Sultan, e.g. on their coins (R.S. Poole, Catalogue of the coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum, London 1887, index, 313, s.v. Sultan), but they were only known by the title of ʿSāḥib. In general under the Safawīs, sultan was a title of deputy governors in the provinces (see K.M. Rohrborn, Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1966).

In Ottoman Turkey, Sultan was always an elevated title. In addition to rulers, it was borne by princes, and one of the causes why the Grand Vizier and favourite of Süleyman I, İbrahim Paşa [q.v.], was disgraced is said to have been that he had taken the title of Şah-Şah Sultan (GOR, iii, 160). In the time of ʿAbd al-Hamīd II, the petty chiefs who were appointed sultan in their own country (e.g. in Hadramawt) were not allowed to use the title when they visited Istanbul.

In Turkish, the title sultan was always placed before its foreign origin. The really popular use of the word sultān occurs after the name when it is applied to a mystic (see below).

In Persia, on the other hand, as noted above, sultan was used as a title for officers and governors (ʿĀli, loc. cit., in ZDMG, lxix [1926], 30). Ėwrīyā Ėlebī speaks of the sultān of Persia as minor governors (Ṣiyāḥt-name, ii, 299-305). The only case in which the sovereign has been given the title Sultan is that of the last Kādjar Ahmad Šāh, who received it on his accession in 1327/1909 after the Constitutional Revolution.

In Egypt, the title had disappeared with the last Mamluks, but was revived for the short period (1914-1922) of the reign of Šāh ʿAbd al-Qādir Kāmil and the beginning of the reign of Fuʿād [see Khudiw].


2. In South-East Asia. Muslim rulers in the South-East Asian archipelago did not automatically adopt the title of a sultan after their conversion to the Prophet's religion. They usually maintained the title of a raya, or maharaja, or similar titles rooted in their respective cultural and tribal tradition. In Malaysia, the traditional Malay title Yang di-Pertuan (he who is made Lord) is still used officially.

Together with the titles, pre-Islamic religious and mystical conceptions legitimised by mythology were continued. The true king can only fulfill his task, i.e. to safeguard prosperity and harmony in the cosmos, after he had reached a kind of mystical union with the Divine power which works through him and expresses itself as his takti (magical power, in Islamic times also called keramat). Thus the king appears as the dadv raja, the representative of the Divine. Dynasties which had adopted Hinduism, or even Buddhism, legitimised their rule by linking their genealogical lineages with the heroes of the Indian mythical past. Since the ruler is the manifest representative of Divinity, and thus also of Divine Law, he on his own authority may issue the laws of the country and adjust them to changing circumstances. On the part of his people, absolute obedience is demanded. He should not be adored like a god, but certain rituals to strengthen his sadāq, and that of his regula were usual and frequent.

The religious and dynastic traditions out of which the Malayan sultanates developed, were rooted in Srīvijaya, the Mahayana Buddhist maritime empire which declined in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. These traditions were supported by those Muslims who participated in the establishment of the first Islamic principalities. They originated from Persia or Northern India and the Dakan (Deccan), had a Sūfī background and were influenced by the dynastic ideologies which had developed in the eastern parts of the Islamic world since the 4th/10th century, and which reactivated old Iranian conceptions in a cultural setting in which the influence of Mahayana Buddhism still was present. The famous hadtvāt that the sultan is the zill Allāh fi 'Ilam “God's shadow on earth,” fitted well with this understanding, and again bestowed absolute power to the ruler, to which his people had to respond with absolute obedience and loyalty. This made them a bangsa (nation), indisputably linked to their ruler.

With regard to the first Islamic dynasty in the archipelago, that of Samudra (later Pasai [see Pasà]) in northern Sumatra, which had turned from Ṣiḥīṣm to Sunnism in 683/1285, the official chronicle (Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai) narrates that its first ruler, Al-Malik al-Ṣālîh (d. 696/1297), was converted to Islam in a dream in which the Prophet himself magically transferred the basic knowledge of Islam to him and presented him with the title of sultan. Shortly after that dream, a messenger “from the caliph of Mecca” arrived and installed him indeed as a sultan, while a mystical preacher from India, who came with the same vessel, is said to have taught Islam to the people.

This story gives importance to the fact that the title of sultan should be bestowed by “the caliph”. There seems to have been, however, only scanty knowledge about that person. When an embassy of the rulers of Aceh [see Avas], who at that time were still conscious of the titles, pre-Islamic religious and sultans, visited Istanbul ca. 1562, it asked for military equipment but not for the title of sulta for their king (Lombard, 1967, 37). Sultan Agung of Mātraum in Java (see below), however, prided himself on the fact that he had obtained this title in 1641, again through a direct delegation from Mecca, despatched by the 'ilamā', and from the "Meccan caliph" (Ricklefs, 1974, 17).
The founder of the once most influential sultanate of Malacca [q.v.], Paramesvara, a refugee from the Sailendra court in Palembang [q.v.], had maintained the Buddhist court etiquette of Srivijaya, even after his conversion to Islam (815/1413) on his marriage with a daughter of the sultan of Pasai. Thus during the years of his rule and that of his sons, the centre of the court was again shaped according to the Hindu and Buddhist symbol of the windrose, thus representing the order of the cosmos in which the sultan takes the centre, his main aids and highest dignitaries (after himself) being the bendahara or Chief Minister; the penghulu bendahara, responsible for maintaining the sacred traditions; the temenggung, responsible for security; and the laksamana, as the supervisor of the fleet. Below these "Big Four" was the next level of eight dignitaries, followed by others accordingly (Winstedt, 1961, 63 ff.; Hashim, 1990, 147 ff.). This structure was later taken over by most of the succeeding Malay sultanates, and in most of them it exists until the present, although more or less significant adjustments may have taken place in the course of time.

Since the emperor of the Ming dynasty of China had acknowledged his authority already in 1405, Paramesvara and his sons continued to use the Sailendra title of Šrī Mahārāja. In the Sīvarah Melapi, the court chronicle of the Malaccan sultans and their descendents in Johore, the necessary genealogical legitimation of this dynasty was established by linking them to Alexander the Great, or Iskandar Dhu '1-Karnayn, who is said to have journeyed to Andelas (an old name of Sumatra, not ál-Andalus), established there the Sailendra dynasty and is thus the ancestor of the Malaccan dynasty. Logically, Paramesvara had already used, after his conversion, the name of Iskandar Šah. But only his third, or fourth successor, Raja Kasim (Kasim) or Sultan Muzaffar Šah (850-63/1446-59), whose mother was the daughter of a Tamil merchant, established Islam firmly as the religion of his dynasty and upgraded the use of the title of sultan. A policy of intermarriage with the major principalities in the archipelago introduced this title more firmly as a notion of a Muslim ruler; usually it is combined with Arabic names deriving from the Qur'an. Arabic titles, thus even claiming descent from Alexander the Great, or Iskandar Dhu '1-Karnayn, much influence on the practice and interpretation of Islamic law to the rulers, sometimes resulting in conflict with other legal or constitutional institutions and their representatives. On the other hand, as natural members of the "Conference of Rulers", which is a particular chamber provided by the Constitution (art. 38) whose membership is limited to them, the rulers may exercise some influence also on federal politics. One of their major privileges, a natural legal immunity with regard to the federal law, has, however, been abolished recently (1993) on the initiative of the Prime Minister, Mahathir bin Mohamad. But perfect loyalty (kezuuan) to the Ruler (Raja) and the state is still the second of the Five Basic Principles (Rudanggaru) of the Federation.

While the sultanates in North Sumatra, Malaya, North Borneo and up to the Southern Philippines were dynastically and ideologically linked to Malacca and its tradition, those in South Sumatra, South and East Borneo, Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia and Java came under the influence of the Central Javanese Islamic kingdoms, starting with Demak (1474-1546) and climaxing with Mataram (since 1582).

The West Javanese Ḥikmatu Ḥusainuddīn reports that the third ruler of Demak, Terengganu (r. [1505-18] and? 1521-46), had been offered the title of sultan by Tēh Nūrul l naprawdę (Ṣayykh Nūr Allāh, also known as Māvālānā Ḥaḏīḥū, Sunān Gunung Jati etc.) in 1524; the ṣayḥaḥ, originating from Pasai, was said to have completed his hadīth before he came to Java and thus seems to have been entitled to bestow such a title (cf. H.J.de Graaff and Th.G.Th. Figead, 1974, 50-1). The most eminent ruler of Mataram, Agung (r. 1615-1646), after having his dynasty legitimised according to the criteria of the last Hindu empire of Majapahit, and thus as its successor, obtained the title of sultān by a special delegation dispatched by the Meccan ʿulamāʾ, in 1641. But only after the division of Mataram in 1755 into the two main principalities Surakarta and Yogyakarta [q.v.] did the ruler of the latter one resort to it again and, moreover, add the titles of kalīpatulah (kalīfīlat Allāh), panatagama (regulator of religion), and sayyid (sułṭan) thus even claiming descent from the Prophet. All of his successors until the present one, who is the tenth one (in office since 1986), have born the title Sultan Ngbururrahman Hamengku Buwono ("holding the universe in his lap"). Again, the position of the sultan, being the representative of the Prophet who is the representative of God, is understood according to Sufi traditions. The sultan has obtained the highest mystical insight into God and His Will, not only externally according to the written sharīʿa but internally. To underline the religious and social importance of his person, he is usually the kibla of his courtiers, particularly in times of leisure or meditation.

While all other sultanates in Indonesia lost their political power either in the colonial period or in the years immediately after independence (1945), the sultanate of Yogyakarta still exists to some degree as an independent administrative entity or daerah istimewa ("special district") in the Republic of Indonesia, the sultan taking a similar position to that of a governor in other provinces. This exceptional position is due to the late Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX's active support given to the "Republican government" under Soekarno during the times of military confrontation with the Dutch colonial administration (1946-9). For many Javanese, the Sultan thus gave proof of being a kind of ratu adil (just king), with the kesaktian (cf.
SULTÁN 853
Suppl.

the only sultanate in South-East Asia which still has maintained its independence is that of Brunei. The sultans of Brunei have maintained their independence by the simple fact that they have never been forcibly conquered by any power. The only island state of this kind is the Sultanate of Brunei, which has been the object of several attempts to conquer it by foreign powers, but has always resisted them successfully. The only sultanate in South-East Asia which still has maintained its independence is that of Brunei. The sultans of Brunei have maintained their independence by the simple fact that they have never been forcibly conquered by any power. The only island state of this kind is the Sultanate of Brunei, which has been the object of several attempts to conquer it by foreign powers, but has always resisted them successfully.

Nevertheless—and in this they resembled the greater part of their contemporaries—those who in practice claimed to rule in the name of Islam, he had no wish thereby to say, was, according to his interpreters, that it was not so much that there were no such titles as that, whatever might be the title adopted by a person who claimed one or other of these titles, but rather that, whatever might be the title adopted by a person who claimed to rule in the name of Islam, he had to dissociate himself from the anti-Islamic tradition of royal power (mulk), which had no foundation of religious legitimacy. Nevertheless—and in this they resembled the greater part of their contemporaries—those who in practice claimed to rule in the name of Islam, he had no wish thereby to say, was, according to his interpreters, that it was not so much that there were no such titles as that, whatever might be the title adopted by a person who claimed one or other of these titles, but rather that, whatever might be the title adopted by a person who claimed to rule in the name of Islam, he had to dissociate himself from the anti-Islamic tradition of royal power (mulk), which had no foundation of religious legitimacy.

After the colonial conquest, the British, who retained the term sultan (see ‘SULTÁN’), gave validity to the idea that the terms amir al-mu'minin and sultan, as also in Damagaram (or the sultanate of Zinder), likewise claimed the title of Sultan. Thus the Air had a Sultan based in Agades, as also in Damagaram (or the sultanate of Zinder), based in Zinder. Al-Hajj Umar Said Tall (1774-1864), the founder of an ephemeral empire in the Western Sudan on the eve of the colonial conquest, is styled sultan of the Tiidjáni state by his biographer Muham- mad al-Tidjáni and his son and successor Ahmadu likewise claimed the title of sultan. But according to F. Dumont, the title of sultan attributed to al-Hajj Umar by Muhammad al-Hâßîq was more a feature of style, since there emerges clearly from al-Tidjáni’s work that al-Hâßîq Umar was in no way swayed by the idea of temporal power but sought to combat it and render it subordinate to the faith. One should mention a polemical point raised by contemporaneous writers on the state created by Usman dan Fodio. The authors who consider him as endowed with Islamic legitimacy call this last a caliphate and consider those who directed it as above all amir al-mu'minin, reserving the term sultan for political systems which were fairly strong and based on absolute rule such as Keffi, Gobir and Zamfara (Last, 1967), whilst others who classify it as a state just like all the others call it an empire and its heads sultans (Johnson, 1967).


4. In mysticism. This use of the word is not earlier than the 7th/13th century, and it spread particularly in Asia Minor and the countries influenced by Ottoman civilisation. The beginning of the development of the word in this sense may have been Titles like Sultan al-qâhîkîn given to the mystical poet Ibn al-Fârid (q.v.) and Sultan al-ulâmâ born by Bahâ’al-Din Walad, father of Djalâl al-Din Rûmî (q.v.). But this mystical epithet was (and still is) also influenced in its development by the conception frequently expressed in mystical poetry that the mystic obtains the rank and power of a sovereign in the spiritual world. It is through the same order of ideas that the title of Khûnâr (cf. the name of the Ottoman province Khudawandgârd) may be explained. Ewliya Celebi (Šîitat-nâme, iii, 367-8), in bracketing the names of Sultans Mehmed II and Bayezid II with the names of two mystics, says that all were great sultans.

supreme Muslim religious authority in contemporary Nigeria.
This was the origin of names like Dede Sultan and Baba Sultan. The Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. Kādir Samāwīnā, leader of the religious revolutionary movement in Asia Minor in the early 9th/15th century, was also called Sultan by his adepts; Babinger (in loc. cit., 74) sees in this an indication that he was considered a real sovereign. It appears that the surname of Sultan was especially borne by the Bektāshī. It did not, however, indicate a particularly high rank in the order; thus Babinger (loc. cit.) was probably right, in any case for the latter period, in regarding it as simply a hypercoristic or term of affection.

Bibliography: See that for T.A.S.A.W.W.U.

SULTĀN — SULTĀN HUSAYN

This was the origin of names like Dede Sultan and Baba Sultan. The Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. Kādir Samāwīnā, leader of the religious revolutionary movement in Asia Minor in the early 9th/15th century, was also called Sultan by his adepts; Babinger (in loc. cit., 74) sees in this an indication that he was considered a real sovereign. It appears that the surname of Sultan was especially borne by the Bektāshī. It did not, however, indicate a particularly high rank in the order; thus Babinger (loc. cit.) was probably right, in any case for the latter period, in regarding it as simply a hypercoristic or term of affection.

Bibliography: See that for T.A.S.A.W.W.U.

SULTĀN AL-DAWLA b. Bahāʾ al-Dawla Fīrūz, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Buʿayd ruler in Fārs, and at first in ʿIrāq, also, 403-15/1012-24, succeeding his father [see BAHĀʾ AL-DAWLA, in Suppl.] at Sīrāz.

Much of his reign was spent in conflict with his brothers, including Abu ʿl-Fawāris Kāwān al-Dawla, who eventually became ruler in Kūstān as Sultan al-Dawla's subordinate, and Abū ʿAli Ḥasan, with whom he disputed control of ʿIrāq. By 412/1021 the latter was able to secure recognition as ruler in ʿIrāq with the honorific of Musharrīf al-Dawla (he had already declared himself Shāhānshāh, 'king of kings'), and in 413/1022 there was a formal division of territories, with Muḥarrār al-Dawla reigning over ʿIrāq and Khūzistān and Sultan al-Dawla over Fārs and Kūstān.

Sultan al-Dawla died at Sīrāz in Shavvāl 415/December 1024 at the age of 32, six months before the date of his son and heir Abu Kalldjar. By 413/1022 there was a formal division of territories, with Muḥarrār al-Dawla reigning over ʿIrāq and Khūzistān and Sultan al-Dawla over Fārs and Kūstān.

Sultan al-Dawla died at Sīrāz in Shavwāl 415/December 1024 at the age of 32, six months before Muḥarrār al-Dawla's own death, and he was succeeded in Fārs by his son and heir Abū ʿAlī Kālidār Marzbānī [q.v.].

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Ibn al-Dawwār and Ibn al-Aṭṭār. These are utilised in ʿAbd al-Samad, Kabīr, Taʾṣīr al-fawārisīyyīn ʿalā al-shihādāt (C.E. Bosworth)."
SULTAN HUSAYN — SULTAN SEHAK 855


(R. MATTHEE)

SULTAN ISHAK [see SULTAN SEHAK].

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH [see MAHALATI].

SULTAN ÖNÜ, the ancient name of a region in northwestern Anatolia with its centre at Eskieşehr [q.v.]. As an Ottoman administrative unit, it meant the first Ottoman sanâk [q.v.], more or less identical with the Sakarya River bend and the present provinces (i.e.) of Eskieşehr and Bilecik. It had already been the Kırı Saladin's ağaçlılık. 'Othman Ghaçız was given the district by Sultan 'Alâ' al-Dîn Kay Kûbâd III (d. 1307). According to the chronicle of Idrîsî Bîlidî, 'Othman granted the province of Kara Hîşâr, otherwise known as Sultan Önû, to his eldest son Orkhan (H. İnalcik, Oğuz Gâ'is's siege of Nicaea, in E. Zachariadou (ed.), The Ottoman emirate 1300-1389, Rethymon 1993, 87).

During the Ottoman centuries the locâ or sanâk of Sultan Önû was part of the Ağaçlılik later eyâlet of Anadolu [q.v.]. The registers of the 16th century have indifferently Eskieşehr (with Karadja shehrî, Seydi Ghaçî, Günûzî, İnönu and Bilecîk as nâvîyes of the province. Hâdiî Kâfîînî's Dîhan-nîmâ has a long chapter on the province (631-3). The sanâk existed until the Tanzimat administrative reforms. Şemsu 'îl-Dîn Sâmî underlines its role as "the cradle of the Ottoman dynasty", which preserved the name for a long period (Kâsim ol-dîvâm, Istanbul 1888-90).

In no other region of the empire did there exist a special category of müesselm [q.v.], such as the tavâfi iemenâtî, which enjoyed exemption from taxes in exchange for the breeding of horses for the royal stables (khusus adârî). A statute (kânûnî) for them dating from 1034/1624 was published by I.H. Uzunçarşî (Osmanî devletinî sayrî tezkîlâtî, Ankara 1945, 500).

It has been suggested that the spelling Sultan Önû, though exclusively used in post-15th-century sources, may have replaced an earlier form Sultan Öyi (it) that was still alive after the death of Shahrukh and was being counted among its supporters. It has been suggested that the spelling Sultan Öyi, which might be earlier than these dates.

In view of the approximate contemporaneity of the historical founders of the Ahl-i Haçk with those of other circles and fraternities, the transformation from "mystical chain" to "sect" as correctly defined, for numerous connected social and circumstantial reasons, in spite of their secrecy which has surrounded them until recent times, can be fairly reckoned to have taken place around the end of the 17th and start of the 18th century, the oldest credible documents (manuscripts previously jealously preserved) dating back no earlier than these dates.

On the historical and social climate of the time, see AHL AL-THAKKAR, HURUFIYYA, NAKSHBAHANEY, NURBAKHSHIYYA and SHAHRUKH. This article will be confined to essential information.

It was precisely from the time of Şâhrukh and of his fellows in other provinces of the kingdom that conflicts of ideas under the rubric of mysticism took on other dimensions and a more rapid pace than in earlier years.

The renowned Sayyid Muhammad Nûrbâkhsh, claiming to be the awaited Mahdi of a messianic movement, preoccupied for some time the mind of Şâhrukh, who was more moderate than his father and proclaimed himself the defender of an integral but not fundamentalist Islam. This mystical Master was still alive after the death of Şâhrukh and was the leader of a renowned mystical fraternity, the Nûrbâkhshiyâ, which was capable of surviving over the centuries, numerous scholars, poets and authors being counted among its supporters to a great extent.

As a counterpart to the movement of the Nûrbâkhshîyâ which appeared to the east of Persia, in Turkistan and Transoxania, and that of the Hurâfs in the north-west of Persia, there appeared some years later another subversive and extremist movement, in Kûşztûzûnm and the Dî SAMIR (marshy regions between the town of Wâstî and lower 'Irâk, which was centred on Hawîzwa (Hawîzwa/Hawwa) in Kûşztûzûnm. Its founder, Sayyid Muhammad Mûsh êş'atê, son of Haçk [q.v.], who lived in the 15th century (textual variants: Sêhâk, Sîhâk, Sûhâk, Şûhâk) a name of Biblical origin (Isaac) but incorporated into the Islamic tradition and attested in the Kurân in the form Sûhâk. The uncertainties which remain concerning the dates of Sultan Sehak have recently been the subject of a more apparent clarified and resolved, following the discovery of original sources and the publication of studies assiduously conducted over the past forty years (see Bibl). The mystical and biological genealogy of this individual is, however, better attested in regard to his close ancestors then in regard to his direct successors. The tradition of the sect presents him as the fourth great theophany (or rather avatar or, indeed, in the language of the sect, magzar Manifestation of God on earth), as well as şâhmu (Persian) or dûn (Turkish) corporeal "habšt" into which the Essence of Truth has entered, and yott-yurt (Turkish) "place" wherein God has dwelt. The first Theophany is said to be that of Yâ, at the time when God, the Khâwandgâr (God-Creator), inhabited the primordial gleaming white pearl (al-dûn al-begdî) in which He was enclosed, with his angels, this after concluding a pact of fidelity and submission to the conditions inherent in human life during his forthcoming appearances in the world; the second, that of Allî, son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad; the third that of Şâh-Şâhîhîn, in an episode which is said to have taken place in Lurûstân on Mount Yâfsa-kûh around the 4th/10th century, again according to the vague information concerning the sect.
Sayyid Falâh, born in Wâsi, was able to gather around him a host of Bedouins, villagers, low-caste workers and, especially, members of the numerous Arab tribes nomadising in the plains and valleys situated near the ancient Karâja canal and between Bastra and Wâsi. After he chose for his capital the town of Hawâzîa, wherein - initially he claimed to be "the place" and "the veil" (hâdîd/parda) of the Hidden Imâm, later, by gradual stages, the Mahdî and then, hesitantly, the Essence of God. He disseminated his doctrine as far as Lurîstân, and sometimes in the course of his travels took refuge in the mountains of this province, which bordered on Hawâzîa and Wâsi. But his son, Mâwâ' Ali, more ambitious than he, courageous, bellicose and blood-thirsty, and usually successful in battle, eclipsed his father and took power into his own hands. Not content with claiming to be the Mahdî, he openly declared himself, before his adherents, the Essence of God itself.

In the meantime, Pir-Budâgh, having eliminated Mâwâ' Ali and having rebelled against the Kara Koyunlu Dîjânâshîh in Baghdad, was defeated by the latter and killed by his brother, Muḥammadîf, who was in turn killed by his rival Uzûn Ḥâsan [q.e.v.] head of the Aṣ Koyunlu.

The Muḥâshâ's, descendants and followers of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falâh, controlled a part of Khuzistan and of Târîk, and survived even after the execution of the two brothers by Shâh Ismâ'il almost to the present day, as conventional governors on behalf of the Persian state [see further, Muḥâš'â].

Sultan Şehâk, the founder or rather the reformer of the Aḥl-i Ḥâsh, was born in this historical and politico-religious climate.

Birth. Relative lack of interest in regard to dating as well as simple modesty and effacement are at the root of a reluctance even to engrave the dates of deaths on tombstones, in particular among the Khâmuğhî, one of the eleven (or twelve) khânadân "families" of the sect; see on this subject M. Mokri, Étude d’un titre de propriété du début du XVIe siècle, in JA (1963), 229-56 and other sources mentioned in the Bibl.

In Aḥl-i Ḥâsh tradition, it is accepted as a constant fact that the manifestation of each theophany on the earth should appear in the form of a miraculous birth. The great avatars representing the Divine Essence are born, in fact, of virgin mothers and are foretold by mysterious signs. Certain categories of miraculous births date back to Altaic origins distinct from Indo-European beliefs, if account is not to be taken of the universality of this theme. The first miraculous birth related by the tradition of this sect is that of Shâh-Khoshân, according to them the first great avatar after 'Allf.

For the birth of Sultan Şehâk, the same procedure applies, with more details and precision. He was born of a virgin mother named Khâtûn Dâyrâ. Aḥl-i Ḥâsh tradition applies to this event accounts conforming to their own meta-historical myths. According to them, at the time of his disappearance Shâh-Khoshân had promised his faithful companions (incarnate angels) that he would re-appear many times in this world, in particular shortly before the birth of Sultan Şehâk. It was for this reason that Pir-Budâgh (a manifestation of the Angel Gabriel), net in hand, searched through time and space for the divine being, the Royal Eagle, occupying the form of an unwitting believer. In the pursuit of their quest, the four angels had a presentiment of the imminent arrival in the world of the Essence of God, in the shape of the Royal Eagle. Having uncovered his traces, they convened near a spring in Awrâmân, at the foot of the mountain of Shâhû in the Dâlâlû [Zagros] range. Then the divine being, still in the form of an eagle, appeared to them and commanded them to marry the daughter of Husayn Beg Djalî of the Dâjî tribe to Şâvîk 'Îsî who lived in Barzandja. He also ordered the planting of an orchard under the supervision of Iwat Hûshâyîr ("Iwat the Perspicacious"), and the planting within the orchard of a clump of dried-up mulberry bushes. When this should once again be green, the Royal Eagle perching on it, they would know this was the moment of the Manifestation of the Divine Being. When all this had been done and the time of the confinement of Khâtûn Dâyrâ arrived, the Royal Eagle re-appeared and rubbed against the legs of the young woman. He was then transformed into a bright and handsome boy later named Sultan Şehâk. This bizarre birth is by no means a unique case in the tradition of the Aḥl-i Ḥâsh.

History. The date of the birth of Sultan Şehâk is an object of controversy and has yet to be fixed definitively. V. Minorsky located it broadly in the 14th century, solely on the basis of testimony of members of the Aḥl-i Ḥâsh. For his part, C.J. Edmonds (Kurds, Turks and Arabs 184), relying on notes written by a former Ottoman official which were drawn to his attention, written in Turkish and sometimes translated into Kurdish (which he entities the Tadıkîra), gives the year 671/1272-3 as the birth date of Sultan Şehâk.

Numerous ethno-historical enquiries conducted on the ground by M. Mokri since 1942 and his decipherment and publication of numerous original manuscripts (see Bibl.) have contributed to the relative elucidation of ambiguities on these dates. The author of the Shâhânuma-i bâdîî of the poet of that name, no perturbations, but muddles and complicates the assumptions of this question. It proposes the year 612/1216 as the date of his arrival, as a means of crediting this individual with a suitably prestigious antiquity, but to palliate the startling fantasy of this arbitrary date he gives him three centuries of life with the object of adjusting to the facts. This date is still earlier than that in the Tadıkîra placed at the disposal of Edmonds. It is true that this period is obscure on account of the dearth of precise historical documents.

The first date mentioned above, nor yet at that vague and arbitrary date in the 14th century, solely on the basis of testimony of members of the sect). If there is such a lapse of time (from the 15th or from the 16th century to the present day) it may be wondered whence come all these ancient riches of legend, custom, stories and thought.

The (manuscript) treatise 'Allî-i bâdîî written by religious representatives of Aḥl-i Ḥâsh in the tribe of the Gûrânûs (the three great dervishes Kâ-Tûrûb, Kâ-Râhîm and Kâ-Bâshar, two of whom were questioned extensively between 1942 and 1949), speaks of the date of the birth of Sultan Şehâk, apparently with some lack of precision, but with more eloquence and plausibility than are possessed by previously-mentioned sources, as follows: "As for the date of the arrival of Sultan Şehâk, it is not known to us. But it seems, in
relation to the year in which we are now living, 1322/1943, to be approximately five hundred years previous" (meaning 1443). In giving the reasons for the choice of this date, the treatise cites the evidence of the deed of ownership of Anzala (studied and published in 1906). A village offered to Baba Yadigar by a noble neophyte of Zehab named Kamam al-Din, son of Fakih Uthman Kurdi, following a dream in which his release from prison in Baghdad was foretold. This document bears the date 935/1526. On the assumption that this offer was made when Baba Yadigar had attained a certain age, and that the Sarana period (the time when Baba Yadigar established himself in Sarana in Zarda) was some years subsequent to the Firdawar period (the properly defined period of Sultan Sehak and of the spread of his ideas), the birth of Sultan Sehak could well have taken place, according to this treaty, in 1443-4. The 'Alam-i hakikat assumes an interval of 83 years between the birth of Sultan Sehak and the date of the composition of the Anzala document, to arrive at its round figure of 500 years before the year 1943, this figure being only approximate. Thus an agreement is reached, more exact than that of the other sources, between the dates suggested by the Gurans and that of the genealogical treatise, undoubtedly written one or two centuries previously.

Other historical data tend to corroborate this last date. There is no doubt that the two brothers Shyakh 'Isa and Shyakh Mūsī were the sons of Sayyid Bābā 'Alī Hamadānī, the most grand of Hamadān. It is he who was the master of Khādīja Ishaq 'Khartulānī, in his turn the master of Sayyid Muhammad Nūrī-Allāh Shyakh Bābā 'Alī, a mystic whose paternal genealogy extends as far as the Imām Mūsā Kāzim, the seventh Shi'ī Imām, was the son of 'Alī b. Shihāb Hamadānī and was also related to the Prophet through seventeen generations in the maternal line, according to the Madgās al-mu'mīnīn, 301. Once the paternity of Sayyid Bābā 'Alī Hamadānī over Shyakh 'Isa and Shyakh Mūsī is accepted, the ascendant genealogy of Sultan Sehak poses no further problems, the lineage of the Ahl-i Haqq dying out, was only a question of importance in history. But the same does not apply to the descendants of Sultan Sehak. From a historical point of view there is considerable confusion, with various traditional accounts vitiated by the lack of reliable documentation and by the intervention of numerous persons claiming to be the offspring of Sultan Sehak, a common phenomenon in the case of eminent individuals in a period for which valid registers do not exist, such that the way is open for families to believe in their descent from a known patronym. Some of the numerous brothers of Sultan Sehak have even been regarded as his own sons, while various other records, including the genealogical treatise of Adīrāfiyya Bahā-al-ʿAnṣāb, declare that he died childless.

According to the Šīhākhtāh of Tūt Shāmī (the religious centre of the Gurans) the last great manifestation of the Ahl-i Haqq is that of Ḥaydarī, under the leadership of Sayyid Bārā, the son of Sayyid Mānsūr, who lived in Dūl Dālān (Tūt Shāmī), was born in 1210/1795 and assassinated by one of his kinsmen in 1290/1873. The latter's era is considered the most brilliant period of the Ahl-i Haqq, known as the period of the 'Yeri tani (Triad), since in the opinion of his disciples Sayyid Bārā was the incarnation simultaneously of Dāwūd, Yādīgar and Sulṭān Sehak; he was ʿghīr melāmīn, meaning that "he was host to the Divine Essence". The latter's son, Sayyid Rustam Ḥaydarī Gurān, one of the major figures of the Ahl-i Haqq, was a man of great eminence in western Persia, giving his support to the Constitution of 1906.

There is no proof that the heads of the five "families" (yāmnādān), to which six more were to be added over the course of time, are genuinely the direct descendants of Sulṭān Sehak. No reliable historical document supports this proposition, only later tradition, and even this is imprecise.

Bibliography: For the earliest studies, reference should be made to V. Minorsky's detailed bibl. to Ahl-i Haqq.

In addition to the sources cited in the text of this article, see idem, Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Haqq en RMM, x-xl (1920), 91-97, xlv-xliv (1921), 205-302; idem, Jihan-shah Qara-poyuntu, in BSOAS, xvi/2 (1954); C.I. Edmonds, Kurds, Turks and Arabs, London 1957; I. Ivanow, The Truth-worshippers of Kurdistan, Ahl-i Haqq texts, Leiden 1953; Kāḏī Nūr Allāh Shughtūrī, Madgās al-mu'mīnīn, lith. Kāḏākānī-yi Ḥādīfi bīrāmī Bāsmā Tabrizī, n.d., 301.

Studies by M. Mokri. Numerous studies concerning the dialects, tribal organisation and hierarchy of the sect of the Gurans, extended to other regions where members of the Ahl-i Haqq reside, as well as their guides and their religious procedures, were conducted by M. Mokri between 1942 and 1951, and verification of these notes and observation of new developments within the sect has continued to the present day. Le Chasseur de Dieu et le mythe du ROI-Âige (Dauza-y Dāmayrī), ed., tr. and annotated, Wiesbaden 1967; La grande assemblée des Fidèles de Vérité au jardin sur le mont Zagros en Iran (Dauza-y Dānān-garā), Paris 1977; Cinquante-deux versets de Cheikh Amīrī, in JA (1956); L'idée de l'incarnation chez les Ahl-i Haqq, in AKM des XXIV Internationales Orientalisten-Kongresses, München 1957, Wiesbaden 1959; Le symbol de la perle dans le folklore persan et chez les Kurds Fidèles de Vérité, in JA (1960), 463-81; La naissance du monde chez les Kurds Ahl-i Haqq, in Trudi XVIII Medzhdarnarnogo Kongressa Vostokoveda, Moscow 1963, ii, 159-63; Étude d'un titre de propriété du début du XVIIIe s. provenant du Kurdistan "Qahlah-y Anzala"; in JA (1963), 229-56; L'âge de la vérité. Aperçu sur le secret gnostique des Fidèles de Vérité, Paris 1966; Kāḏām sur l'Aigle divin et le verger de Perdicouros, in JA (1967), 361-74; Le Kāḏam gourani sur "le Cavalier au coursier gris", le Dompétre du vent, in JA (1974), 47-93; Le Kāḏam gourani sur le pacte des compagnons Fidèles de Vérité au sein de la perle primordiale, in JA (1977), 237-71; La musique des Kurds "Fidèles de Vérité" en Iran, in Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées,1, Paris 1968, 451-55; Notes sur la généalogie des fondateurs de la secte des Fidèles de Vérité (Ahl-i Haqq) d'après un manuscrit inédit de soure sanse, in JA (1994), 37-110; De la distinction des différents groupes d'hommes et de leur attitude (Dauza-y gurāh-gūrāh, in JA (1995), 275-350.


(M. Mokri, shortened by the Editors)
beneficiaries were the foreign students in the madrasas of the Karawiyym [q.v.].

A central feature of the feast was the election of a mock sultan for a week (whence the name), the office being auctioned; in 1924 it reached 22,500 Fr. This was financed by an interested party, since the mock sultan enjoyed the privilege of asking the real sultan of Morocco for certain favours (e.g. release of prisoners, exemption from taxation). The mock sultan or government provided aid in the form of tents, food and cash, and awarded the sultan al-tolba the royal insignia. After the week had passed in feasting, singing, dancing, etc., the two sultans might sometimes meet ceremonially on horseback, and a burlesque khaṭba was delivered by the mock muḥtāb who had been appointed by the mock sultan (for two specimens, see E. Doutté, La khāṭba burlesque de la fête des Tolba au Maroc, in Recueil de mémo. et de textes publiés in l'honneur du XIV Congr. des Orientalistes, Alger 1905, 197-219).

The origins of the festival are linked by local tradition with the founder of the Ḥāfla Ḵalīfī, Mawlawī Shams-i Tabrīzī, and his student Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī. The appearance of similar festivals in other parts of Morocco, e.g. at Marrakesh in the late 18th century, once he had lived in the shadow of his famous father, and was buried next to his father. For nearly fifty years he had close ties with the latter's friends, in contradistinction to his brother 'Alī al-Dīn who was, probably falsely, accused of having been involved in the death of Shams-i Tabrīzī [q.v.]. It was Sultān Walad who, after Shams's disappearance on 21 Shawwāl 643/1342, was sent by Mawlānā to bring him back from Damascus to Konya (Mawlawī-yi Walad, 47 ff., Faridūn Šīpāshālar, Risāla-yi Šīpāshālar, 133, Allākī, op. cit., ii, 695-6). The oldest known manuscript of the Makālāt of Shams-ī Tabrīzī is in Sultān Walad's hand. At the behest of Mawlānā, Sultān Walad married Šāhāl al-Dīn Zārkhūb's [see ʿĪsā, AL-DĪN AL-RUMĪ] daughter Fāṭima Khāṭūn. He had two daughters by her and one son, Djalāl al-Dīn Arī (ʿArī, ʿArī Celebi, d. 719/1320), who was to become his successor. In 683/1284, after the death of Čelebi Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan (see ibid.), who had held the title khulafa when Mawlānā was still alive, Sultān Walad, at the insistence of his entourage, took up the succession which, at his father's death, he had declined in favour of Ḥusān al-Dīn. The report that Karīm al-Dīn Bektemīr waṣīla of the Mawlāwīya from 683/1284 until his death in 690/1291 and that Sultān Walad took up office only after his demise cannot be found in Allākī nor in Šīpāshālar, but only in the Walād-nāma and in later silsilā-nāmas of the Mawlāwīya. The role played by Karīm al-Dīn Bektemīr in the history of the order does not become transparent from the sources on the Mawlāwīya. On the basis of the testimonies, it has been suggested that he served as a kind of spiritual guide to Sultān Walad.

With Sultān Walad begins the history of the Mawlāwīya order in the true sense of the word; he gathered the muḥrūḥ of his father around himself and organised the order. He had a mausoleum erected for Mawlānā which was to become the centre of the order. He sent out muwaḥḥid and khuluṣī and established branches outside Konya. Contrary to earlier assumptions that it had been Sultān Walad who had established firm rules for the samāl [q.v.], it has now been shown that the samāl reserved its final form for the Pīya ʿAdī Celebi (d. 946/1440) (A. Gölpinarlı, Mawlānādan sonra Mevleviât, İstanbul 1983, 100). The solemn triple circumambulation at the beginning of the ceremony is called dawr-i Waladī dar-i Veledī (Sultan Veled dori) in memory of Sultan Walad. He died at the advanced age of nearly ninety years on 10 Raḏāb 712/12 November 1312 in Konya and was buried next to his father. For nearly fifty years he had lived in the shadow of his famous father, whose personality had determined the life and work of his son even beyond his death.

His works, of which there exist numerous manuscripts, have, with the exception of a maṭnānī, all been printed (Ritter, op. cit., 229 ff.). Four poetic and one prose work in Persian are known. The first three poetic works contain, apart from some early Turkish verse, also some Arabic and a few Greek lines. 1. Divān-i Waladī contains ghazals, ḥusnāt, ḥaqqāt, mukallāt, tarklabāt, and rubāyīāt. It was published for the first time by F. N. Usāk, Divān Sultan Veled, Istanbul and Ankara 1358/1941 and later by Saʿīd Nāfṣī, Divān-i Sultan Walad, Tehran 1338/1960. 2. Three maṭnānīs were composed after the Divān: (a) Ḥudūd-nāma, also called Walad-nāma or Mawlāwī-yi Waladī. Composed between Raƀī I and Dījmādā II 690/1291, it is written, like Sankī's Ḥudūd al-bakhīʾ, in the metre ḥaqqāt. It constitutes an important source for the biographies of Bahāʾ al-Dīn and
SULTAN WALAD — SULTANIYYA

Mawlana as well as for the early history of the order. Edition by Djalal-i Huma’I, ... to the southeast of Sultaniyya). Sultaniyya is about 5,000-

km/176 miles to the southwest of Tehran. It lies in the southwestern corner of the plain of Farahan, adjoining the Zagros massif. The popular (and now official) name Arak must come ultimately from ‘Irāk, in the sense of ‘Irāk-i Adīm or Persian ‘Irāk, the mediaeval Džībāl [q.v.]. The modern region of Arāk lies within the bend of the Kara Şū. Its rural districts include that of Kazzāz, which seems to be identical with the mediaeval Karadž Abī Dulaf (see Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 197-8; Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, 575-8; Al-Karaĵī, and Dargaznī on the left bank of the Kara Şū, with which two viziers of the Great Saljuqs in the early 6th/12th century were connected. Abu ‘l-Kūsim Nāṣir and Abu ʿl-Barakāt Dargaznī Assāh-Dābīhī.

Sultaniyya was founded in 1223/1808 by Fath ‘Alī Shah Kāḏīḵār as part of a plan to oversee the local chiefs, and it was laid out on a rectangular plan, with defensive walls and towers, by the commander Yūsuf Khān Gurdī. In the later 19th century, Sultānābād began to grow in importance as a centre for carpet-weaving, and it became, at least until the 1940s, Persia’s most important centre for commercial carpet manufacture. It also acquired under Rīdī ʿAbd al-Dżahāl Pahlāfī [q.v.] various other industries. Its importance was further enhanced when it became a major station on the Trans-Persian railway, at the point where the line from Kūzūstán emerges from the Zagros. Arāk is now the chef-lieu of a qahārān or district of the same name in the Central Province, and in 1976 had a population of 114,500.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see Minorsky’s EI art. and that of Al-Karaĵī, also Adab’iyyāt Handbooks. Persia, London 1945, 98, 553-8; Razmārā (ed.), Farhang-i ūygirānī-yi Irān-zāmīn, ii, 6; H. Dermet-Gregoire and P. Fontaine, La région d’Arak et de Hamadan: cartes et documents ethnographiques, Cahiers de Studia Iranica 6, Paris 1988; and the detailed bibl. to EI art. Arak (C.E. Bosworth and X. de Planhol).

The Mongol II Khān Oldjeutī [q.v.] founded in 711/1311-12 at Čerqāmāl, at the foot of the Bisūrūn mountain in the region of eastern Kūrdušt-western Džībāl, a town which was called Sultānābād (Mus-tawfī, Nūṣha, ed. and tr. Le Strange, 107, tr. 106; d’Ohsson, Hist. des Mongols, iv, 545; H.L. Rabino, Kermānchah, in RMM [1920], 14), and this same ruler founded Oldjeutīya-Sultānābād in the Mūḵān [q.v.], steppe in Ārān near the Kur river (B. Suler, Iran in Mongolorenzeit, Leipzig 1939, 450). 3. There are several other villages of this name in Aḏhtarābdān, Kūrāsān, Khūndān, Kūrānīzīn, etc.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SULTÂNIYYA, a town in the mediaeval Islamic province of northern Džībāl some 50 km/32 miles to the southeast of Zandān [q.v.] (lat. 36° 24' N, long. 48° 50'E).

1. History.

Sultaniyya was founded towards the end of the 7th/13th century by the Mongol II Khānīd and served for a while in the following century as their capital. The older Persian name of the surrounding district was apparently Shāhrūyūz or Shāh-rūyz/Shāhrūzāb (which was to be the site, adjacent to Sultaniyya, of the tomb which the II Khānīd Abū Sa’īd [q.v.], built for himself, according to Hāfiz-i Ābru). It was originally a dependency of Kāzwīn. The Mongols called this district Kongūr Ūleng ("the pasture ground of the Aelezan") there is still a village called Ūleng to the southeast of Sultaniyya). Sultaniyya is about 5,000-

5,500 feet above sea-level. The coolness of its climate
in summer and the richness of the high plateau in pasturage and game must have had a special attraction for the Mongols. Arghun began the construction of a town, the wall of which (hārū) was 12,000 paces in circumference. His son and later successor Oldjeytī (704-13/1301-6 [g.e.]), to celebrate the birth of his son Abū Saʿīd, began in 705/1305 to enlarge the new town (up to 30,000 paces in circumference) and made it the capital (or, more accurately, the chief seasonal residence) of his kingdom. The sovereign and his ministers vied with one another in embellishing Sultānīya. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn alone built a quarter of 1,000 houses, the rābīʿi Rashīdī dʿOhsōn, iv, 486; Hammer, Geschichte d. Iran., ii, 184-6; Sheila S. Blair, "Ikhbān architekture und society: an analysis of the endowment deed of the Rābīʿ Rashīdī, in Iran JBIPS, xxii [1983], 67-90). The building of the town was finished in 713/1313 and was solemnly celebrated. After his conversion to the Shiʿa, Oldjeytī thought of bringing to Sultānīya the remains of the caliph ʿAlī and of the Imam Ḥusayn. Ṣafwī testified that the town had many inhabitants and that its trade and importance because of its position near the Kazūn-Zanjān-Tabriz highway.

The modern Sultānīya is now in the province of Zanjān; in 1991 it had a population of 5,114 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).


2. Monuments. Like most Persian cities, Sultānīya was composed of an inner citadel surrounded by a moat and an outer city surrounded by ramparts. The square citadel was built of dressed stone and articulated with sixteen towers, a machicolated parapet, and an iron gate, all visible in the earliest depiction of the city, a painting in an Ottoman manuscript recounting the stages
of the journeys of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent composed by Matrakçı Nasuh in 944/1537-8 (Istanbul University Library, Yıldız T 5964, fols. 31b-32a; facs. reproduction by H.G. Yurdanyan, Nasühi-Sülbi (Matrakçı), Beyru-tt Mescid-i Serif-i ‘Iraqi’s-Sultan Süley- 

mân Hân, Ankarâ (1976). Much of the extant material was destroyed until the 1780s, and traces are still visible (Muhammad Mihryar, Ahmad Kabir and Fâik Tawhidî, Bar-nasi va paygârd-ye nukaddadast; Barû wybór yi ar-î skhur-i ka’dîm-i sul’aniyya (zimistan 1364), in ‘Algâr, xii-xiv [1495/ 

1988], 209-64).

The centrepiece of the citadel and the major build- 
ing to survive is the tomb of Sultan Oljeitu (Iranian National Monument 168). Oriented almost cardinally, it is an enormous octagon (diameter 38 m) with an adjoining hall (15 × 20 m) on the south. The central domed chamber (height 50 m; diameter 25 m) is supported by heavy, 7-m thick walls and ringed by eight towers. On the interior the walls are pierced by eight tall and deep bays, and on the exterior a gallery, reached by staircases in the north-east and north-west corners, encircles the building below the base of the dome. In addition to its size and sophisticated handling of spaces, the tomb is remarkable for its deco-

ration. The exterior was decorated with inventive patterns of tile mosaic, and the interior was deco-
rated twice; a lower layer of glazed brick and tile combined with carved stucco and terracotta was covered by a second layer, largely of painted plaster, with smaller areas of cuerda-seca tiles, appliquéd plaster, and plaster-stiffened cloth ornaments. The building was apparently dedicated in its original state in 713/1313-14, but redecorated shortly before Oldje-
tu’s death three years later. Several explanations have been proposed for the quick redecoration, most of them dealing with Oljeitu’s religious conversions or political aspirations, but none of them is entirely convincing. Even more speculative are attempts (e.g. P. Sanpaolesi, La Capella di Santa Maria del Fiore ed il Mausoleo de Soltauhe, in Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, xxvi/3 [1972], 221-60) to connect this remarkable domed structure with contemporary innovations in vaulting in Europe.

Like most other major II Khânîd funerary com-
plexes, Oljeitu’s tomb was part of a pious founda-
tion that included places for prayer, Vu’un reading, meditation, and residence. The ensemble had four iwâns connected by arcades around a court and was set in an elaborate garden. It had one of the largest pious endowments of its time; according to Shams al-
khadâm, the mausoleum of Uljaytu at Sultaniyya was the finest that money could buy. The contem-
porary panegyrist Abu l-Kâsim Khâjânî waxes elo-
quent about the lavish materials used, including marble, mukarnas, gold, and silver. The windows and doors had elaborate grilles, and three ball joints (diameter 13 cm) made of bronze inlaid with gold, silver, and a bituminous material and inscribed with Oldjeitu’s name may have come from his tomb or other build-

ings at Sultaniyya. The largest copy of the Vu’un made in the period, a gigantic (72 × 50 cm) 30-part manuscript transcribed at Baghdad between 706 and 710 (1306-13), was also endowed to the tomb (D. James, Qur‘án of the Mamlûks, London and New York 1988, no. 40). Other II Khânîd buildings in the citadel have not survived but can be reconstructed from descriptions and depictions by historians and travellers. There was a large congregational mosque with a monumental portal leading to a large central court with four iwâns and a domed sanctuary. The sultan’s enormous palace had a large marble court and suites of rooms. The inner city also boasted numerous bazaars, hostelerries for merchants, and palaces and gardens for notables. The vizier Ra‘îfid al-Dîn, for example, built an entire quarter that housed a large pious foundation with a madrasa, hospital, and khânâkah announced by a large entrance portal with minarets flanking an iwân. His rival Tâdî al-Dîn vied by building a bazaar of stone and baked brick and a lavish palace costing 10,000 

dinârs.

One pair of II Khânîd buildings located several hundred metres southwest of Oldjeitu’s tomb survives from the many public and private structures in the bustling outer city: an octagonal tomb tower (Iranian National Monument 167) and an adjacent khânâkah. Although commonly known as the tomb of Celebî Oğlu, the tomb tower (diameter 12 m) actually marks the grave of Shaykh Burâk, a leading Şûfî who was killed during Oldjeitu’s invasion of Gîlân in 706/1306. The tomb was built at royal command soon after the Shaykh’s death, and the site served as an important Şûfî centre at least until the succeeding generation when Khâja Shams al-Dîn Muhammad Kâzîn (re)built the adjacent khânâkah and had an inscription dated 733/1332-3 carved in the plaster near the mukarnas announcing its endowment of water to the Shamsiyya khânâkah that he had built at Kazîn.

Near these buildings is the tomb of Mûlâ Hasan Kâshi Shîrâzî, a theolologist, orator, and poet of the early Safawîd period. The tomb (Iranian National Monument 168) is an octagonal building with four iwâns leading to a square tomb chamber (6.22 m) surrounded by a tall dome. An inscription in abjad at the base of the dome records that the tomb was built in 963/1565-6; another inscription on the drum gives the names Muhammad b. Faţî, the builder, and Hâdjişî Bannâ, probably the person responsible for the tile decoration. A third inscription at the base of the mukarnas dome in the interior records that the building was restored under the Kâdîr râl Fut‘ ‘Ali Shâh.

Bibliography: A. Godard, The mausoleum of Oljeitu at Sul’taniyya, in Pope, Suryç, 1103-18; idem, Le tombeau de Mauoulé Hasan Kâshi à Sul’taniyya, in Arts Asiatiques, i (1954), 24-38; D. Wilber, The architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il-Khanid period, Princeton 1955, repr. New York 1969, nos. 47, 80; Sul’taniyya III, Quaderni del Seminario di Iranistica, Urano-Altaïtica e Caucasoastica dell’Università degli Studi di Venezia, ix (1982); Sheila S. Blair, The Mongol capital of Sul’taniyya “The Imperial”, in Iran, xxix (1986), 139-51 (with references to most of the primary sources about the city); eadem, The epigraphic program of the tomb of Uljaytu at Sul’taniyya: meaning in Mongol architecture, in Islamic Art, ii (1987), 43-96, Eleanor G. Sims, The “iconography” of the internal decoration in the mausoleum of Uljaytu at Sul’taniyya, in Content and context of visual arts in the Islamic world, ed. P.P. Soucek, University Park, PA 1988, 139- 

76; Sheila S. Blair, The Ilkhanid palace, in Ars Orientalis, xxiv (1994), 235-44. (Sheila S. Blair)
A Persian treatise by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundji [q.v.], composed in 920/1514, concerning the proper comportment which various types of leaders in the religious and political sphere should observe, is appropriately entitled The conduct of kings (Ṣūluk al-muluk), ed. M. A. Muwaḥḥid, Tehran 1362 Ş./1983). In the same fashion, a Şūfī author like Naǧm al-Dīn Rāżī (d. 654/1256) devoted all eight divisions (faṣl) of the final chapter of his monumental conception of Şūfī doctrine, the Mişrād al-ṭābīb (ed. M. A. Rīyāḥi, Tehran 1352 Ş./1973, 409-548), to "the proper conduct (ṣulūk)" to be observed by kings, ministers, deputies, the learned classes, the rich, landowners, merchants, businessmen and artisans.

2. In mysticism. From the standpoint of comparative religion, sulūk is the Islamic version of the archetypal motif of the "journey" which mystics of different religious traditions have used to describe the various steps which must be taken to leave illusory selfhood behind and realise union with the divine. In the early 5th/11th century, the traditional technical usage of the term denoting the progression of the mystic pilgrim on his path came to the fore. In the poetry of ʿAttār (d. 618/1221 [g.u.]), an ethical dimension of sulūk figures prominently, referring, in a more general sense, to the mystic's "proper conduct" amongst all creatures, ranging from the lowest ant unto the highest human being. The Şūfī should relate to all creation from what might be called sulūk's "transcendental" (al-muntahi) ethical perspective, he or she should comport him or herself with all creatures equally through viewing all beings sub specie aeternatis. ʿAttār thus recounts how ʿAll encountered an ant on the road which aroused him in a state of terror, and was later informed by the Prophet in a dream of the ant's exalted spiritual rank (lūḥt-i nūma, ed. H. Rītter, Tehran 1359 Ş./1980, 54, vv. 2, 10).

Other technical taxonomies of the science of sulūk attempt to integrate the term into an entire programme of mystical behaviourism and spiritual pedagogy through underlining the importance of the varieties of psychological types of human beings. Despite rather strict requirements for sulūk in Şūfī spiritual discipline, scope for individual variation in "conduct"—due to contrasting types of character differentiation—is theoretically unlimited. Thus there cannot be said to exist any single, exclusively "correct" form of conduct on the Path, insofar as much divergence in "mystical procedure" is usually tolerated. Riḍāʾ al-Maṭāfī on Şūfīm Bāḥārārz (d. 776/1261) thus devotes an entire chapter of his lengthy treatise on Şūfīsm, the Fiqūṣ al-iddāb (ed. Ibrāhīm Dīnār, Cairo 1981, no. 259, as "one who is travelling towards God, being midway between the novice [al-maṭāfī] and one who has attained the end of the Path [al-muntahi]" must possess to traverse the stations of the Way.

It would appear that, with the rise of institutional Şūfīsm in the early 5th/11th century, the traditional technical usage of the term denoting the progression of the mystic pilgrim on his path came to the fore. The conspicuous omission of sulūk from Māqṣūnīn's El oss sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane (1925) is symptomatic of the term's absence from nearly all the early—3rd-4th/9th-10th century—classical Şūfī texts written in Arabic. Sulūk is notably not featured in either Nicholson's index of technical terms to his critical edition of al-Sarrāj's Kābdīl (composed between 553-88/1158-92), ed. M. Shafi-ī-Rāzākhān, Tehran 1987, 4, used the term in exactly the same sense to describe the "saintly manner of "conduct on the course of the Şūfī Path" (ṣulūk-i ṭākī-i ṭarīḵ) observed by the holy companions of Abū Saʿīd b. Abī ʿl-Khāyār.

In the poetry of ʿAttār (d. 618/1221 [g.u.]), an ethical dimension of sulūk figures prominently, referring, in a more general sense, to the mystic's "proper conduct" amongst all creatures, ranging from the lowest ant unto the highest human being. The Şūfī should relate to all creation from what might be called sulūk's "transcendental" (al-muntahi) ethical perspective, he or she should comport him or herself with all creatures equally through viewing all beings sub specie aeternatis. ʿAttār thus recounts how ʿAll encountered an ant on the road which aroused him in a state of terror, and was later informed by the Prophet in a dream of the ant's exalted spiritual rank (lūḥt-i nūma, ed. H. Rītter, Tehran 1359 Ş./1980, 54, vv. 2, 10).

Other technical taxonomies of the science of sulūk attempt to integrate the term into an entire programme of mystical behaviourism and spiritual pedagogy through underlining the importance of the varieties of psychological types of human beings. Despite rather strict requirements for sulūk in Şūfī spiritual discipline, scope for individual variation in "conduct"—due to contrasting types of character differentiation—is theoretically unlimited. Thus there cannot be said to exist any single, exclusively "correct" form of conduct on the Path, insofar as much divergence in "mystical procedure" is usually tolerated. Riḍāʾ al-Maṭāfī on Şūfīm Bāḥārārz (d. 776/1261) thus devotes an entire chapter of his lengthy treatise on Şūfīsm, the Fiqūṣ al-iddāb (ed. Ibrāhīm Dīnār, Cairo 1981, no. 259, as "one who is travelling towards God, being midway between the novice [al-maṭāfī] and one who has attained the end of the Path [al-muntahi]" must possess to traverse the stations of the Way.

It would appear that, with the rise of institutional Şūfīsm in the early 5th/11th century, the traditional technical usage of the term denoting the progression of the mystic pilgrim on his path came to the fore. The conspicuous omission of sulūk from Māqṣūnīn's El oss sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane (1925) is symptomatic of the term's absence from nearly all the early—3rd-4th/9th-10th century—classical Şūfī texts written in Arabic. Sulūk is notably not featured in either Nicholson's index of technical terms to his critical edition of al-Sarrāj's Kābdīl (composed between 553-88/1158-92), ed. M. Shafi-ī-Rāzākhān, Tehran 1987, 4, used the term in exactly the same sense to describe the "saintly manner of "conduct on the course of the Şūfī Path" (ṣulūk-i ṭākī-i ṭarīḵ) observed by the holy companions of Abū Saʿīd b. Abī ʿl-Khāyār.
devotion (suluk = tariq = ibhad), focusing their practice on water [for ritual ablutions] and the prayer niche, occupying themselves intensively with dhikr, supererogatory works of obedience and litanies**. Their categorisation continues to that of: (2) “the ascetic” to (5) the "wayfarer and voluntary exile" to (6) the way of spiritual struggle, to (7) the way of self-humiliation and self-abasement before people, to (8) the way of [conscious] helpfulness and weakness, and lastly, to (9) the way of teaching [religious] knowledge and keeping the company of scholars, listening to the “traditions” [of the Prophet and his companions] and preservation of knowledge. Bakharzf is careful to emphasise that each of these suluk types has its own proper conditions and etiquette (adad) to be observed “exactly as the masters have taught or else the wayfarer will be halted and never reach the goal”.

Perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of the entire human/divine continuum and spectrum of meanings of suluk can be found in the Risdla dar baydn-i suluk written by Bakharzf’s contemporary and fellow Kubrawi ghadd, ‘Aziz Nasafi (d. between 1281-1300), see his K. al-Insan al-kamil, ed. M. Moht, Tehran-Paris 1962, 80-99.

In many Sufi works, suluk is contrasted, on the one hand, to “attraction” (qadth) and to “spiritual travel” (sayr) on the other. Sometimes paired as two different poles against suluk, and sometimes coupled to the term for the sake of rhetorical effect, the term takes on interesting nuances:

Qadth/hi suluk, “Attraction” (qadth) by God before undertaking spiritual self-mortification, states Taj al-Din Khizarazi (d. 840/1436-7), “is the quality of beginners”, whereas “the experience of ‘attraction after suluk’ belongs to the most advanced and perfect adepts” (Shaft-i Fihi Ma'ftiik... Iba 'Arabi, ed. N.M. Harawi, Tehran 1989, 235).

Mahmud Kashani (d. 735/1335) in his Mi‘jk in al-hidya wa-mi‘jk al-khiya also describes suluk as an initial stage leading to qadth. Only two sorts of mystics are worthy to become guides on the Sufi Path, he affirms: 1. “The wayfarer who later becomes an ecstatic” (mashiq), “wayfarer” (sayr), “ecstatic” (khafi), “wayfaring” (sayr). 2. “The ecstatic who later becomes a wayfarer” (mashiq-hi-suluk) he surpasses all the degrees of the heart and hierarchical levels of the spirit, attaining to the realm of mystical unveiling and certitude (makdim). Then and only then shall his conduct be undertaken except by correct methodological order and graduation. As long as the lover has not fulfilled the requirements of a lower station he or she cannot attain to a higher one... Hence no progress (tarakki) will be made unless each station is traversed step by step in proper methodological order by following [the process of] the ‘journey within’ (sayr) and ‘conduct without’ (suluk). Then and only then shall his conduct (sulik) be transformed into divine attraction (qadth) and his inner voyage (sayr) culminate in spiritual flight (sayr...).” The sayr/suluk relationship is thus complementary rather than hierarchically distinct; instead of considering the former as a higher stage of the latter, each should be seen as depending on the other, sayr being the fruit of the tree of suluk. Other Sufis, however, such as Nasafi, op. cit., 12-13, did not discriminate between sayr and suluk and considered them as synonyms.

Descriptions found in Shi‘i writings of the term sayr/suluk are unanimous on one point: the end of suluk is the attainment of fanat fi ‘lilah, annihilation of the temporal selfhood in God, and the realisation of the perfection of existential Oneness (ta’ziyad) which pertains to the level of the “transcendental” (khafi). Nonetheless, the mystics varied considerably in their comportment whilst bidding “farewell to wayfaring”. Some, like Tadj al-Din Ushnawie (d. ca. 610/1213) could pronounce philosophically: “This station [fanat fi ‘lilah] is the farthest point of the sulik of the wayfarers, and the ultimate desideratum of the seekers (dhañin), for beyond this station there is no wayfaring (sulik), wayfaring being but a derivative part of existence (wuajud), and when existence, which is the principle, is annihilated, how should the derivative ever remain?” (Madjuma-yi atarih-i farai... Shikayiji Taj al-Din Ushnawie, ed. N.M. Harawi, Tehran 1968 Sh./1389, 93); others, such as ‘Ayn al-Kadżid, in his Tambahidi, 317, voiced their realisation more stridently.

absence of contemporary documents. On the other hand, later authors, in copying ancient texts, have replaced the original terms with those in use in their own time: the *šuluk* mentioned by al-Baladhuri (*Fatḥ, 310-1*) become *šuwar* ("thieves") in the same text as recorded by Ya‘qūb (Buldān, s.v. Shuwar).

### 1. Equivalents

It is impossible to speak of synonyms as such; the majority of relevant terms refer to categories or certain behavioural patterns of the *šuluk*.

Al-*aghrībah* or al-*aghrībat* al-‘Arab ("the crowds of the Bedouin") is not the equivalent of *šuluk*; it was used to designate poets of negroid maternal ancestry. On this basis, according to the texts, the *aghrībah*/*šuluk* poets were represented by three individuals: Khūṣaf b. Nudha, al-Sulayk b. al-Sulaka and al-‘Aṣir b. Shārid (Hibat Allāh al-Hilli, al-Manāṣik al-maṣaydiya fi akhkhār al-mulūk al-asadiyya, ’Amāmān 1404/1984, 170).

Also mentioned are *aṭḥā*) in *Šuluk* (*wolves*), *kuwād* (*thieves,* "brigands"), and *talif wa l-mukhtalif,* their use was attributed to these poets use the term in the sense of *poor* (al-Kahlaba Hubayra b. ‘Amr a°, since they refused to submit to anyone's authority, evi-llah tā*šīr* a°). Equivalents.

### 2. The socio-tribal background

The process of exclusion (*khaf*) constituted a sentence pronounced against a fellow-tribesman guilty of a crime leading to death. Such opprobrium damaged the pact instituted by *asabiyya* ("loyalty to the group"), since it almost invariably rebounded on the tribe. Since this culpable act constituted a threat to the economic existence of the whole, impairing any enterprise where solidarity was required, the *khaf* was banished and his blood could be shed with impunity. Thus rejected, his survival was precarious; if he was fortunate he might receive *šuwar* ("protected one") being constantly threatened by the potential loss of goods and of honour. At other times, those excluded were banished to Ḥjadawā. According to Ya‘qūb, this mountain is located in western Arabia; the Bedouin of the Qāhıştuya banished their undesirable there (kāín al-‘Arab fi l-Qāhīštaya tanfī ṣāḥib ḥuṣa’ā‘a [Ya‘qūb, Buldān, s.v. Ḥjadawā]). The strongest and most determined either constituted or joined a band of brigands and became *šuluk.* Thus Kays b. al-Ḥudādiyya of the Sarāt b. Ka‘b b. ‘Amr (Khūṣa’s) was banished by his tribe for involvement in the murder of a fellow-tribesman. He gathered around himself other *kuwās* and *ṣuwar.* Dirrā b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, a poet of the Banū Fīrār (Kuraysh), assembled a group of clients and rebels (*marak*); he carried out raids (*ṣa’dlik*), practised abductions (*ṣa’dlik*), and stole camels (al-‘Imāmah, Ṭabākūt fahāl al-qur‘ān, Cairo 1934/1974, i, 250-1). The texts describing them by the name of *šuluk at-‘Arab.* Aghriha were integrated into these bands; most often, they gained admittance by shedding their own blood.

Finally, some have identified a third distinct category, of impoverished individuals who opted for *šuluk* in order to survive. Such was the case of Fahm, of Ḥujayl and of the brigands who gathered around al-‘Urwa, b. al-Ward.

### 3. The activities of *Djāhilt* *šuluk*

These marginal characters conducted armed invasions and, if their poems are to be believed, they seem to have possessed to a high degree the qualities required for this type of activity (see below, 4. The poetry).

Little information survives regarding the places where the *šuluk* operated. They were numerous, and active, in the western sector of the mountainous region of Sarāt, bordering on Thīmā, to the south of Mecca (al-Sūfisṭānī, K. ṭabākūt al-qur‘ān, Cairo 1411/1990, 211; al-Bakrī, Miṣlūn, i, 80); the sources mention other regions ravaged by these troublesome elements; the Sarāt of the Banū Fahm raiding the region of al-Tā‘īf, the diyar of Badjila, the Diaw Murād in the region of Sāba’ (al-Aghānī, ii, 352; al-Sulayk, 15, 50), Turba and Ṣī, two regions belonging to Khaṭām (Aghānī; xiii, 51-2), Yaṭḥrib and the valleys surrounding it (Urwa, Dīwan, 62-4) and the Naḍjīd (al-A’lam al-Ḥudhāli and his two brothers pillaged al-Ṣīā, a day and a half’s journey to the south of Mecca [al-Su‘kārī, op. cit., i, 233, 243]).

As for the targets of their plunder, camels (*amāqāli*) were their prime objective. *Šuluk* of this category were known as *khāris* ("camel-thief;" *wa-huwa sāriḥ al-šuluk*; he is above all a camel-thief [al-Aghānī, xiii, 3]).

In other instances, they invaded agricultural regions with the object of pillage: al-Sulayk, with a gang drawn from the Taym al-Ribāb, was active in the *ṣuwar* (cultivated and fertile regions) around Fakhkha.
There is very little surviving evidence regarding attacks on caravans, markets and sanctuaries. One isolated tradition relates that al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir was accustomed to sending a camel laden with musk and silk (laftūm) to the market of ‘Ulkūz (q.v.), where the merchandise was to be sold: the sayyid of Muḍar guaranteed him protection against attacks from the sa’ālīk (al-Aḥḍān, xxi, 57). However, indirect details are of crucial importance, alluding to a certain level of activity on the part of these brigands against caravans and markets: a tradition owed to al-Dāhīzh (al-Sandūbī, min K. ḥadīṣ Ḥāṣim al-‘Abād al-Šāmī, Cairo 1352/1933, 70-1) testifies clearly to the importance of this menace; it is said that Ḥāṣim imposed taxes on the chiefs (nā‘ām) of the tribes in order to protect the inhabitants of Mecca against attack by the ḥābūn al-ʿArab wa-sa’ālīk al-aḥya (”Bedouin wolves and the brigands of the tribes”). Furthermore, numerous important individuals and members of the leading mercantile families of Kūrāysh gave shelter and assistance to sa’ālīk, probably with the aim of gaining their favour and thus protecting commercial routes and merchandise; the Kurāshī patrons most often mentioned are ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalīḥ b. Ḥāṣim (al-Marrāzūḥī, Muḍīm al-ṣawā‘ārī, Cairo 1354, 375), Harb b. Ḫumayyīn (al-Ḥāḍānī, xxi, 56), the Banū Maḥzūm (ibid., xii, 49), and ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥāṣim (ibn Kutayba, Ṣhirr, 229) and al-‘Abbās b. Mundhir b. al-Ward (Dīwān, 1332, 96-9). 

Finally, certain sa’ālīk seem to have lent their services in the pursuit of vendettas and the struggles which ensued: ‘Uṣayd al-Khaylī appealed to the ghulāb-ḍabāḥ al-Kalībī to avenge him on his enemies the Banū Ārīf (al-Ḥāḍānī, xvi, 52); Zuhayr b. Uqāz (al-Aḍhaimī, ii, 393) called to the market of Ḥamīla (al-Murāzūḥī, Muḍīm al-ṣawā‘ārī, Cairo 1354, 375), Harb b. Ḫumayyīn (al-Ḥāḍānī, xxi, 56), the Banū Maḥzūm (ibid., xii, 49), and ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥāṣim (ibn Kutayba, Ṣhirr, 229) and al-‘Abbās b. Mundhir b. al-Ward (Dīwān, Ali, 1332, 96). 

These activities have been diversely interpreted according to the mood of the times; the romanticism of the 19th century, although diluted, persists in current research. Some regard these brigands as socialists before their time, their acts of violence as expressions of class struggle and the financial support offered to some of the poor as socialist-inspired redistribution of wealth (Khwālīf, 47, 143-4; Ḥāfīz, iii, 343-50; Dīwān ‘Ali, iv, 563-5; ix, 66). 

(4) The poetry. 

Pre-Islam is the golden age of the poetry of the sa’ālīk, who seem to have preserved the best of the ancient poetic tradition. Besides the suspicions and doubts which are legitimately expressed concerning the authenticity of much of this material (Ibrahīm Naǧār, Muḍīn al-ahdān aw ḥāḍānī ‘abānīn man-siyyān, i, Tunis 1987, 47, 52-5, 66-8), serious problems of attribution are raised, but such is to be expected in dealing with archaic texts. Several parameters may be observed in the endeavour to decipher the diverse meanings of these poems. 

The apologetic parameter: this poetry is often presented as an intimate journal. Here the poet tells of his life with particular emphasis on his poverty; but this is a case of poverty overcome by virtue of his endurance, his courage and his determination; this insistence on his personal qualities allows him to deploy justificatory themes and to underline his beneficent pretensions. This aspect is crucial in the poetry of al-Sha‘bān (q.v.), of Ta’abatta Sharran and of ‘Urwa b. al-Ward (Dīwān, 51-2, 67-70, 83). It is also a vigorous element in that of the Hudhallī sa’ālīk (al-Suqkārī, op. cit., i, 315; al-‘Ālamī, iii, 1198-1204, 1231-2, Abū Saḥīr). 

The lyrical parameter: the sa’ālīk poet, more than any other, has succeeded in ending his discourse with sentimentality of the very highest order. The desert, its topography, its fauna and flora, have often been evoked by these poets. All of this is integrated into the theme of a journey, combining travel with a description of the desert and its topography and of the silence of the night; accompanied by members of his band, the poet attacks and loots. All of this is evoked with a passion seldom equalled in Arabic poetry. Having withdrawn to his markabah (“mountain refuge”) for the night, close to the sky and the stars, he lords it over nature (al-Suqkārī, op. cit., i, 571, v, 24-6; ‘Amīr Ḫusayn al-‘Abbāsī, al-Sha‘bānī, al-‘Abbāsī, i, 119; al-Bakrī, op. cit., ii, 393; ‘Amīr al-Khaylī, Barakā, ii, 316; ‘Abd b. al-Ṭābilī, iii, 1012; Abū Saḥīr). In these poems, weapons are likewise idealised. 

The therapeutic parameter: despite its pronounced lyrical aspect, an ambience of death usually dominates the verse of the ḥāṣā’āt. Other taboo subjects are likewise addressed; these individuals break down all the barriers, setting ambushes, conducting raids, committing abductions. In most cases, they thoroughly enjoy this behaviour. Dangers confronted and temporary triumphs give to these characters, who are currently outside the law, a sense of power, clearly visible in the work of all the sa’ālīk poets without exception. This is in fact an artificial power. This liminal zone is by its very nature precarious. Here, the transition fails, and is absent. Impeachable death lies in wait. The transitory sa’ālīk is thus doomed to a period of expulsion of greater or shorter length; he succumbs or delivers himself with pleasure to a violent death. The poetry here responds to a triple need: (i) the poet thunders his nose at death, being thus better equipped to deal with it; (ii) the poem serves as a means of surrounding the difficulties which are bound to be faced in the course of this phase; and (iii) it also enables the poet to cleave to the group which has marginalised him. 

III. Muḥammad ibn Umayyad sa’ālīk. 

The emergence of the new religion presented to the sa’ālīk an unexpected opportunity to improve their situation. According to Ibn Sa‘d (Ṭabaqāt, i, 278) the Prophet had promised to spare the lives of the brigands of Kināna and Murayna in the region of Tiḥāna on condition that they converted; furthermore, they were permitted to keep all the spoils hitherto amassed. The Kurān definitely prescribes severe punishment for brigands: crucifixion, death, amputation or banishment (v, 33-4). Among the sa’ālīk who embraced Islam were ‘Abū Khūṣayn, al-‘Abbāsī, Dīwān, 1352, 375), Harb b. ‘Uqāz (al-Aḍhaimī, ii, 393); ‘Amīr al-Khaylī, Barakā, ii, 316; ‘Abd b. al-Ṭābilī, iii, 1012; Abū Saḥīr). In these poems, weapons are likewise idealised. 

After the death of the Prophet, a situation favourable to the sa’ālīk came into being: with the Ridda and the major upheavals of the fitna, the sa’ālīk, in return for a share of the spoils, placed very valuable additional forces at the disposal of the belligerents (khizanā, ii, 156-61). At the time of the Battle of the Camel, two partisans of the assassinated caliph ‘Uṯmān, Ḥāsaka b. ‘Abd al-Ḥabīb and ‘Imrān b. Ṣuṣāyīl al-Burjumīnī (Ṭamīnī), had obtained the support of reinforcements
from sa'ālīk al-'Arab; after their defeat they withdrew, still accompanied by these troops, to Sijistan and subsequently to Zakīq. Even during the period of the great conquests, bands of sa'ālīk were fighting the Byzantines under the command of their own chiefs (for example, 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'b al-Hurayrī, al-Hamāsī, 239); among those who died for Islam at this time was Yazīd b. al-Sikkīl al-'Ukaylī, otherwise renowned as a camel-thief (al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, 59).

For the sa'ālīk of the muḥkadrāmin, camels were still the favourite form of booty.

(1) The Umayyad period, the great age of sa'ālīk.

Under the Umayyads, the need to consolidate a properly structured central power and to guarantee freedom of movement on roads frequented by pilgrims and caravans, induced the caliphs of Damascus to treat with the utmost severity the gangs causing instability on these routes. Henceforward they were classed as liyā, i.e. common thieves. This term seems to have been seldom used in Dāhilī poetry to denote these outlaws; at this time, and for a certain category of brigands, it replaced sa'ālīk (Djarfr, Dlwan, Cairo 1354/1935, 86-90, v. 7, 126, v. 1; al-Hamāsī, 42, 789; al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, 454, l. 1; al-Aghānī, xl, 571, l. 5; Ibn Kutayba, Šy'ān, 293, l. 6, 448, l. 9). For others, few in number, the old appellation survived.

(i) The activity of these liyā became intensified and diversified; furthermore, their number seems to have risen in comparison with the earlier period. Organised bands took the place of freelancers and controlled certain regions. Cases which could be cited include that of Abū 'l-Naḥṣā al-Naḥṣāli, and his band of outlaws (ṣa'dhūlūdū al-'Arab) who attacked camels on the Damascus-Hidżaz route (al-Amaṣiyāt, 124; al-Hamāsī, 156-7), that of al-Samhari b. Bāghr al-Ṣawā (al-Bakīrī, Ṣayīl sam al-ṣawā', 38) and those of Mālik b. al-Rayb al-Mīzānī and of Dājdār b. Mālik al-Hanāfī who caused panic among travellers in the Hidżaz (al-Tabārī, ii, 178; al-Ağhānī, sīx, 163); 'Abd Allāh b. Amr al-Kālībī (Djarfr, 54) was active in Yamānā; Shāhzād al-Dabībī pillaged sites in the neighbourhood of Bāṣra, and Mūkahī b. Raḥīm opposed the Taghlibīs in al-Abdī al-Hamāsī (1961). What is striking about these three sa'ālīk is the respect which they seem to have enjoyed on the part of the wielders of power.

(ii) The poetry of the Umayyad sa'ālīk.

This is as rich in diverse resonances and as personal as that of their pre-Islamic forebears. It appears in the form of short fragments and constitutes an emotional and artistic response to a situation confronting the brigand-poet. The poetry is less cultivated and its poetic language is clear and transparent. The sa'ālīk uses it in order to stay alive, or to avoid captivity and torture, and therefore his poetic discourse needs to be easily comprehensible. Furthermore, this body of work is firmly rooted in space by means of intensive use of names of places and of water-sources, and evocation of the precise details (fauna and flora) which characterise a given environment.

The apologetic parameter. In this context, the poets stress their poverty as a justification for banditry. They are the wanderers of the desert, not a case of creative poverty, since the literary treatment of the issue is identical to that previously expressed by their Dāhilī predecessors. The Umayyad sa'ālīk, in their celebration of their tenacity and determination, are simply continuing an established tradition, although two original themes emerge within this framework: their refusal to bow in the face of official repression (al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, 118; al-Hamāsī, 30-3, 325-6, 326-7, Sa'd b. Naḥṣā declares his determination to continue in his way after the demolition of his home) and of the torture inflicted in prisons (al-Tabārī, ii, 771; al-Kattāl al-Kālībī, 75-7). Henceforward, themes of captivity occupy a significant place in the discourse of the brigand-poets. The 22-verse poem of Dājdār b. Mu'āwiya al-'Ukīrī on his imprisonment brings together in a single text the entire range of humiliating punishments reserved for captives; but nothing lessens his determination to pursue his career as an outlaw (al-Kāmil, 381-2). The 19-verse poem of Dājdār b. Muslim al-Šābī on the desert as a metaphor. The desert takes on an ambivalent aspect. In the case of some poets, it is described as a dreadful place infested with injurious creatures (i.e. a treatment identical to that attested in the previous era); others insist on the irresistible appeal of its vast spaces. Thus al-Kattāl al-Kālībī sings of the romantic space of the 'Amāyā, the protectress and mother of fugitives (umm ku'll tārīd); in this intermediate expanse, mounted on his camel, he enjoys a liberty
which nothing and nobody can shackle (al-Kattal al-Kilabi, 45).

Whether fugitives or captives, these people have memories of a place and its inhabitants, and of a state which nothing and nobody can shackle (al-Kattal al-Kilabr, 45).

This sudden proliferation of terms denotes a complex reality which is not always easy to disentangle. The latter two have nothing in common with the phenomenon of rejection (qari') having become inoperative as a result of official Umayyad policy, the liminal phase itself is rendered obsolete. All is reduced to lamentation and recrimination against the clan which has surrendered them to the agents of authority. The tribe has failed them (al-Kattal al-Kilabi, 39, 55, 85; al-Aghm, xxi, Leiden 1305/1888, 19-25, al-Samhari al-Ukli).

IV. Sa'llik in the 'Abbasid era.

(1) Sa'llaka as a sociological phenomenon. New activities gave different connotations to the term 'sa'llik'. Researchers have established equivalences between 'sa'llik', fajun, shu'tir, gyalwa [see 'qayrawar'] and mukaddun [see muradd]. And hitherto unknown synonyms also came into existence, such as za'idtul [q.v.]. This sudden proliferation of terms denotes a complex reality which is not always easy to disentangle.

In 132/750, Ibn Hubayra, besieged for several months in Wasiit, saw his supporters gradually dwindling in number; in the end, according to a tradition attributed to Abu l-Sair and quoted by al-Tabari, only the 'sa'llik' and the fajun remained loyal (al-Tabari, iii, 66). This association of the two terms, which is in any case unique, seems somewhat enigmatic; it could signify either equivalence or divergence. The text suggests that what is involved here is the rabble which remained following the disengagement of warriors from the Kaysiyya and the Yamaniyya. On the other hand, texts of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries could signify either equivalence or divergence. The acceptance of these people into respectable society seems to have dried up the wells of their inspiration. Only one poet is cited for this period, Bakr b. al-Nattah (d. 211/826-7); a single verse expresses some vague notions about the ideals of the outlaw (al-Aghm, xix, 107), about the need to seize what one needs rather than to be reduced to the status of a beggar.


was swarming with 'sa'llik', who succeeded eventually in controlling the entire region as well as Sirar [q.v.], the provincial capital. According to al-Baladjudri, in the reign of the Mahdist it became necessary to send a powerful army (qasîd) to 'Al' of the Caliphate to command the garrison of 1,000 men. As time went on, this practice became so frequent that two persons of the very highest importance since they were ma'dal Amir al-Mu'mnin, were charged with the task of constructing a fortified town for the accommodation of livestock, herdsmen and soldiers. The enterprise seems to have lasted some time; after the destruction of Sirar by the 'sa'llik', the caliph sent in a permanent garrison of 1,000 men commanded by Khadîn al-Sulân (Fawâid, 310-1; al-Hamadhâni, Mukhtasar K. al-Bul'dun, 239-40).

Numerous concordant indications (al-Mas'udî, al-Tanbih wa 'l-ighnî, 361-2; idem, Murâdî, ed. Pellat, § 2683; al-Tabari, iii, 1677-8; al-Azdî, Ta'rîkh, 34, 345, 385; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 'Tabâkât al-shu'dar' al-mu'hadûnîn, Cairo 1956, 177) confirm the impression that this term denoted quasi-military units composed of Arabs who invested a province, established themselves there and practised brigandage on a major scale, and with such success that garrisons of regular troops were unable to dialogues at them. At times of civil war or armed struggle, their services were sought; they took part in operations in a mercenary capacity. On conclusion of these operations, they were expected to return to their homes.

In his homily, the mukaddit Khâld b. Yazid takes pride in the fact that at one time in his life, he had been a member of the 'sa'llik al-Djibal and of the zauidatul al-Shâm. The two terms seem to be equivalents; in fact, in both cases it is a reference to scoured Arab forces playing a dual role as mercenaries and brigands (an equivalence accepted by D. Ayalon, The military reforms of Caliph al-Mu'izzil, their background and consequences, 13-20, especially n. 32, at p. 18, in Islam and the Abode of War, Variorum, London 1994).

(2) Literary activity. This disappears almost completely. New activities, the cessation of persecution and imprisonment and the acceptance of these people into respectable society seem to have dried up the wells of their inspiration. The only poet cited for this period, Bakr b. al-Nattâh (d. 211/826-7); a single verse expresses some vague notions about the ideals of the outlaw (al-Aghm, xix, 107), about the need to seize what one needs rather than to be reduced to the status of a beggar.
in the story of the death of Kṛṣṇa (Krishna) in the Mahābhārata. In the 8th century A.D. Somnāth was in the story of the death of Kṛṣṇa (Krishna) in the Mahābhārata. In the 8th century A.D. Somnāth was...
the great monastery of Balkh, destroyed by the Muslims in 42/663. Its superior had as his descendants the Barmecides [see AL-SARABANDAA and NAW BAHR].

The last monastic sites at Bamiyan [q.v.], right in the centre of present-day Afghanistan, were devastated as late as 257/871 and the two enormous seated rock Buddhas, 53 m and 35 m high, continue to call on men silently to go beyond all external scrutiny.

The paucity of references and imprecision in Muslim writing on the subject of Buddhism can be explained from what has been mentioned previously. Yet they should not be the subjects of undue criticism. Leaving aside the theologians and their conceptual plots, genuine scholars were hindered by the proper name Budhâshā (a corruption of the original Sanskrit bodhisattva). Al-Maṣūrī (Mūṣārā, §§ 535, 1371) and Ibn al-Nadīm confused it with the Buddha, and several scholars annoyingly linked it with the so-called Sabaeans [see AL-SĀLĀN]. But the majority (included in Murūj, §§ 1371, 1375) described the geographical area of Buddhism very correctly, and the person of the Buddha (al-Budda) is clearly recognised by several as the founder of the Buddhists or the sumanīyya [see above].

Nevertheless, only two authors made any connection with Buddhism which even begins to resemble actual and doctrinal reality. One of these was al-Ṣahrastānī. He very clearly distinguishes the previous Buddhas, the historical Buddha and the bodhisattva. Then he gives the list of ten sins enumerated by the Buddhist tradition, and then the list (a little Islamicised) of the ten types of virtuous behaviour which should be acquired.

For his part, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, in his Dīwān al-taʾrīḵ, has on the subject a whole object of about thirty pages preserved in Persian and also in Arabic, and for this he went to one of the best sources, that thirty pages preserved in Persian and also in Arabic, and for this he went to one of the best sources, that


SUMATRA, after Borneo [q.v.], the second largest island of the Malay Archipelago and the westernmost island (area 473,606 km²/182,859 sq. miles). In pre-Islamic times, the kingdoms in Sumatra were strongly Hinduised in culture and religion (Buddhism and Śivaist Brahmanism), Islam had appeared in Sumatra by the end of the 14th century, since Marco Polo in 1292 mentions the northern Sumatran ports of Perlak (as Ferlec), Samudra (from which the name Sumatra probably derives; Marco calls the island “Java the Lesser”) and Lambri, and he says that Muslim merchants had implanted the faith at Perlak (Yule-Cordier, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, London 1903, ii, 284 ff). These merchants doubtless traded from Malacca [q.v.] in the Malay peninsula, the first great Muslim city-state of the region. Thereafter, Islam spread, especially under the impetus from the 16th century onwards from the kingdom of Aceh or Aṣiḥ that was one of the strongest from the 17th century onwards to the kingdoms of Aceh or Aṣiḥ at the northwestern tip of Sumatra.

Hence see for the subsequent history of Sumatra, Aṣiḥ; INDONESIA, v; MENGKABAR; and see also SUMATRA in EI, iv (London 1879), 41-2 (Ed.)

AL-SUMAYL b. Hātim b. Shāmir b. Dhi ‘l-Qāsāw of Al-Qāsāw, a Buddhist and the last Buddhist to govern the Thaghr or Frontier. This decision was not welcomed with alacrity by al-Sumayl, and Ibn al-Nadīm, in his Kitāb al-fihrist, states that this was done at Karbala in 61/680.

SUMATRA, after Borneo [q.v.], the second largest island of the Malay Archipelago and the westernmost island (area 473,606 km²/182,859 sq. miles)
Sumayl, representing as it did a form of disguised exile, but he accepted it without demur.

During al-Sumayl's residence at Saragossa, two Mudarib (non-Kays) Amr b. 'Amr al-Abdar and al-Huhab b. Rawaha al-Zuhri, rebelled and laid siege to the city, planning him in an almost open declarations. He appealed to Yusuf for assistance, but the latter being unable, or unwilling, to provide it, he had recourse to the Arabs of his own band of Kinnasrin and of the neighbouring one of Damascus. Although there was not total unanimity between them, they succeeded in mustering a contingent of some 400 horsemen, including around thirty Umayyad clients. More warriors joined them on the way and, on their approach, the rebels raised the siege of Saragossa, leaving al-Sumayl to join forces with those who had come to his rescue, with whom he returned towards Cordova. On the way, the Umayyad clients informed al-Sumayl of the intention of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu‘awiyā [q.v.] to travel through al-Andalus and appealed for his support, but he asked for time to consider.

The following spring (137/755), Yusuf and al-Sumayl organized a campaign against the rebels of Saragossa, who had taken control of the city on al-Sumayl's departure. At the approach of the army, the inhabitants handed over the two leading insurgents, who were later to be executed. But this campaign was also the occasion of a more significant development: the Umayyads once again raised with al-Sumayl the question of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu‘awiyā; having initially indicated his agreement, he reconsidered and informed them that at the most he would allow the Umayyad to establish himself in al-Andalus as a privileged exile, but without any access whatsoever to power. Soon afterwards, during the return of the victorious army, came news of the landing of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu‘awiyā. Although al-Sumayl was in favour of a rapid reaction, giving the Umayyad no time to consolidate his strength, the fatigue of the troops persuaded Yusuf to withdraw to Cordova, whence he sent a delegation to ‘Abd al-Rahmān, with presents and offers of refuge.

But confrontation was inevitable. The Umayyad claimant and his supporters would settle for nothing less than absolute power. Taking advantage of the winter, which prevented Yusuf and al-Sumayl from attacking them, they built up their army and obtained pledges of allegiance from numerous local chieftains. In the spring the two armies met near Cordova and the battle ended with the triumph of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu‘awiyā (10 Dhū ‘Aladhdhajja 138/14 May 756) and the flight of Yusuf and of al-Sumayl. Some months later, in the village of Armilla near Granada, Yusuf and al-Sumayl surrendered to ‘Abd al-Rahmān on condition that their lives and their property be guaranteed. They established themselves in Cordova, but intrigues on the part of Yusuf’s supporters induced him to make a further attempt to regain power, which led finally to his death. Although al-Sumayl was totally unmoved in the rebellion, ‘Abd al-Rahmān seized the opportunity to rid of him and confined him to prison where he died soon after (142/759), officially as a result of excessive consumption of alcohol; there was widespread suspicion that he had been strangled on the orders of the sovereign.


L (Molina)
Before 1920 the Armenian element disappeared and the population is now largely Kurdish.

After 1920 the Armenian element disappeared and the population is now largely Kurdish. (Ullmann, *Medizin*, 324; *Islamic medicine*, 20).

Greek sources translated into Arabic include Rufus of Ephesus, *K. al-Adviya al-katiila* or *K. al-Sumum* (Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 66-7; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 75). The Arabic version of Dioscorides contains a sixth chapter on poisons, a translation of additional material wrongly attributed to Dioscorides; this is referred to in several places by Ibn al-Baytār, under the name of *Mudawat al-aṣgha al-sumum*. Dubler and Terzis omit this "suplemento apócrifo" from their edition (La *Materia Médica*, ii, p. vii). Galen's two works on Theriac and one on Antidotes were translated by Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq: *K. al-Tayyīb 'ilā Bisan* and *al-Bunfūsīn*, and *K. al-Adviya al-mulkūiba li l-'adda* (Sezgin, iii, 121; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 49).

(ii) Arabic writings on poisons. A work attributed to Ibn Washīhiya (q.v.), probably written in the first half of the 4th/10th century and claiming to be a translation from one al-Nabaṭi ("The Nabaṭeans"), quotes Indian writings, and discusses in considerable detail the nature and action of poisons and also remedies, with specific and general antidotes. A work entirely on poisons, attributed to Dājbir ibn Hayyān (q.v.), dates from probably the late 3rd/9th or early 4th/10th century. Sources of poison are classified: (a) animals, including gall of vipers or tiger, tortoise tongue, "sea hare", Spanish flies, frogs; bites or stings of scorpion, hornet, spider, and tarantula. (b) plants, including Aconitum, ergot, kurun al-sunbul; opiates, ajżin, extracted from hyoscyamus or henbane, band; and numerous others including helichore, kharbak; the Euphorbiaceae, yattuṭ; Aconaria cocculus or Mandragora, yəd; Anamirta cocculus yattu the Euphorbiaceae, kithdh or oleander; (c) minerals, including verdigris, zindgār; yellow lead, tarmak; and arsenic, shakk. Using the translations available, and referring to their own experience, most Arabic physicians included at least a chapter on poisons in their general medical works. The emphasis would be on treatment. The primary concern, and the first to emerge, according to al-Madžūsī, was to counteract poisons from the bites and stings of vipers and other reptiles, insects, and rabid dogs, followed by treatment for the effects of other poisonous substances (Kārimī, ii, 256-31). 'Alī b. Sahīl al-Ṭabarī devoted a chapter of his *Firdaws al-himā* to the indication of, and treatment for, various poisons, mentioning the use of a tourniquet, and cautery (445-8). This is followed by a chapter on tāriq and compound remedies. According to Thābit ibn Qura, poison comes from bites or stings, or else is drunk. He refers to the Aconitum (ḥīsh, or the Akāntūn (q.v. in Suppl.) as an example of poisons which kill "by their essence" bi-djumal djačəərəh. Compound poisons of mineral origin are particularly deadly, "poison of one hour", *samī 'āt*. The worst kinds are those which oppose the very constitution, mižādī, of the human body (al-Dhikrīn, 143-8).

Some general themes emerge from these works on poisons: (a) Classification by source. Animal or insect bite or sting; bite of mad dog, tarantula, hornet, zebdir, vipers, qift, serpents, hayyad; substances of animal, plant or mineral origin. (b) The action of poisons. By upsetting the humours, akbati, or the whole constitution (cf. Thabit); by cold or heat, etc. (Ali b. Sahl al-Tabari).

(c) Remedies. These may be physical: cautery, tourniquet, (ibid., 443), cutting around a bite, causing emesis; or by administering medicines to counteract the poison.

Chief of these remedies was the tinyak, which could be used as a prophylactic; one could take tinyak regularly (Thabit, 146), or "accustom oneself to poison" and thus build up immunity (al-Tabari, 448); these elaborate remedies were generally the property of kings or rulers, a famous early example being the antidote used by Mithridates VI of Pontus (120-63 B.C.), after whom the mithyridattis thenerac was named.

Despite all precautions on the part of individuals and the care taken by physicians, poisons were developed and used, and a number of persons are thought to have been despatched in this way. The death of the Eighth Imam 'Ali al-Ridā [q.v.] was suspected of having been caused by poison, administered in a pomegranate or in pomegranate juice. Naturally, such poisons are neither specified nor well-documented. But there were a thorn in his side; they may even have been the trigger for the case he brought against the school of Sari (al-Sarradj, ed. Baghdad, 498-9; Hudjwarf, 12). He was also convinced that already a small part of God's forbearance would suffice on the Day of Judgement to let all evildoers join the ranks of the just. He even persuaded his master al-Kalānīsī to match a rich person's gift of 40,000 dinars in alms with an equal number of dinars, which they proceeded to perform together without interruption.

In general, Sumnūn was a tactful man, witty as well as modest, but also a great wielder of words, in prose as well as in poetry. A striking example is his six-line kirā in which he describes his cognito Dei experimentalis (al-Sarradj, 250, 10 ff. = Schlaglachter, 92 ff. With regard to the love of God, he thought that it was too subtle to be described, but he knew how to speak about the Sufis' experiences of the loves of God in such a moving way that even the dumb and inanimate creation is said to have fallen into a trance (al-Kalābābdī, 125, -8 f.; al-Kushāyvī, 160, -17 = Sendschreiben 48/12). It goes without saying that, for a notorious enemy of the Sufis' "love of God" like Ghulām Khāī (d. 275/888-9), Sumnūn's activities were a thorn in his side; they may even have been the trigger for the case he brought against the school of Sari (al-Sarradj, ed. Baghdad, 498-9; Hudwīrī, 173, 3 ff.; 'Attār, u. 71, 6 ff.; also Gramlich, Alte Voriber, i, 383 ff.).


(Reiner)

SUNN' ALLĀH [see SUNN' ALLAH IMADI, Ottoman Shaykh al-Islām [q.v.], d. 1021/1612. Born in 960/1553, the son of the kādī 'asker [q.v.] Dīfār Efendi, a first cousin of Abu 'l-Su'ud Efendi [q.v.], Sunn' Allāh studied under Mollā Fuḍayl al-

(SUÑN' ALLAH)
Sunn Allah — Sunbadh

Djamah and afterwards under Abu 'l-Su'tud, then Shaykh al-Islam, whom he served as mu'id and through whom he became mutazim [q.v.] in 977/1569-70. Because of his family connections, his first madrasa appointment (Ramadan 978/February 1571) was at the 40 akhs level. He passed through the ranks of madrasas until, with his appointment to the post of kadi of Bursa in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 998/September 1590, he entered the highest stream of learned offices, the mexuewiyyas [q.v.], in due course becoming Rumi kadi 'asker in Shawwal 1001/July 1593. Retiring with a pension in Djumad I 1003/early 1595, he succeeded Khoda'i Efendi [q.v.] as Shaykh al-Islam in Rab'I 1008/October 1599, the first of an unprecedented four occasions on which he held that position.

Koçi Beg [q.v.] notes admiringly that "though he was removed several times, he still spoke the truth and showed no compromise in the business of religion and the state" (A.K. Aksüt, Koçi Beg risaleisi, Istanbul 1939, 35); and Sunn Allah's first two periods of office were indeed marked by contentious involvement in state matters. His first came to an end when he persuaded Mehmedmed III [q.v.] to order the unwilling Grand Vizier Yemishdji Hasan Pasha [q.v.] to go out on campaign, for which the latter, in revenge, secured Sunn Allah's dismissal in Safar 1010/August 1601. Brought back as Shaykh al-Islam in Radjab 1011/January 1603 in an attempt to mollify the sipahis, then rebelling largely because of the deteriorating situation in Anatolia resulting from the revolts of the Qalâdsh [q.v. in Supplement] but also because of Hasan Pasha's alleged military incompetence, Sunn Allah—sympathetic to the Qalâdsh, and in particular to Kara Yazid—issued a fatwa for the execution of Hasan Pasha but was himself ousted and forced to go into hiding (Shaba'bn 1011/February 1603) for these events, see Na'tima, Tarikh, Istanbul 1281-3, i, 307 ff.

Having held the office twice more, somewhat less eventfully (Muharram 1013/June 1604 to Rabî' I 1015/July 1606 and Radjab 1015/November 1606 to Safar 1017/June 1608), Sunn Allah retired fully from public life with a pension of 750 akhs daily and died in Istanbul 13 October 1608 (cf. ed. Rida Tadjadini, K. al-Sunan, Istanbul 1268, 136-7, 552-7, and the references in the article.

(R.C. Repp)


SUNAN (a.), pl. sunna [q.v.], "norm", "custom", is used separately in the literature of hadith and fikh [q.v.] as referring to several important collections of traditions and legal pronouncements (= akhd), thus resulting in this plural being used as a generic book title of such works, as the case with the term Sahih [q.v.]. The oldest collections called Sunan or Sunan ft 'l-fikhk have not come down to us, and are only known from references to them in a work like Ibn al-Nadîm's Fihrist, cf. ed. Ri'di Taqjadid, index vol., 123, right col., such as the Sunans by Makki'il (d. 112-16/730-4), Ibn Djurayd (d. 150/767) and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmân Ibn Abî Dhib (d. 159/776). Sunan works are arranged according to the masuqand [q.v.] principle, i.e. separate chapters (chaps) or "akhs" level. He passed through the ranks for the just as we find in fikh literature. The earliest such works available in printed editions are the pre-canonical collections by Sa'id b. Mansîr (d. 227/842) and 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Dârîmî (d. 255/869). Of the six canonical books, four are entitled Sunan, namely the collections of Abû Dâwîd al-Sidjistânî (d. 275/888); Muhammad b. 'Isâ al-Tirmidhi (d. 279/892), whose collection acquired the title al-Qamî al-sahih; Ahmad b. Shu'ayb al-Nasâ'î (d. 303/915), whose Kitâb al-Sunan al-Tabrîn was later abbreviated by the author in his K. al-Sunan, also called al-Mughâtabâ; and Muhammad b. Yazid al-Kawzâni Ibn Mâdâ (d. 273/886). Other prestigious collections known by this title are found available in printed editions are those of 'All b. Umar al-Dâraîkînî (d. 383/995) and Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Bayhâkî (d. 458/1066).

SUNBAÐH (also Sunfâdh), Zoroastrian supporter of Abû Muslim al-Khurshânî [q.v.] and leader of a rebellion seeking to avenge his death.

He originated from a village near Nishapur, and is described as a man of wealth and a friend and associate of Abû Muslim. Two months after the murder of the latter by the caliph al-旻sür (Shâbâbn 137/February 755), he rose with the backing of Abû Muslim's followers and, according to the main historical tradition, seized Nishapur. According to another, probably more reliable tradition (al-Madâ'înî), he had been stationed in Huwân and from there set out for Khuršân. Abû 'Abd'llah 'Ubayd al-旻anâfi, the governor of Rayy, who was under orders not to allow Abû Muslim's followers to return to Khuršân, detained him. He escaped, however, and rebelled. He defeated and killed the governor and seized control of Rayy. Returning to his Magian religion, he committed atrocities against the Muslims and adopted the title Frûz Isapabadh. He seized Abû Muslim's arsenal and treasure in Rayy and sent part of it to the Dâvûbd Khurshânî, the Zoroastrian Isapâbad of Tabaristan, with whom he formed an alliance. His following is said quickly to have swelled to 100,000 men, coming mostly from Djâhid and Tabaristan. The king of the Daylamis, to whom he wrote that the reign of the Arabs had come to an end, joined him with his men. He defeated the governors of Dastabâ and Kûmîs. Then he set out with a massive army, predicting that he would destroy the Ka'ba. But at Dârjânâbân between Rayy and Hamadan, he was heavily defeated by Djâhwar b. al-Marrâr al-旻lî, who was an ally of Kûrshânî, probably in the reign of the Abbasids. 100,000 of his men are said to have been killed. Sunbâdh fled, trying to join the Isapabäd Khurshânî. He was killed, however, by Khurshânî's cousin Tûs, allegedly because he did not show him due respect. Khurshânî sent the heads of Sunbâdh and his brother to Djâhwar, but refused to surrender his treasury to al-旻sûr. The revolt had lasted only seventy days.

According to Nizâm al-Mulâk, Sunbâdh told his followers that Abû Muslim had not been killed but had, by reciting the greatest name of God, turned into a white dove and flown away. He was now dwelling in a brazen castle together with the Ma'dhî and Mazdak. All three would soon reappear and Abû Muslim would rule with Mazdak as his vizier. When the Râfîât (Shî'îs) and the Khurrâmîyya heard mention of the Ma'dhî and Mazdak, they joined Sunbâdh in large numbers. He would tell the Khurrâmîyya that Mazdak had become a Shî'î and was ordering them to make common cause with the Shî'îs. Nizâm al-Mulâk's account is available in printed editions of the Zoroastrian teachings, and the practice of Mazdakite teaching and activity for the Isna'tiya, whom he portrayed as a neo-Mazdakite subversive heresy. From the early reports, it is clear that Sunbâdh was leader of an anti-Arab and anti-Islamic rebellion aiming at the restoration of Iranian kingship and religion, and not a sectarian chief teaching a syncretic religious doctrine. The heresiographers, however, mention the Sunbâdhîyya as the name of one of the
extremist factions which arose out of the 'Abbasid revolutionary movement [see HURRAMIYYA].

Bibliography: Balâdhurî, Anâb al-ahlîfî, iii, ed. al-Dûrî, Wiesbaden 1978, 246-7; Ya'qûbî, ii, 441-2; Tabâh, iii, 119-20; Maqûdî, Malik, v, 1038-91 & ii, 205-14; 1952-4; Ba'amarî, Târikh-nâmê-yı Tabârisî, ed. Muham-
neapolis 1979, 126-30. (W. Madelung)

UNBUK [see MİLÂHŞA; SAİFÎNA].

SUNBUK [see MİNTÂKAT AL-BURÛĞ].

SUNBUKLÜ, in Tişîk. SUNBUKLÜ, a mysti-
cal brotherhood derived from the Khalwatiyya 
[q.s.], which emerged and developed in the Ottoman 
empire from the final years of the 15th century 
 następnie. Its founding saint, Yûsuf Sinâñ b. 'Ali b. Kâvû Bey, 
micknowled Sunûbul Sunal Sinân or Sunbul (Sunbûl) Efendî, 
was born in Merzîfûn (or in the region of Merzîfûn) 
aa, 1475-80. Having begun his studies in his region of 
origin, he made his way to Istanbul where he was 
the pupil of Efdal-zade (d. 903/1493-4) and was asso-
ciated with the şerîf Celebi Mêmiîm Djamal al-Dîn, 
known as Celebi Khalîfe, who was then directing the 
first Khalwâtî tekke, recently founded in the Ottoman 
capital. On receiving the latter's şerîfî, he was sent 
to Cairo with the object of disseminating his master's 
teaching. Some years later, ca. 899/1493-4 or 903/4-
1497-9, after Celebi Khalîfe had informed him that he 
was performing the pilgrimage to Mecca and hoped to 
meet him there, Sunûbul Sinân arrived in the Holy 
Places, where he heard of the death of his şerîfî, as 
well as his last wishes: that he should marry his daugh-
ter and succeed him as director of the tekke of Kodja 
Musâfâta Paşâ in Istanbul. Thereafter, and until his 
death in 936/1529, he supervised this establishment 
which became the centre of a specific Khalwâtî net-
work, the Sunbûl tekke, which at its moment of its 
development was one of the most durable, 
all the more so in that from the second half of the 
17th century onwards, families of şerîfîs were 
invited to head each one of these houses, forging bonds 
among themselves by means of marital ties. After 
the disintegration of the Ottoman empire and the pro-
scription of the şerîfîs by Mustâfâ Kemal (Atatürk) 
in 1925, the Sunbuliya witnessed the gradual dissap-
pearance of their last spiritual masters, and even 
then there still exist today a few individuals who 
are not Sunbul teaching, it does not figure among 
the currently active brotherhoods.

In the context of doctrine and practice, the Sunbuliya 
insisted, as do most of the Khalwâtîs, on the prac-
tice of spiritual retreat (kulaa [q.s.]), as well as on 
the initiation by the seven names (al-amedâ [al-sabî]). 
Their şerîfî was of the davûdî type, performed by turn-
ing in an upright position, and this attracted criticism 
which they were obliged to respond, particularly at 
the beginning of the 16th century, as has been seen. 
For their part, certain Sunbuli şerîfîs, including Yûsuf 
Sinân b. Ya'qûb Germiînîyî (987/1579) and Mêh-
med 'Amîkî (d. after 1023/1614-15), wrote letters de-
nouncing the heterodoxy of the Malâmî-Hamzawîs 
(cf. Abdullahî Gölpaânî, Melâmîlîc ve Melâmiler, Istanbul 1931, 74-6). It may also be mentioned that there 
existed a particular prayer, called Sunbulî salatî, in the for some time by the eminent şerîfî Merkez Efendi 
before the latter himself founded a tekke in the cap-
ital; the same example was set by the daughter of 
Selîm I, Şâhî Sultan, who founded two Khalwâtî 
establishments in Istanbul, one of which was 
headed by Ferrükhî Agha (Farrûkî Agha) who arranged for 
the construction of a tekke in the Balat quarter. During 
this "golden age" of the 16th century, the Sunbuliya 
had a tendency to supplant its mother-tekkeî, the 
Dâmilîaîî (one of the four principal branches of the 
Khalwatiyya) which had been founded by Celebi Mêmîîm Djamal al-Dîn, the şerîfî of Sunbul Efendî.

In Istanbul, besides the tekke of Kodja Musâfâta Paşâ 
(also known as Sunbul Efendî Tekkesî) the heart of 
the network, eleven other tekkîs were founded during 
this period. While it is true that the brotherhood had 
a distinctly metropolitan character, its network also 
extended at the same time into Anatolia and Rumelia. 
Its diffusion in the Asiatic provinces has yet to be 
studied; it is, however, known that şerîfîs of Istanbul 
were sent not only to Manisa, but also to Akşehir 
in the region of Konya, to Çavardar near Kutahya 
and even to Amasya. As for the European provinces, 
two future şerîfîs of the âsâme of Kodja Musâfâta 
Paşâ were principally responsible for the expan-
sion of the brotherhood in certain regions: Ya'qûb 
Germiînîyî (d. 979/1571-2) founded a tekke at Yanîna 
in Epirus, and Hasan 'Adîfî (d. 1026/1617) another 
house at Serez (Seros) in Macedonia. Both appointed numerous şerîfîs who guided the faithful in found in localities more or less close to these two new centres. The Sunbul network in Rumelia also 
extended to cities such as Hayrâbalî, Bâbî, Edirne and Tekirdâg, and as far as the frontier 
regions of Hungary and Bosnia, on both sides of the 
Temenjwâr/Sarajevo-Belgrade-axis, as well as to Kefe 
in the Crimea.

In the 18th century, the Sunbuliya experienced a 
period of renewed expansion, especially in the Ottoman 
capital where more tekkîs were founded and others 
affiliated to it. Until the mid-19th century, it was to 
remain the branch of the Khalwatiyya best repre-
sented in Istanbul, with 22 houses; only the Shâbi-
nîyâ [q.s.] was to overtake it in the last decades of 
the empire. Its network was one of the most durable, 
all the more so that from the second half of the 
17th century onwards, families of şerîfîs were 
invited to head each one of these houses, forging bonds 
among themselves by means of marital ties. After 
the disintegration of the Ottoman empire and the pro-
scription of the şerîfîs by Mustafî Kemal (Atatürk) 
in 1925, the Sunbuliya witnessed the gradual dissap-
pearance of their last spiritual masters, and even 
then there still exist today a few individuals who 
are not Sunbul teaching, it does not figure among 
the currently active brotherhoods.

In the context of doctrine and practice, the Sunbuliya 
insisted, as do most of the Khalwâtîs, on the prac-
tice of spiritual retreat (kulaa [q.s.]), as well as on 
the initiation by the seven names (al-amedâ [al-sabî]). 
Their şerîfî was of the davûdî type, performed by turn-
ing in an upright position, and this attracted criticism 
which they were obliged to respond, particularly at 
the beginning of the 16th century, as has been seen. 
For their part, certain Sunbuli şerîfîs, including Yûsuf 
Sinân b. Ya'qûb Germiînîyî (987/1579) and Mêh-
med 'Amîkî (d. after 1023/1614-15), wrote letters de-
nouncing the heterodoxy of the Malâmî-Hamzawîs 
(cf. Abdullahî Gölpaânî, Melâmîlîc ve Melâmiler, Istanbul 1931, 74-6). It may also be mentioned that there 
existed a particular prayer, called Sunbulî salatî, in the
SUNBULIYYA — SUNBUL-ZADE WEHBI

beste form (vocal composition in four verses each followed by the same melodic passage). Sunbul circles in Istanbul, especially those of the tekke of Köşğa Mustafa Paşa, were in fact very supportive of the development of Şii music. In this respect, as in other aspects of Şii and popular Islam, this house remained for centuries one of the most prestigious tekkes, if not the most prestigious, of the Ottoman capital. Evidence of this is the affluence, far greater than the other tekkes, which it has always enjoyed and still enjoys on the occasion of the feast of the Aşhârê (‘Ah‘ir’), 10 Muḥarram, as well as the number of visits to the tuğrûs of Sunbul Efendi and his successors. In terms of costume, it should be noted that the Sunbulî tuğrû varies slightly from the other Khalwâri tuğrûs with its decidedly pointed shape.


SUNBUL-ZADE WEHBI (SUNBUL-ZADE VEHBI), Mehmend b. Râhîd b. Mehmed Efendi, Ottoman poet, scholar and bureaucrat born in Marâş [g.v.] probably in 1133/1721-18, died in Istanbul 14 Rabî‘ I 1224/29 April 1809, his life spanning the rule of eight Ottoman sultans, and is thought to have been buried outside Edirne Kapi (see Siireyya Ali Efendi, in Istanbul 1993, 7, 20-1).

1. Life.

The Sunbul-zade family was a prominent one. His great-grandfather Mehmed was nûgût in Marâş and author of several works on Islamic law. His father Râhîd (or Reçîdî), also a poet and scholar, is said to have named his son after the poet and kâdid Seyyid Wehbi (Wehbi-i ewwel), as whose assistant he was working in Aleppo when Sunbul-zade Wehbi was born.

Wehbi was educated in Marâş, then went to Istanbul, where his writing of kasîdas and chronograms gained him influential patrons, securing him the rank of midîrîn [see MÜDÎRENSI, 1, 7], then that of kâdid, in which he was to serve for seven years more. He served in a number of locations in the Balkans, in Rhodes and al-Manisa, and with the Imperial Army in the Edirne, Sofya and Nîşh areas. He also served for seven years in the Ottoman scribal institution, rising to the rank of kâdid-i ikef [see KİÇEKRİSTEŞİBÎ İWÎSAN-ı HUMAYûN].

In 1187/1775, early in the reign of ’Abd al-Hamîd I (1774-89), Wehbi (having an excellent knowledge of Persian) was sent as envoy to İsfâhân to investigate complaints that Karîm Khân Zand [g.v.] had lodged against ‘Omer Pasha governor of Bagûdîd, whom Wehbi found culpable. But the governor’s influence threw Wehbi into disfavour, and he went into hiding in Scutari. His well-known Kasîdê-ye tâmûni (‘Renowned Ode’), in which he extravagantly eulogises the sultan, describes his Persian journey and ranks things Turkish high above those Persian, helped him regain ’Abd al-Hamîd’s favour (Gibb, HOP, iv, 249). Controversy, however, dogged him. While kâdid on the island of Rhodes he supported the harsh decision to execute Şâhih Girây Khân [g.v.], and in his Kasîdê-ye tâmûni (‘Ode on the wing’) he praised the sultan and abused the victim (ibid., iv, 250). Sunbul-zade himself claimed that his subsequent seizure and detention when serving in Stara Zagora (Eski Zagrâ) was revenge on the part of Şâhih Girây’s supporters. Others say that he and his assistant (kâdidû), the poet Surûrî [g.v.], had aroused the indignation of the local populace by dissolute conduct, and that they were both held on this account (Beyzadeoğlu, 14-17).

Wehbi spent the last years of his life in Istanbul, reportedly writing and merrymaking but, at least in the last seven years, troubled with gout, failing sight and perhaps unsound mind.

2. Works.

Influenced especially by Nâbî, Thâbit (on whose poems he wrote a number of nazîrats) and Nedîm [g.v.], Wehbi was honoured with the title Sultan al-Shu‘ardî, “Sultan of Poets” and highly regarded as a poet by his contemporaries. Today he is not judged to have been endowed with great artistic imagination or poetic sensitivity. More than once his questionable reputation, which he did little to disavow, resulted in dismissal from appointments, and he also had financial worries (Ali Canûb Yongem, Sunbul-zade Wehbi, in Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi, v/2 (1946-7), 88-9). This resulted in a number of poems lamenting his situation and requesting help, and in 1205/1790-1 he dedicated his Turkish divân (some ms. of which include a few poems in Arabic and his small Persian collection) to Selim III (1789-1807), whose valuable patronage he enjoyed to the end of his life. The Lülyye is an akhâm work, a ma’danîvæ giving advice to his son Lûf Allah (who died of the plague within five years of its being composed). It owes much to Nâbî’s Khawûnîye, and its value lies more in its contribution to social history than in its literary value. (For an interesting study of Wehbi the man, and of this work in particular, see Danuta Chmielowska, La femme turque dans l’œuvre de Nâbi, Wehbi et Vâzyî, Warsaw 1986, 39-48).

Two other ma’danîvæs, the Tuhfî-ye Wehbi and Nâkhves-î Wehbi were educational and used for many years in Ottoman schools. The former, a rhymed Persian-Turkish vocabulary written in 1197/1783 for his son in imitation of a similar work by the 10th/16th-century writer Şâhîdî, contains an introductory ma’danîvæ, a series of kâifes presenting the vocabulary, a second ma’danîvæ on a selection of expressions (bîvîlîhadî) and and epilogue (recent ed. Numan Kâleki and Turgut Ali, 1941). The second is an Arabic-Turkish counterpart. The Sînâv-ı nezî, a ma’danîvæ of some 775 bayts in the roman metre, features a disputaion in very free language between a libertine womaniser and a pederast comparing male and female beauties and the pleasure they afford. Unable to agree on which makes the stronger case, the contenders consult a man of religion (the Şeykh
of Love) who upbraids them for knowing only carnal desire and shows them the way to pure and absolute love (see Gibb, iv, 252-4, and J. Schmidt, Sunbulzade Vehbi’s Ṣevk-i-cungiu, an Ottoman pornographic poem, in Turcica, xxv (1993), 3-37).

Bibliography: the arts in EI' and IA.

[O. BÖKEMANN-KATHLEEN R.F. BURRELL]

SUNDA ISLANDS, the geographical denotation of the Southeast Asian islands stretching from Sumatra to Timor and the Aru islands, first introduced by the Portuguese; divided in the Greater and Smaller Sunda Islands, the latter—and those dealt with here—beginning with Bali and stretching to the East. The name originates from Sunda or Pusandam (= West Java), and the Straits of Sunda between Java and Sumatra. In Indonesian, the Smaller Sunda Islands are called the Nusa Tenggara (Southeastern Islands). While Bali maintained its predominantly Hindu character and only in its Western parts experienced some cultural, religious and ethnic influences from neighbouring Madura [q.v.] and East Java (both predominantly Islamic), in Lombok [q.v.] the Sasak people in the eastern part of the island were able to protect their Islamic identity. Among the islands further to the east, only Sumbawa experienced a significant impact of Islam on the history of its people. Already in pre-Islamic times, this island had been visited by trading vassals from Malaccan [q.v.] and Java on their ways to the Moluccas. The Islamisation of its various kingdoms was, however, conducted by Makassar [q.v.]. This kingdom, having after been united and established as a sultanate in 1607, launched first a dhībād against the neighbouring Buginese kingdoms and, after the surrender of the last one of them, Bone, in 1611, turned overseas to the south, where it subdued, in the course of three expeditions, the kingdoms of Sumbawa. 

Except the kingdom of Sanggar, which accepted quite quickly the new religion and therefore was granted a vassal kingdom status, the other kingdoms, particularly Dompu, Bima and Sumbawa (originally only the name of the western part of the island) resisted fiercely. Sumbawa, which surrendered in 1626, was able to escape Makassar influence, and in 1630, its king married a half-sister of the kāna'īn (king) of Talo' (Makassar). Bima gave up its resistance in 1621 when a new king ascended the throne. In 1632-3 a visiting Dutch expedition, however, found the capital city burned by the Makassarese, who thus reacted to the rebellious people who had abducted their king to an island as a protest against the newly-imposed religion. But in 1640 king 'Abd al-Ḳāhir established himself as sultan, after having married a sister-in-law of Sultan ‘Ali’ al-Dīn of Gowa (Makassar). 

Following the military conquest of Sumbawa, some religious teachers originating from the tradition of the Javanese wali's, were sent via Makassar to teach Islam among the people. After the Dutch conquered Makassar in 1669, their Bugis ally Arung Palakka, becoming king of Bone in 1672, waged a series of campaigns in South Sulawesi which caused many Buginese and Makassarese to flee to other islands, including Sumbawa, where they established their own communities, sometimes with a semi-autonomous rule. In Bima they represented a large number of the populace. 

In 1662 the Sultan of Bima claimed suzerainty over Sumba and Komodo, and expanded his influence to Manggarai on Western Flores. He and his successors maintained the pre-Islamic tradition which upheld this place to Bhima, the third brother of the Pandavas, the heros of the Hindu epic of the Mahābhārata. They claimed that the royal family were their descendants. The sultan himself was considered to be ritually pure and infallible, and represented the highest, untouchable authority. The administration rested on three pillars: the administration proper, supervised by the Prime Minister, the legal department supervised by the application of the (Islamic) Law, and a third department concerned with the customary or adat law. The sultanate of Bima remained until in 1950, when it was abolished, together with the other remaining sultanates, by the new government of the Indonesian Republic. Since independence, many Muslims originating from elsewhere in Indonesia have settled down in the whole region of the Nusa Tenggara as civil servants, soldiers, traders, etc.


(O. SCHUMANN)

SUNDARBAN, a thick forest region on the coastal region of the Gangetic delta mainly in the southernmost part of the present division of Khulna in Bangladesh and in the district of 24 Parganas in the West Bengal state of India. Once extending much deeper into the mainland, Sundarban bears traces of early human settlement. Non-Aryan nomad aborigines roamed in this region, who were gradually influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism (through rulers such as Dummanpal around the 12th century), and finally, by Islam. The ancient Harikela kingdom (known to Muslim geographers as Harkand, from which comes Baby al-Harkand, the early Arabic name for Bay of Bengal) once extended up to Sundarban. To the east, a Hindu kingdom Čandrađvipa (Deva dynasty) emerged in the 13th century, which was gradually absorbed in the Mughal empire in the early 17th century. It was Khān Dājah ‘Ali (d. 863/1459, see Mohammad Yusufo Siddiqu, Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 65-7), a charismatic saintly figure and a great commander, who consolidated Islam in this region, mainly through his massive public welfare works such as roads, ponds, wells, hostels, etc. His most impressive architectural work is the Shakhy-Gumbad Masjid in Bagerhat, one of the biggest mosques in South Asia. Islam spread rapidly during this period as people started settling massively in the region through clearing the forest (as reflected in the names of the villages with the suffixes kāṭi-i and -ābād meaning clearing, e.g. Shāhrooppāt-i).

At present, it remains a vast natural sanctuary of birds, fishes and wild animals such as the famous royal Bengal tigers, deer, monkeys and crocodiles, and the largest forest region of Bengal.


(MOHAMMAD YUSUF SIDDIQ)

SUNKUR or SUNKUR, the name of a district and of a present-day small town in western Persia (town: lat. 34° 45' N., long 47° 39' E.). It lies in the Zagros Mountains between modern Kāngāvār [q.v.] and Sanandaj [q.v.] or Sinna, within the modern province of Kirmānshāh.

In medieval Islamic times, it lay on the road between Dinawar [q.v.] and Aḥtarābāydiān, and must correspond approximately to the first markala on the stretch from Dinawar to Sisar, the name of which is read al-Dājrāb (al-Mukaddasī, 382), Kharbardjan (Ibn Khurradadhbih, 119; Kudama, 212), etc. which was 7 farsakhs from Dinawar (the actual distance between the present ruins of Dinawar and Sunkur is, however, 37 miles).
not more than 24 km/15 miles). Sunkur might therefore correspond to the district of Maybahradj (al-Balâdâhurf, Futâh, 310), which was detached from Dinawar under the caliph al-Mahdî and joined to Sîstâr [q.v.]; cf. Schwarcz, Iran im Mittelalter, iv, 477-9. If, however, we are to recognize in the name of the Kurd tribe Payrawand (Pawrahwand) a reminiscence of the old name Palhradj ("custodia, vigilia"), this tribe must have been driven westwards for it now occupies the west face of Mount Parrau (= Bussûm), lying to the southwest of Dinawar (cf. Rabino, Kermachâh, in RMM, xxxviii [1920], 36).

The easy pass of Mele-mâs on the line of heights from Dâlaâkhanî to Amurâla separates Sunkur from Dinawar. On the northeast, Sunkur is bordered by mount Pânjâ'-Alî (Mustawfî, Nazhât al-Futâh, ed. Le Strange, 217: Pandji-Anguşqêh), behind which runs the direct road from Hamâdân to Sanandadj. Sunkur is watered by the upper tributaries of the river of Dinawar, which ultimately joins the Gamas-âb (Karkhâ). Sunkur in the strict sense is adjoined by the northern western district of Kulûyâtî on the course of the Gâwa-rûd, the western dependencies of which are Bîlawar and Niyâbat (on the Kûrmânshâh-Sanandadj road; cf. Rabino, q. cit., 12, 33). The importance of Sunkur lay in the fact that it was on the road followed by Muslim pilgrims from Tabrîz to Kûrmânshâh; to avoid the Kurdish territory of Sanandadj the road made a detour by Bîdjar (Garrus) and Sunkur, from which Kûrmânshâh could be reached in a day's march.

The population of the district is made up of two distinct elements. The town (1991 population figure: 37,772) is peopled by Turks, who are said to have come there in the Mongol period. Their chief Sunkur was a vassal of the Mongols of Shîrâyûs (?)..

The district, on the other hand, is inhabited by Kurd agriculturists whose chiefs belong to the tribe of Kulûyâtî. The Kîhans in control there until the early 20th century were said to be the descendants in the eighth generation from Sâfî Kîhan who lived in the time of the latter Safawids. In 1213/1798, al-Himmat Kîhan and his brother Bûbâ Kîhan (of the Nânakî tribe) supported the reformer al-Sâlih Kîhan and were executed by Faîl al-Shîh (Sir Harold Jones Brydges, History of the Kajars, London 1833, 58-9, 67). The Kulûyâtî speak a Kurd dialect resembling Kûrmânshâhî and are suspected of Ahl-â Hakk [q.v.] religious tendencies.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article, but see also [V. Minorsky*](#)

**SUNNA** (A. pl. sunan; see above, s.v. SUNAN, for a different connotation), an ancient Arabian concept that was to play an increasingly important role during the formative centuries of Islam, acquiring a range of interrelated nuances. Eventually, some time after the preaching of Islam had begun, the term *sunna* came to stand for the generally approved standard or practice introduced by the Prophet as well as the pious Muslims of olden days, and at the instigation of al-Shâ ح (the sunna of the Prophet was awarded the position of the second root (a'âl) of Islamic law, al-sharia, the Kûrân. Not long after *sunna* came to stand for the ad hoc person or group who exercised the concept orthodoxy, which is still in use today. Out of this there grew the dichotomy between Sunnî (orthodox) and Shi'î (heterodox) Islam. During the first three centuries of Islam, the term *sunna*, standing alone or in various genitive constructions with other words, displays an evolution in meaning which will be sketched in more detail in the following. For the technical *shari'ah* term, see 2. below. 1. In classical Islam.

In the *Dhikhrinya*, the concept *sunna* originally stood for a way or manner of acting, whether good or bad, hence (dis)approved custom or norm of previous generations; *al-sunnûn*; cf. esp. Brahmânn, in *Bibl.*. The verbs used for laying down a *sunna* are *sunna* and *istanna*. During the 1st/7th century when, after the death of Muhammâd, the Muslim community was ruled first by the *khalifâ bâdshah* and then the Umayyads, the term *sunna* was used in debates on legal and ritual issues to indicate any good precedent set by people of the past, including the Prophet. Moreover, various pre-Islamic *sunnas* were accepted into Islam with or without modification. In certain ancient texts, the term was occasionally also used for any bad or indiffident precedent. It turned up in political debates too, for which see further down.

During Muhammâd's lifetime and immediately after that, when faced with problems to solve, people reminded each other in their discourse (hadith) of how the Prophet and his first faithful followers had acted under particular circumstances. This resulted in an as yet unstructured, oral transmission of more or less correctly remembered practices and customs. Towards the end of the 1st/7th century, when the need thereto arose, these memories began to be transmitted in a more standardised manner after the introduction of a newly-developed authentication device, the *indid* [q.v.]. The first reports (hadîth) of *sunnas* that eventually found their way to one or more of the hadith collections compiled in the course of the 2nd/8th century and later, originated in the final quarter of the 1st/7th century.

Recent *sunna* analytical research has established that, initially, these first sunnas were on the whole few and disparate. Next to hadîth of sunnas supported by *sunna* that allegedly went back all the way to the Prophet, which in other words were *marfi* [see Râf*], there circulated hordes of other ones whose sunnas ended in a Companion, the *mawkiš* strands, or even a Successor [see Mursa]. These three types of sunnas reports existed side-by-side and were supposed to register more or less faithfully what the pious forebears, al-salaf al-âllah, during and since the lifetime of the Prophet had said or done. But the Companion reports, as well as the Successor reports, did not necessarily contain opinions exclusively modelled on what the Prophet was supposed to have decided in a given situation, but often represented what these authorities thought about a particular issue themselves. They were the *fâkâhâ*. Rather than basing themselves all the time upon a pious practice attributed to someone from the past, they sometimes preferred to exercise their own judgment, their *ra'î*, and their personal opinions, *âlâm*, were occasionally also granted the status of *sunna*. Personal *ad hoc* problem-solving, without recourse to precedent, developed alongside searching for precedents, for which the general term *îm* lit. knowledge, was used. Thus *îm* consisted of sunnas which had originated at the hands of pious forebears and which were eventually moulded into hadîths. *îm* seekers, *îmlâs* [q.v.], who wished to find for themselves, and who wished to exercise some understanding, the same kind of authority as those who resorted to their *ra'î*, the *ahl al-ra'î*, and this gave way to an ongoing dialogue, or bitter dispute, between, on the one hand, a basically religious, precedent-centred point of view and, on the other hand, a somewhat secular stance with, according to some *îmlâs*, far too little religion mixed in with it.

It is clear that, at least during the first three centuries of Islam, hadîth and *sunna* cannot be equated
but are just related concepts. The former is the initially orally transmitted and later written registration of, among other things, the revered practice of any of the past, although despised or indifferent practices are also occasionally referred to with the term. At the turn of the 1st/7th century, the Umayyad caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz (d. 101/719-20 [q.v.]) was allegedly the first to single out the sunna of the Prophet among the sunna of others. Thus it happened that, after hadith had begun to comprise a sizeable number of sunna supposedly introduced increasingly often by the Prophet rather than by the Khulafāʾ raḥīmān or other well-known Companions, the concept sunna began to shed its broad meaning of “any precedent” and the connotation “any laudable precedent” started to prevail.

But sunna as a more vague concept did not die out. Moreover, next to the term emerging in debates on legal and ritual issues, it played a significant part in the political discussions of the 1st/7th century. When the Prophet's companions, Abī Talib and Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān [q.v. at Siffin (37/657-658) was concluded with an arbitration agreement, the khidār Allāh and al-sunnat al-ṣulāma ilā yâyār al-muṣṭafā, i.e. the Book of God and the just messenger of God, the only person for whom a case could conceivably be made is Sufyān b. 'Umayya (d. 190/803), cf. al-Mizzi [q.v.], Tuhfat al-qāhīfī, vi, no. 7352.

The relationship of Kurʾān and sunna has long been a matter of debate, formulated in the question of whether a sunna could abrogate a Kurʾānic verse. It has always been realised in Islam that the Kurʾān was more in need of elucidation, e.g. through sunnas, than that sunnas required explanation from scripture. Even so, the debate was couched in cautious terms, lest a sunna, which is after all a custom instituted by man, was too readily taken to be capable of abrogating scripture—which is after all a divine ordinance or modified the Kurʾān’s prima facie interpretation. In the first chapter of the Sunan of al-Dārīmī (d. 255/869 [q.v.]) a number of traditions and opinions on sunna vis-à-vis the Kurʾān are listed. The statement: al-sunnah kādiyyat al-Kurʾān wa-lasqa al-Kurʾān bi-kād al-'ijāz (i.e. sunna may determine the Kurʾān but not vice-versa) is ascribed to an early authority but is probably al-Dārīmī’s own handiwork, cf. 159, no. 587.

The term sunna was also used for the dogmatic political discussions among the doctors of theology, the mutakallimūn; see ilm al-kalām. During the time that these disputes of, for example, adherents of the Kadariyya, Murdjī’ī, Râfīḍa or Mu’tazila [q.v.] with their opponents occupied increasingly large numbers of theologians from the middle of the 1st/7th century until after the mimmah [q.v.], the so-called “inquisition” instituted by the Abbaṣid caliph al-Maʿṣūmī, which ended in 234/848, the hadith people or ahl al-hadith [q.v.], busily searching for sunna, were out of their depth and constituted no match for them. Among these theologians they even acquired the derogatory nickname badhwiyya [q.v.] lit. “those that stuff”, predominantly because of their credulity in respect of certain traditions, which they collected alongside sunnas, containing anthropomorphic descriptions of God [see also nabiya]. On the other hand, the ranks of sunna seekers were swollen by large numbers of traditionists suspected and/or accused of harbouring one or more of these innovative dogmatic ideas (bidāʾ [q.v.]), but as long as they did not propagate them in their traditions by slipping such ideas into the reports they were instrumental in transmitting, they were on the whole tolerated. In retrospect, it can be surmised that, if the ahl al-hadith, while transmitting sunnas, had shunned the participation in this activity of all those known to harbour a predilection for one or more of those bidāʾs, they would have been so few
in number that the total bulk of what became known as Islam's canonical hadith would have attained a mere fraction of its present size.

So traditions containing descriptions of sunnas gradually multiplied. This growth may in part be due to a hadīth ascribed to the Prophet, but for the working of which the Baṣrān muhaddith Shū'ba b. al-Hadīdjādī (d. 160/776 [q.v.]), who is the undeniable common link of its isnād bundle, may be held responsible: "He who introduces in Islam a good sunna will be given the ensuing merit and the merit accruing to all those who practise/adapt it after him, but he who introduces in Islam a pernicious sunna will have to carry its burden and that of those who practice/adapt it after him", cf. al-Mizzī, Taṣfīf al-aṣḥābī, ii, no. 3292. Shū'ba need not necessarily be assumed to be the first person to have thought of this saying, for it may be considered to have been foreshadowed in a differently worded tradition, without the crucial term sunna. On the basis of its isnād bundle, that tradition can safely be ascribed to al-ʿArāṣī (d. 147/764-5 [q.v.]), incidentally an alleged sympathiser of the Shīʿa! from Kūfah, who transmitted it to, among others, his junior hadīth colleague Shū'ba: "He who draws attention to a good (practice), he will enjoy the same reward as those who adopt that (practice)," cf. al-Mizzī, ibid., vii, no. 9986. Traditions in this vein became numerous (cf. al-Tirmīzhī, al-Ḍārimī al-aṣḥābī, ed. A.M. Shākir et alii, v, 41-5) but, judging by their isnāds, all these originated much later than al-ʿArāṣī and Shū'ba.

Be that as it may, the adherents to the sunna, or ṣāḥib al-sunna as they were increasingly often called, were thought of during the heyday of theological disputes as living in concealment, as strangers in their own home, that is in any case how al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941 [q.v.]), the author of an early Islamic creed, expressed it, cf. Ibn Abī Yalāʾ, Tabākāt al-Ḥanābilah, ii, 29, ll. 2-6. The appellation ṣāḥib al-sunna is found already in a well-known early statement on the origin of the isnād requirement attributed to the Baṣrān muhaddith Ibn ʿIrīn (d. 110/728 [q.v.]). This man yielded to Islam's indomitable tendency to divide society up into categories, e.g. al-ḥadīth, al-aṣḥāb al-sāḥibīn, and constitutes in fact a polemic against the hadīth transmitters found in the biographical lexicons as being described by the term ṣāḥib sunna emerge at the same time as prolific common links, each responsible for the (wording of) a number of traditions listed in the canonical collections. Viewed from that angle, the plural asāḥib al-sunna permits of the connotation "originators of sunnas."

Some time later, in the course of the 3rd/9th century, one finds increasingly frequently the word sunnī, plural sunnīyyun, and constituting a distinction of one of the war-
is as if in this—as it were—tolerant stance the definitive defeat of the ahl al-bidca is reflected now that the ahl al-sunnah had started to constitute everywhere the majority. For a survey of the Sunnī creed which is still in force today, see Darimf, Abd al-Sunnah, Cairo 1961.

(ii) Prophetic authority. Āriqā Afli and Afli Ābī al-Rāżīk limit prophetic authority to spiritual matters, implicitly rejecting much of sunna. The Ahl-i Kurān argued that Muhammad’s activity as prophet was limited to the Kurān; their other actions are not binding on later generations. An Egyptian, Muhammad Tawfīq Ṣūdī, voiced similar arguments, but Rasīd Rida [c] pressed him to recant (Ma‘nīn, ix [1906], 515-24, x, 140). Rida himself argued for the subordination of sunna to the Kurān, and he has been followed by some revivalists (Ma‘nīn, xii, 693-9; Muhammad al-Ghazzālī, al-Sunnah al-nabawiyah bayna ahl al-fikr wa-ahl al-hadith, Cairo 1989). Other revivalists limit the scope of prophetic authority by distinguishing human activities of Muhammad from divinely-inspired prophetic sunnah (Mawdūdī, Tafṣīlim, Lahore 1989, 98-113).

(iii) The relationship of sunnah to hadith. Seeking to salvage sunnah from the ravages of hadith criticism, S.M. Yusuf and Fazlur Rahman defined sunnah as the ‘idea’ of the early Muslims, reflected in hadith, not derived from it (Rahman, Islamic methodology in history, Karachi 1961, 6, 18; S.M. Yusuf, in IQ, xxxvii [1964], 271-82, xxxviii [1964], 15-25). Hadīth, while not strictly historical, represents “the interpreted spirit of the Prophetic teaching” (Rahman, op. cit., Karachi 1961, 71). Later generations of Muslims must duplicate this interpretive process, not by a literal application of hadīth, but by discovering the spirit of the prophetic example for themselves.

While such revisionist views have not gained a wide following, they have nevertheless exerted enormous influence on modern Muslim discussions of religious authority, giving rise to a plurality of definitions of sunnah reminiscent of the formative period of Islamic thought.


SUNNI ‘ALLI [see songhay].

SŪR (A.), pls. asvār, ṣūrān, the wall of a town or other enclosed urban or built-up space. The present article treats of town walls and fortifications in the central Islamic lands.

The development of urban fortification may be divided into two main traditions: (1) the Mediterranean region, descended from Hellenistic and Roman fortifications, characterised by stone and fired brick fortifications with regular projecting towers, a type first seen in the 4th century B.C., and itself probably derived from Mesopotamian city fortifications, such as are represented in Assyrian reliefs, and (2) the Middle East, which inherited Mesopotamian and Iranian traditions, typified by massive pisé (beaten earth) ramparts up
to 20 m thick. One can also define a general chronological distinction between the earlier Islamic period, where fortifications were more or less direct descendants of ancient traditions, and the high mediaeval period, when urban fortifications are influenced by the castle-building of the Crusading period. Finally, it should also be noted that frequently a city's fortifications evolved slowly over the centuries, from before Islam up to the modern day; in many cases, such as Istanbul and Damascus, fortifications constructed before Islam continued to be used with little modification. In addition the design of new gates and towers was constrained by the necessity to adapt to what already existed, and by long-standing local traditions in construction and materials, which dictated basic forms.

At the beginning of Islam, not all cities were fortified. While the digging of a khandak (trench) to defend Medina in the time of the Prophet was considered to be an innovation, the early ansārāt at Kūfah, Baṣra and Fustāṣ (qv. and see MIR. B.) were initially unfortified. Echoes of the walls on a smaller circuit. (ibid., £). At Anazarbos in Cilicia (Ar. camsdr fortified. Echos of the walls of Konya. A late version of this type is to be found in the citadel of Damascus, and in the extension of the walls of Cairo begun by Badr al-Djamali in 480/1087-90. In the 5th/11th century, the tradition of regular projecting towers was continued in the first phase of the citadel of Damascus, and in the extension of the walls of Cairo begun by Badr al-Djamali in 480/1087. The three fine surviving gates of Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla, are each flanked by a pair of square or U-shaped towers, 20.89 and 22 m high with three storeys, and much larger than the wall towers. The period of the Crusades led to considerable change. Large citadels were built or rebuilt in the major cities of the Near East, in Cairo, Baṣra, Damascus and Aleppo. The citadel of Aleppo is best known for its magnificent entrance, a single massive square tower with an interior passage with five right-angled turns, built by al-Malik al-Zahir Ghāzī in 606/1209-10, and approached by a bridge across the moat from a forecourt built by Kansūh al-Ghawri in 913/1507. The slope of the forecourt was partly revetted by a glace of stone, and the summit ringed by a wall with regular projecting towers. The city walls themselves date to the Ayyūbid period and later, with an extension to the east built in the second half of the 9th/10th century. In Cairo, the citadel built in 572-9/1176-83 by Sa拉丁 al-Dīn is composed of two enclosures fortified by massive round towers added by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in 604/1207-8. There was a substantial increase in the size of towers, whether square or circular, built mainly of fine ashlar masonry, often incorporating re-used column drums, and they were now placed irregularly, to conform to the terrain and tactical requirements. At Diyarbekir in Turkey, massive 6th/12th-century towers are U-shaped and placed at changes in the line of the walls. At Baṣra, the gate-towers of the later circuit, of fired brick with stone fittings, are built on the far side of bridges across the moat. Although only the Bāb al-ʿIṣāfānī is preserved, the now-disappeared Bāb al-Tīsrīmān (618/1221) was decorated with relief-carved serpents. Relief-carved decoration was also characteristic of the walls of Konya. A late version of this type is to be seen in the restoration and reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem by the Ottoman sultan Süleyman Kānnūnī in 943-7/1537-40. In this case, there are few towers, probably because the objective was the pious act of protecting a holy city, and no great military activity was envisaged.
In southeastern Persia, well-preserved defences dating from the Safawid period have survived at Bam, with a citadel with massive U-shaped brick towers and a brick curtain wall. At Bukhara, the system of defences in its present form dates from the 18th century onwards, star-shaped fortifications with low gun bastions projecting from the main curtain, but with at least one gate flanked by half-round towers, while the new Ark was built on the site of the old citadel. New defences of the traditional type continued to be built even in the 19th century. In the 1830s, as a result of a pious donation to develop the Shi'i sanctuary, Sāmarra was fortified with a brick wall having occasional projecting solid towers. The developments in artillery fortifications typical of Europe from the 17th century onwards, star-shaped fortifications with loopholes are incorporated.


See also the Bibliography.

SUR — SUR

§UR, the Arabic name for Tyre, coastal city of southern Lebanon, regional capital of the kadi of the same name. Built on an offshore island, it was in the Phoenician period one of the most powerful commercial centres of the Levant. The Bible mentions a king Hiram who, a contemporary and ally of Solomon, supplied him with cedar-wood for the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem, as well as with highly skilled and esteemed masters, carpenters, goldsmiths and stone-cutters (I Kings v. 15-32). Tyre established flourishing colonies in the western Mediterranean, and its mariners were among the most adventurous of the time; it was they who, at the behest of the Pharaoh Necho, achieved the first circumnavigation of the African continent.

The conquest of the city by Alexander was marked by the construction of a causeway linking the island to the mainland, which became over time a veritable isle, on which the city developed.

Covering an area of 15 ha, Tyre presents today the largest archaeological site of the Eastern Mediterranean coastalland. Among the features excavated, one of the most significant is the main street, 175 m in length and fringed by a portico, which led to the harbour. A hippodrome and a necropolis are located on the mainland. Since 1984, the city has been designated a world heritage site by UNESCO.

The Arab conquest did not trigger off a decline of the city, since Mu'awiyah, governor of Damascus and founder of the Umayyad dynasty, is said to have installed there Persian colonists from Ba'albakk, Himis or Anthakia, the bulk of the population being constituted by Hellenised elements and Arab soldiers. According to al-Baladhuri, the caliph Hisham had the arsenal of Akka transferred there and built warehouses and docks; the city subsequently became, under the Marwanids, the operational base of the Muslim fleet ed in place of Akka. It was very well fortified, and accessible from the mainland only by a bridge. The ancient aqueduct, fed by the well of Ra's al-Ayn or al-Rashidiya, still supplied water to the city, according to al-Mukaddasi. Nisir-i-Khusraw, who visited the city in 1047, mentions its houses, five or six storeys high, and a richly ornamented nasjid. The inhabitants were mostly Shi'i, but the kadi was a Sunni.

The merchants of the town resented their status as vassals of great empires controlled from distant capitals, and in 388/988 the people of Tyre, led by a peasant named Alaka, rose in rebellion against the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim. When the governor of Syria sent land and naval troops against the city, Alaka appealed for help to the emperor of Byzantium, but the latter's ships were sunk, and the city was taken and sacked.

In 1089, the vizier Badr al-Djama'ji seized the town from the Saljuk sultan of Damascus Tutush, and his successor al-Afdal Shahanshah punished a new uprising in 490/1097 with a fearful massacre; this was the same year that the Crusaders set out from Constantinople. The city allied itself with Akka and Tarabulus against the invaders. In 1107 King Baldwin camped within the walls of the city for a month, only withdrawing in return for a ransom of 7,000 dinars. The Egyptian fleet, arriving too late to save Tripoli or Tarabulus, made its base at Tyre.

In 1111, Baldwin resumed his siege of the town, which was relieved by Tughtsikin, sent with an army from Damascus. The Crusaders made a fresh attempt in April 1124. Venetian ships blockaded the port to keep the Egyptian fleet at bay, and after a stubborn resistance, starvation forced the people of Tyre to submit. They offered the choice of leaving the city with their property or staying on payment of a ransom; in July, they abandoned the city, settling either in Damascus or in Ghaza. The city remained in the hands of the Franks until 1191.

At this time, al-Idrisi speaks of the flourishing industries of glassware, ceramics and high quality textiles which produced the wealth of the city.

On the sea side, the port was accessible by way of a narrow inlet flanked by two tall towers; it was the finest port of the entire Levantine coast. On three sides, the port was enclosed within the ramparts of the town, and on the fourth there was a wall and a kind of archway under which ships were docked. This
port within a city could be sealed by a huge chain deployed between the two towers.

After the capture of Jerusalem and the majority of coastal sites, Salah al-Din arrived to lay siege to Tyre in November 1187, but without success. Tyre remained, with the castle of Beaufort, the last place still held by the Franks: the knights released by Salah al-Din after each of his victories gathered there, and prepared to lay siege to 'Akka. On 19 April 1192, Conrad, the deposed king of Jerusalem who resided in Tyre, was assassinated by Isma'il. His successor Henry of Champagne, concluded the treaty of Ramla with Salah al-Din (September 1192); under the terms of this treaty the coast between Jaffa and Tyre remained in the hands of the Franks.

The city was devastated by two earthquakes, in 1201 and 1203. Although the treaty signed in 1229 between Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kamil of Egypt maintained Frankish domination of Tyre and numerous coastal towns, the Crusaders were weakened by internal strife and rivalry between Venice and Genoa.

The Mamluk sultan Baybars launched two expeditions against the city, in 1266 and 1269, but in 1270 he agreed to a treaty with the prince of the city under which the neighbouring territories were divided between them, part being placed under joint administration. Marguerite of Tyre bought from the sultan Kālāwūn a peace lasting ten years in return for sacrificing half of her revenues and a guarantee not to restore the city’s fortifications. But after the capitulation of 'Akka in 1291, the other coastal cities were incapable of resisting much longer; the city was taken by Khalil b. Kālāwūn, who destroyed it. Some of the inhabitants were sold into slavery, others were put to the sword.

The city remained unoccupied for several centuries, and neither the Druze amir Fakhır al-Din Ma'nī in the 17th century, nor the governor of Acre Dżazār Paşşa in the 18th, succeeded in restoring its dynamism. From 3,000 inhabitants in 1840, the population had grown to 6,000 by 1900; half of these were Muslims, the remainder Maronites, Greek Catholics and Jews.

In 1920 the Treaty of Sevres, which dismantled the Ottoman Empire, incorporated Tyre and the Dżabal 'Amil into Greater Lebanon, placed under French mandate by the League of Nations. The population of the south, Shi'ī for the most part, felt excluded from this Lebanese state, where it was represented by only a few families of dignitaries, wealthy quasi-feudal landowners who rallied to the new system. But in fact, the region constituted the northern sector of Upper Galilee, the southern being in Palestine under British mandate, with the major port of Jaffa for an outlet.

The destiny of Tyre, already constrained by this mandatory frontier, was overturned by the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, with Zionist leaders claiming territory extending as far as the Litani river, the waters of which they wanted to control, and 14 Lebanese border villages were to be occupied until 1949. From 1967 onwards, despite the non-participation of Lebanon in the Six-Day War, southern Lebanon became engulfed in a spiral of violence from which it has yet (1996) to be extricated, and which has seriously handicapped the role which Tyre could have played in regional affairs.

Another important phenomenon has been the progressive consolidation of the Shi'ī community, led by the Imām Muḥaṣṣa Ṣādır, who took up residence in Lebanon in 1960. Seeking to inspire the Shi'ī community, marginalised in spite of efforts made during the presidency of Shīhāb (1958-64) to develop the infrastructures of the south, he founded in 1973 the Movement of the Dispossessed, then in 1975, in Tyre, the Amal political party. In January 1969, in response to the destruction by Israel of Lebanese civilian aircraft, a general strike paralysed Tyre and Sidon (Ṣaydā), with the demand that the Lebanese state introduce conscription to combat the Israeli threat. Amal was originally allied with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which controlled the camps surrounding the city: Rasāṣṭīyya (some 14,000 inhabitants in 1975), Burdī al-Shīmālī (some 10,000 inhabitants in 1975) and Bass (about 5,000).

In fact, the sovereignty of the Lebanese state was challenged by Palestinian guerilla groups, taking up residence in southern Lebanon after their expulsion from Jordan in 1971. The region of Tyre was one of their bastions, and the Lebanese army tried in vain to take control of the camps. The process which was to lead to the nationwide conflagration of 1975-6 was well advanced.

In September 1972 Israel launched its first intervention in South Lebanon, and after the first phase of the civil war, in 1976, it inaugurated its policy of the "good border": by way of numerous frontier posts, the villagers were induced to work in Israel, while the region was inundated with Israeli produce; the destruction of orchards, infrastructures and hostile villages facilitated the economic integration of the region into Israel, to the detriment of Tyre, isolated and cut off from the rest of the country.

In March 1978, to halt Palestinian incursions into its territory, Israel launched ‘Operation Litānī’; when its army withdrew in June, it retained control of a border strip of Lebanese territory, 5 to 10 km in width, in defiance of Resolutions 425 and 426 of the Security Council of the UN demanding Israeli withdrawal and creating UNIFIL, initially a contingent of 6,000 men acting as a buffer between the Syrian army deployed to the north of the Litānī and the frontier zone occupied by the pro-Israeli militia of the Maronite Major Sa'd Ḥajjādād, who had defected with his troops from the Lebanese army; in April 1979, he prevented the latter from re-occupying Tyre. The city of Tyre was then effectively under the control of the PLO and the Amal movement.

To eradicate the Palestinian presence in Lebanon after the Camp David accords with Egypt, and to induce the Lebanese state to sign a separate peace in its turn, Israel once more invaded Lebanon on 6 June 1982; this was Operation ‘Peace for Galilee’, in which Tyre was the target of 57 air-raids. The city was occupied, but resistance to the Israeli presence was stubborn: in September 1982 250,000 Shi'īs demonstrated in Tyre to mark the fourth anniversary of the disappearance of the Imām Muḥaṣṣa Šādır, and in November 1983, Amal shelled the Israeli headquarters in the city.

In June 1985 Israel withdrew, retaining control only of the "security zone", some 850 km², through the intermediary of the Southern Lebanese Army of General Antoine Lahad, and Amal took over the city. But competition between Amal and the PLO for supremacy in the South led to the eruption in 1985-86 of the "war of the camps", the Shi'īs being supported by Iran, which sent weapons and instructors to Tyre. The war between Shi'īs and Palestinians resumed on 22 October 1986, and it was not until 4 January 1988 that Amal raised the siege of the Rasāṣṭīyya camp. Israel has continued to make incursions
into South Lebanon, as in May 1988, and periodically to shell Tyre and its Palestinian camps, disrupting commerce and preventing marine fishing.

The city of Tyre comprised some 54,000 inhabitants and a quarter of a million visitors, estimations of the kadi', but demographic estimates are not easily confirmed on account of the high level of mobility of the population, the result of insecurity and of a traditionally substantial trend towards emigration. In 1975, the civil war raging in Beirut impelled the Shi'ite population to seek refuge in the South, while the Israeli invasions of 1978 and 1982 provoked an exodus in the opposite direction. The annual demographic increase is at all events very high, of the order of 44 per thousand, as against 25 for Lebanon as a whole, and 34 per thousand for Shayd, regional capital of the muhafaza of South Lebanon.

Emigration, especially towards West Africa, has affected a substantial proportion of the Shi'ite population (a quarter ?), and communities settled in clusters from Senegal to Nigeria retain close links with their region of origin. During the civil war, although cut off from the rest of the country, Tyre experienced a reasonable degree of economic prosperity, owed to remittances from these expatriates and the continuing operation of the port. But the destruction of olive and orange groves by the Israeli army, as well as, from the 1980s onward, the return of emigrants from the Gulf and Black Africa fleeing violence there, has aggravated unemployment.

Before the war, in 1973, the region produced annually 280,970 tonnes of agricultural produce. The Kasimiyah canal irrigated nearly 7,000 ha, and an additional 4,000 ha were watered by some hundred wells. During the 1990s, the return of a precarious peace, interrupted by Israeli bombardments and hampered by blockade of the port, has permitted a modest economic revival, based on a boom in construction and agricultural redevelopment.

The city, which had grown on the promontory joining the former island to the mainland, was the object in 1964 of a development scheme. This permitted the opening of roads in the zone bordered to the west by recent house construction and the east by the archeological excavations of al-Bass (al-Ramí quarter). The port of Tyre is protected by a quay to the north, and matches the contour of the coast to the south: on one side are five small docks for fishing vessels, on the other a dock for merchant shipping. One of the main concerns of the development scheme has been the clearing of all the spaces invaded and disfigured by illegal construction, in particular on the isthmus, and the conservation of the beaches to the north and especially to the south of the city which, along with Tyre's cultural attractions, have the potential to constitute a profitable resort area.

Bibliography: Baládhuri, Futūḥ, 116 ff., 143; Muqaddasi, 163; Kudima, 255; Nasi', Khusrwā, ed. Schefer, 11, Eng. tr. Thackston, Kūstānā, 248; Noldeke, Gesch. des Qur., 1, 31 n. 1), shows that this derivation was not known. The older European majority view, accepted also by Noldeke (ibid., i, 30-1), derived the Arabic sura from the Hebrew shurd, and called upon whomever they say, 'He has invented it' or information being "sent down" to Muhammad, thus making it parallel to kūr'ān, kutāb, and other Qur'ānic terms of Syriac origin that are associated with revelation or scripture. Opinions will no doubt continue to differ on the origin of this term. Regardless of its derivation, the view that its earliest usage occurs in the Kur'ān is the most plausible assumption.

The term sura occurs in the Kur'ān nine times in the singular and once in the plural (sawwār), all probably in Meccan contexts. It is useful to make a distinction between the usage of this term in the Kur'ān during Muhammad's lifetime and its later usage after the compilation of the completed Islamic scripture. Within the Kur'ān the term sura is best interpreted simply as "a unit of revelation", making it synonymous with some Kur'ānic usages of kūr'ān, āyā, and kūtāb [see kūr'ān, 1b, esp. at 402a]. In most contexts the term sura seems to refer to a short unit, possibly just a few verses, such as IX, 64, in which the Hypocrites [see munafiqūn] are said to be afraid "lest a sura be sent down against them, telling [Muhammad] what is in their hearts". Cf. IX, 86, 124 and XLVII, 20, which also refer to specific commands or information being "sent down" to Muhammad, suggesting short units of revelation, rather than the present suras. Three other contexts refer to accusations from Muhammad's opponents that he had been forging or inventing revelations. The Kur'ān responds with challenges that may provide insight into the history of the suras and of the text of the Kur'ān during Muhammad's lifetime. The context that appears to be the earliest of these three is XI, 13: "Or do they say, 'He has invented it' (gītarāū-hā'ī)? Then bring ten sawwār like it, invented, and call upon whomever you are able apart from God, if you speak the truth." This verse is later repeated verbatim in X, 38, with one significant change: "Then bring a sura like it,...."
This challenge to produce only one sura equal to those recited by Muhammad is then repeated verbatim in II, 23. It is quite possible that the challenge in XI, 13, to produce ten suras equal to Muhammad's revelations reflects the period when the Kur'ān consisted of a collection of mostly short recitations (see Bell-Watt, 137-41), whereas the other two verses reflect the later period in Medina when the Prophet was combining and expanding earlier revelations to form longer suras as parts of a written scripture for his followers (see Kur'ān, 5.c, at 417b-418a). Regardless of whether this hypothesis is accepted, it seems certain that most, if not all, occurrences of the term sûra in the Kur'ān refer to units of revelation that were shorter than the present, long suras in which this term appears.

2. Composition and literary types. To say that the suras are distinct units does not mean, however, that they are all alike in their literary form and contents. The Kur'ān contains a wide variety of literary or didactic types, but very few suras consist of a single type or treat a single topic. Those that do are valuable as exceptions to the nature of the vast majority of suras. Three of the most striking of these exceptions, the first sûra (a short prayer addressed to God) and the last two (charms for driving away evil powers [see Al-Muṣawwarat al-Makān]) were not considered to be parts of the revelation by at least one of Muhammad's closest Companions (al-Suyūṭī, Ḳīān, i, 64; Gesch. des Qor., ii, 39-42; Jeffer, Materials, 21). For a discussion of these three distinctive suras, see Gesch. des Qor., i, 108-14. Another exception is the unique Sūra of the All-Merciful (LV), which consists almost entirely of a litany, in which the refrain, “O which of your Lord’s bounties will you two [human kind and the djinn] deny”, occurs 31 times as a separate verse, usually every other verse. The Sūra of Joseph (XII) is another exception, unique in several ways, e.g. it is the only long sûra that consists almost exclusively of a single narrative, the longest narrative in the Kur'ān. Virtually all other suras contain more than one major theme and literary type, the longer suras containing several of each.

The issue of the composition of the suras leads to questions regarding the classification of literary types, the unity of the suras, and the chronology of the text of the Kur'ān, issues that are so closely related that it is difficult to treat them separately. For a variety of reasons, classical Muslim scholars made several attempts to determine the chronological order of all of the suras, but in a number of cases could not agree even on whether a sûra was Meccan or Medinan (Ḳīān, i, 10-11). The order that came to be most widely accepted is now indicated in the headings to the individual sūras in the Egyptian standard text of the Kur'ān. The classical scholars devoted some attention to the literary forms of the sūras in attempts to determine their chronological order, but the main criteria in this effort involved the contents of the sūras and the traditional accounts of their historical setting or “occasions of revelation” (aḥbāb al-maṣūl) [see Kur'ān, 5.b, at 415-16].

European scholars developed a keener interest in the Kur'ān's literary types. In his Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran (1849), Gustav Welzl stressed literary form as a major criterion in his rearrangement of the traditional chronological order and his division of the sūras into "early Meccan", "middle Meccan", "late Meccan" and "Medinan" periods. For instance, he placed all short sūras considered to be of the kāhin style [see Kur'ān, 7.a, 421-2] in his "early Meccan" period. Th. Nöldeke refined Weil's system in the 1st ed. of his Gesch. des Qor. (1860), and R. Blachère arranged the sūras in Nöldeke's order, with a few exceptions, in his first transl. of the Kur'ān into French (2 vols., Paris 1949-51). For a description of this four-period system, see Gesch. des Qor., 2 i, 74-234; Blachère, Le Koran, Paris 1966, 11-23; Kur'ān, 5.c, 416-18, which includes a critique.

The first modern attempt to classify all of the major literary types in the Kur'ān was made by H. Hirschfeld, in his New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran, London 1902. His categories include "confirmatory, declarative, narrative, descriptive, and legislative", along with "parables, political speeches, and passages on Muhammad's domestic affairs". Hirschfeld surely went too far in concluding that the Meccan revelations occurred in the order of his first five categories (36, 143-5). Also, other conclusions and assumptions, along with the general tenor of his writing, are now outdated. The lasting contribution of his New researches is his convincing demonstration that any classification of literary types and themes within the Kur'ān must, with some exceptions, involve parts of sūras rather than sūras as wholes.

In her Studien (see Bihl), A. Neuwirth classifies parts of Meccan sūras according to ten thematic types: oaths, "when" passages, other sûra beginnings, eschatological passages, lessons from history, hymnic passages, exhortations to the Prophet or to particular believers, polemical passages, affirmations of the revealed nature of the Kur'ān, and closing summons and passages on Muhammad's domestic affairs. Neuwirth's system, which is based on the classification of the Kur'ān's literary types, is the most widely accepted, and it is the standard system in modern publications on the Qur'an. It is the system that is used in this entry.

The first modern attempt to classify all of the major literary types in the Kur'ān was made by H. Hirschfeld, in his New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran, London 1902. His categories include "confirmatory, declarative, narrative, descriptive, and legislative", along with "parables, political speeches, and passages on Muhammad's domestic affairs”. Hirschfeld surely went too far in concluding that the Meccan revelations occurred in the order of his first five categories (36, 143-5). Also, other conclusions and assumptions, along with the general tenor of his writing, are now outdated. The lasting contribution of his New researches is his convincing demonstration that any classification of literary types and themes within the Kur'ān must, with some exceptions, involve parts of sūras rather than sūras as wholes.

In her Studien (see Bihl), A. Neuwirth classifies parts of Meccan sūras according to ten thematic types: oaths, “when” passages, other sûra beginnings, eschatological passages, lessons from history, hymnic passages, exhortations to the Prophet or to particular believers, polemical passages, affirmations of the revealed nature of the Kur'ān, and closing summons and passages on Muhammad's domestic affairs. Neuwirth's system, which is based on the classification of the Kur'ān's literary types, is the most widely accepted, and it is the standard system in modern publications on the Qur'an. It is the system that is used in this entry.
Qur'an", including evidences of revision and reshaping of the suras, and provides a partial critique in Bell-Watt, ch. 6. For Bell's own descriptions of the composition of the suras, see the introductions to his translation. Other scholars, such as K. Baydân i'âz al-Kur'dn, Dall'il al-Djurdjânî in his Tafsîr al-mandr M. 'Abduh and M. Rashîd Rida's Kutb's commentary Fi zîldîl al-Kur'dn, and the relationships among verses, groups of verses within the suras, and groups of suras within the Kur'an. This expansion of the concept of the Kur'an's nazm can be seen in al-Zamakhshârf's well-known commentary al-Kashshârî (see Bibl.), in which he relates the concept to the ways rhetorical devices, sentence structure, and the relationships among phrases, verses, and suras convey complex meanings (see Darwish al-Djûnîfî, Nazm al-kur'dn fi Kashshârî al-Zamakhshârfî, Cairo 1969). Al-Râzî is possibly the first commentator to apply the concept of nazm to the whole of the Kur'an, arguing that it is through its exquisite arrangement of words, phrases, and verses that the text reveals the subtlety (latifa) of its meanings. Al-Râzî stresses the progressive development of ideas within the suras, showing how each verse leads to the next, and sometimes he points out similar relationships among suras. Al-Nisâbûrî, in his Ghîrub al-kur'dn (see Bibl.), builds on al-Râzî's approach by dividing a sura into a number of passages and linking these passages by connecting their dominant ideas. In his al-Bur'dhî (see Bibl.), al-Zarkashi develops al-Râzî's approach to the nazm of the Kur'an further through his discussions of the interrelationships (mussabbihât) among verses and suras (see, e.g., his second chapter, Mefîrât al-mussabbihât bayn al-kur'dn, Riyâd 1980, 33-52). Al-Suyûtî's al-Ifkân contains a chapter similar to al-Zarkashi's called Fi mussabbihât al-âyât wa l-suwar, and he wrote an entire book on the order of the suras (Tartîb suwar al-kur'dn, Beirut 1986). These classical writers, unlike some modern commentators, provide descriptive analyses of the internal arrangement of the suras, without attempting to develop elaborate theories that argue for the organic unity or thematic coherence of individual suras and groups of suras.

A number of collective names for groups of suras occur frequently in the classical writings. Examples include al-sabî al-tawdî (“the seven long ones”, ranging from 300 to over 700 lines in a modern printed text); II-VII and IX; al-mî'ân (“the hundreds”, all suras other than “the seven long ones” with over 100 verses); X-XII, XVI-XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIII, XXVI, and XXXVII; al-mussabbihât (those that begin with the formula “All that is in the heavens and the earth glorifying God”, beginning with sabbaha li-lldh yusabbihu [218x157]mula “All that is in the heavens and the earth glo-
ring, since over half of the suras are significantly out
length, from the longest to the shortest, is misleading,
since over half of the suras are significantly out
of the order in which they would occur if descending
length were the sole criterion (see Bell-Watt, 206-
12). Other conspicuous and equally important criteria
involve groups of suras—such as the tawwâmât, the
zakât, and the group of short, Medinan suras, LVII-
LXIX, that include the mussabbihât (see above)—that
appear together despite their widely varying lengths.
Regarding the order of the suras within the Kur'an,
see KUR'AN, 4.a, at 410a.

4. Unity and coherence. The idea of viewing the suras as organic units is not entirely a modern innovation. Abû Isâkh al-Shârîfî (d. 790/1388) wrote, “No matter how many subjects the sura deals with, it is a single discourse; the end is linked to the beginning, and the beginning is linked to the end, and the whole is devoted to a single aim” (quoted in K. Zebiri, Maw'id Shaltut and Islamic modernism, Oxford 1993, 143). Still, it has only been in modern times that scholars have devoted special attention to arguments supporting the structural unity and thematic "coherence" of individual suras. The Indian Kur'an commentator Ashraf al-Thânâwî (d. 1945), whose Tafsîr was first published in 1908, was one of the first scholars of the modern age to emphasise the organic unity of the suras. This same emphasis can be seen in M. 'Abduh and M. Rashîd Ridjâl's Tafsîr al-manâr (see Bibl.), especially at the end of the commentary on each sura where its subject matter is summarised. The concept of the unity of the sura is prominent in Sayyid Kûbî's commentary Fi zîlîl al-kur'dn (Cairo and Beirut, several eds.), in which he frequently refers to the central theme or aim of a sura, often called its gill (metaphorically signifying its purpose or overall character)
or mihrab (core or axis), which unites its various sections into a harmonious whole. Mahmūd Shaltut also takes for granted throughout his Tafsīr (see Bīhā) that the surās are coherent, well-ordered structures, each being a perfectly balanced whole (Zibārī, op. cit., esp. 152-5, 171-5).

Ḥamād al-Dīn al-Farāhī (d. 1930) and Amīn Aḥsān Iṣlāḥī (b. 1906) made the unity and coherence of the surās the primary principle of their interpretations of the Qurʾān. In his Dalā’il al-nizām, Aʿẓamgarh 1968 al-Farāhī begins by re-defining the key term nizām (or nizām) to mean coherence, rather than simply order or arrangement. Every surā is said to possess this coherence, which consists of three essential elements, order (tābīb), proportion (tāμdāb), and unity (raḥdāngha). Each surā also has a central theme, called ʿamūd, around which the entire surā revolves. Iṣlāḥī adopted al-Farāhī’s ideas and developed them further in his eight-volume commentary, Taḍabbur-i Qurʾān, Lahore 1967-80, in which he also asserts that most of the Qurʾān consists of “surā pairs” (II & III, VI & VII, X & XI, XII & XIII, XVI & XVII, XVIII & XIX, XX & XXI, XXII & XXIII, etc.) that have closely related central themes. These pairs are then said to constitute seven “surā groups”. Iṣlāḥī found support for his innovative theory in the Qurʾān by interpreting the much-debated expression sabʿām min al-maḥānān in XV, 87 (see Gesch. des Qurʾ., i, 114-16; Bell-Watt, 134-5) to mean “seven (groups of the) surā pairs”, and in the Ḥudūd by interpreting the expression sabʿat abrūf (which can be taken to refer to the seven readings of the Qurʾān, though most nāmūd deny this; see Gesch. des Qurʾ., i, 18-51; Bell-Watt, 48-9) as referring to his seven surā groups. For further explanation and a critique of the theories of al-Farāhī and Iṣlāḥī, see M. Mir, Coherence in the Qurʾān, and The surā as a unit, in Bīhā. It is unlikely that these imaginative theories will be widely accepted.

The subjectivity of these and other modern attempts to demonstrate the unity of the surās is seen in the fact that various writers, including al-Farāhī and Iṣlāḥī, identify different central themes for the same surā. This is only to be expected, since the majority of the surās treat several disparate topics. This new emphasis on the unity of the surā was inspired partly by a reaction to the verse-by-verse approach of the classical commentators, which often stressed grammatical and linguistic details and yielded little insight into the larger themes of the surās, and partly by a reaction to Western criticisms of the Qurʾān as being disjointed, repetitious and contradictory.

An equally elaborate and imaginative theory that purports to demonstrate the unity of the surās has been developed by Neuwirth in her Studien. She quotes Bell-Watt, 73, “… many surās of the Qurʾān fall into short sections or paragraphs. These are not of fixed length, however, nor do they seem to follow any pattern of length. Their length is determined not by any consideration of form but by the subject or incident treated in each” (175), and then states that it is the goal of her book to prove this view of the structure of the surās. One major thesis of her book is that the Meccan surās consist of groups of verses that are arranged in numerical patterns, often in balanced proportions, e.g., 5 + 9/6 + 6/9 + 5 in LXIX, 6 + 5 + 5 + 6 in LXXVX, 4 + 6 + 6 + 4 in XC, and 24/20 + 20/24 in the medium-length LXIII. Most surās are not said to consist of such perfectly balanced groups of verses, but she sees definite numerical patterns in all of them (175-321). One problem is that her balanced proportions are often based on changes which she makes in the traditional verse divisions in her ch. i (14-63). For this and several other reasons, her argument (314-15) that these numerical patterns show that the Meccan surās are units going back to the time they were first recited by Muhammad is not convincing (see Welch review, loc. cit., 766).

The modern critical view of the structure of the surās presented in Bell-Watt (73, 86-101) remains essentially intact. For a concise summary of the current critical view of the development and composition of the surās during Muhammad’s lifetime, see Qurʾān, concluding paragraph of 5.c. at 418b-19. This view regards the surās as composite in nature, with significant components from both the Meccan and Medinan periods. It thus rejects any attempt to date and arrange the surās as wholes, including the traditional division into “Meccan” and “Medinan” surās, as well as the modern western arrangement of the surās into four periods, three Meccan and one Medinan.

Questions regarding the composition, unity, and coherence of the surās are among the most disputed issues in modern Qurʾān studies. These differences of opinion, however, often stem from varying assumptions and approaches—theological, historical, literary, etc. Some approaches, literary as well as theological, are synchronic, assuming the unity of the present surās and of the Qurʾān as a whole. Other approaches, linguistic as well as historical, are diachronic, seeking to trace the development of the language and teachings of the Qurʾān during Muhammad’s lifetime. Studies based on this diachronic approach have led to the conclusion that the surās were fluid during Muhammad’s lifetime, that he recited parts of some surās differently on later occasions in response to the changing needs of his followers, and that the compilers of the Qurʾān after his death were loathe to omit any attested revelations and thus placed alternative passages together. This view is not inconsistent with some early Muslim traditions (see Wensinck, Handbook, 129, 131) and with the Qurʾān itself (II, 106, XIII, 39, XVI, 101, etc.). Amīn al-Khiyāl, in his Manāḥīd al-taḏqīq (see Bīhā), and M. Arkoun, in his Lectures du Coran, "Tunis 1991, have called for the application of modern historical and literary studies of the Qurʾān. Such studies would follow in the tradition of the classical commentators, who applied the literary and linguistic methods of their times. Studies that yield strong evidence that the surās underwent revision and expansion need not be rejected as undermining belief in the divine origin of the surās. Nor is this diachronic approach antithetical to synchronic studies. The two approaches to analysis of the surās can, and some would say should, exist side-by-side within a single modern discipline of Qurʾān studies.

The art. Qurʾān treats other aspects of the surās: their names (at 410), their rhymes and rhyme formulas (at 420), the formula called the basmala that precedes them (at 411-12), and the so-called “mysterious letters” that occur at the beginning of 29 of the 114 surās (at 412-14).

As regards his form, that is, perfect and well-proportioned, his length was 60 ells. On this, al-Kastallani (ix, 144) interpreted this tradition wrongly by taking it literally, for the expression as an indication of Adam's beauty and excellence is Muslim, and the conception of coming into existence (huduth), therefore also 'adad, is synonymous with bari‘ ‘to create’. Hence sura VII, 10, “and We have created you, man after his image and likeness,” is based on a view which finds expression in the Qur’an. In Qur’anic linguistic usage, budhadh ‘to fashion’ or ‘form’ is synonymous with bari‘ ‘to create’.

This linguistic usage shows complete synonymity between the concepts ‘to fashion, to shape’, and ‘to make, to create’. In the older Hebrew literature also, Yahweh as creator is called Yoser, i.e. the potter. The roots y-s-r and y-t-r are ultimately connected.

If, then, God according to the Kur‘an is the great fashioner, it follows in Hadith that all human fashioners are imitators of God and as such deserving of punishment. Whosoever makes an image, him will God give as a punishment the task of blowing the breath of life into it; but he will not able to do this” (al-Bukhari, Bury, b 104; Muslim, Litha, trad. 100). “Those who make these pictures will be punished on the Day of Judgment by being told, Make alive what you have created” (al-Bukhari, Taqhib, b 56). “These whom God will punish most severely on the Day of Judgment are those who imitate God’s work of creation” (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 36). Such are called the worst of creatures (al-Nasai‘, Musadiq, b 13), cursed by Muhammad (al-Bukhari, Bury, b 25), compared to polytheists (al-Tirmidhi, Quhannam, b 1). Houses which contain images, dogs and ritually impure people are avoided by the angels of mercy (al-Bukhari, Bad‘ al-khalak, b 17, etc.). The latter statement is illuminated by the story of how ‘Aishah once purchased a cushion (numraka) on which were pictures; when Muhammad saw it from outside the house, he stood at the door without coming in. When ‘Aishah saw repugnance expressed on his countenance, she said, ‘O Messenger of God, I turn full of penitence to God and His Messenger, but what law have I bro-
"ken?" He replied, "What is the meaning of this cushion?" She said, "I purchased it for thee to sit upon and use as a cushion." Then the Messenger of God ascended. The makers of these images will be punished, and they will be told, 'Make alive what you have created.' And further, he said, "A house which contains images is not entered by the angels." (Muslim, Libās, trad. 96; cf. 85, 87, 91-9; al-Bukhārī Libās, bāb 92; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 172). Muhammad is said to have removed the images and statues from the Ka'ba (al-Bukhārī, Maghāzī, bāb 48). There are also references to this in the Shāb. Here we need only quote one more remarkable tradition, which has some resemblance to the St. Christopher legend. 'Ali relates, "I and the Prophet walked till we came to the Ka'ba. Then the Prophet of God said to me, 'Sit down.' Then he stood on my shoulders and I arose. But when he saw that I could not support him, he came down, sat down and said, 'Stand on my shoulders.' Then I climbed on his shoulders and he stood up, and it seemed to me as if I could have touched the sky, had I wished. Then I climbed on the roof of the Ka'ba, on which there was an image of copper and iron. Then I began to loosen it at its right and left side, in front and behind, until it was in my power. Then the Prophet of God called to me, 'Throw it down!' Then I threw it down so that it broke into pieces like a bottle. I then climbed down from the Ka'ba and hurried away with the Prophet, till we hid ourselves in the houses for fear some one might meet us." (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 84; cf. 151).

According to the Shari'a, it is forbidden to copy living beings, those that have a rūh. Al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's Sahīh to Libās, trad. 81 (Cairo 1283, iv, 443) gives the following summary: The learned men of our school and other 'ulamā' say: The copying of living beings is strictly forbidden and is one of the great sins, because it is threatened with the severe punishment mentioned in the traditions. It does not matter whether the maker has made the copies from things used in little esteem or from other things, for the making of them is in itself harām, because it is an imitation of God's creative activity. From this point of view, it makes no difference whether the image is put upon a piece of cloth, carpet, coin, vessel or wall, etc. The copying of trees, camel-saddles, and other things apart from living creatures is not forbidden. Thus far the legal prescriptions affecting the copying itself.

As regards the use of articles which have on them images of living creatures, if these are hung on a wall or are on a garment which is worn, or on a turban or other article which is not treated lightly, they are harām. If the reproductions, however, are on carpets which are walked upon, on cushions and pillows, etc., which are in use, they are not harām. Whether the angels of mercy avoid houses which contain such articles will be discussed immediately, if God wills.

In all these cases, it makes no difference whether the reproductions have a shadow or not. Some of the older jurists say: Only what has a shadow is forbidden; there are no objections to other reproductions. But this is an erroneous view. For the reproduction on the curtain was condemned by the Prophet, and it certainly had no shadow. The other traditions should be remembered which forbid all images of whatever nature.

Al-Zuhri says: Images are without exception forbidden, as well as the use of articles on which there are images or the entering of a house in which there are images, whether embroidered on a cloth or not embroidered, whether they are put on a wall, on a cloth or carpet, to be trodden upon or not, on the authority of the literal interpretation of the tradition about the numra (pillow) which Muslim records (see above).

This is a very strict point of view. Others say: What is embroidered on a piece of cloth, whether for lowly use or not, whether hung on a wall or not, is permitted. They regard as makhār images which have shadows, or reproductions on walls, whether embroidered or not. They rely for this view on Muhammad's words in several traditions in the Bāb concerned: "except what is embroidered on cloth." This is the attitude of Kāsim b. Muhammad.

The consensus or ijma' [q.v.] forbids all representations which have shadows and declares their defacement ṣadīq. The Kāfir (Iyād) says: "Apart from little girls playing with dolls and the permission for this." Mālik, however, declares it makhār for a man to buy his daughter a doll. And some say that the permission to play with dolls was abolished by the traditions (447-8). These traditions lay it down without any ambiguity that the representation of living creatures is strictly forbidden. As regards representations of trees and such-like without a rūh, neither their making nor purchase is thereby forbidden. Fruit trees in this respect are the same as other trees. This is the view of all the 'ulumā' except Mujāhidī [q.v.], who considers the representation of fruit-trees makhār. The Kāfī (Iyād) says: Mujāhidī is alone in this view. He relies on the tradition, "Who is more unrighteous, than he who imitates my creation?" (Muslim, Libās, trad. 101; al-Bukhārī, Tāhdiḥ, bāb 96), while all the others quote the tradition, "Then it shall be said to them, put life (ayyāh) into that which ye have made," for ayāh means, make living creatures (ḥayawān) with a rūh. Thus far al-Nawawī.

In spite of the opinions of theologians and jurists, breaches are not rare, as in the case of the prohibition of wine; as, e.g., the frescoes in the bath-house of Kuṣayr 'Amra [see Architecture], the miniatures in Persian and Turkish manuscripts [see TAŚWIR. 1] and the postage stamps of the great majority of Islamic countries [see POSTAGE STAMPS]. There have even been pictures of Muḥammads in modern times. But this does not affect the fact that, among Muslim peoples, there has been neither painting nor sculpture to any considerable extent. Arabesques and calligraphy [see ARABESQUE and KHÂTT] may be regarded as a substitute for it.

Objections were for long made to photography (see Snouck Hurgronje, Verspreide Geschriften, ii, 432-5); now these seem, in certain circles at least, no longer to be so strong or even to have been quite overcome. In the Museum of al-Dawḥa in Kaṭār, one may see, in one of the rooms, rows of photographs of celebrated members of the ruling family, despite the fact that this is Wahhābī. In Cairo there appeared early an illustrated weekly al-Musawwar, produced entirely on western lines, and illustrated magazines and journals are now general in the Islamic world. This does not, however, mean that the old opinions have entirely disappeared. Chauvin gave examples of the horror of being photographed [see TAŚWIR. 2], examples which still have their counterparts in the modern western world. Here too we find people objecting to being photographed because they feel as if something were being stolen from their persons or spirits.

We also find the second commandment quoted literally in the West against pictures, although the usual interpretation regards it only as prohibiting the worship of idols. It may be asked whether the Muslim interdiction of images was influenced by the Jewish
interpretation of the second commandment. From the literature (Flavius Josephus) on the one hand, and the coins on the other, it is evident that the Jewish extension of the prohibition of images was exactly the same as the Muslim: no living creatures, only plants and other objects. On the one hand, we may assume Jewish influence on the Muslim prohibition of images, on the other hand recognition that the foundations for this transference can already be found in the Kur'ān. The Biblical idea of the creation of man by the making of an image and breathing the breath of life into it as found in the story of the Creation is also found in the story of the Creation. The Biblical idea of the creation of man by the making of the prohibition of images was exactly the same as the Muslim: no living creatures, only plants and other objects. On the other hand, we may assume Jewish influence on the Muslim prohibition of images, on the one hand, we may assume Jewish influence on the Muslim prohibition of images, on the other hand, the overwhelming impact of the folk culture of the Middle East.

When the Meccans rebuilt the Ka'ba after it had been damaged by a fire, they painted on its pillars pictures of Zayd b. Ar-Ra'bāh relates that he saw in the Ka'ba a picture of Mary painted (mazawwaq) on the pillar at the building's entrance (ibid., 111-12). There are two items of information concerning the Prophet's prohibition at the sight of any kind of picture or image. Al-Tabari, i, 1788, related that the Messenger of God had a shield (turs) with the head of a ram carved on it. He disliked this intensely. Hence one day, God made it disappear. Ibn Sa'd records via 'Ā'isha a conversation which took place between the Prophet's wives, who had gathered round him when he was ill. They were speaking about a church in Abyssinia, dedicating to Mary, whilst admiring its beauty and its images (one should note that Umm Salama and Umm Habība had been in Abyssinia with the first group of Muhammad's followers who emigrated thither). The Prophet interrupted them and said, "Those people erect on the tomb of one of the just persons amongst them an oratory (masjid), then they paint these kind of pictures. Such people are the worst of creation" (Tabakat, ii, 234).

Paintings were to be found in houses. One text leads us to think that they had a propitiatory effect. 'Abd Allāh (or 'Ubayd Allāh, both of these being sons of Ziyād b. Abīhī) had a dog, a lion and a ram painted in the entrance porch (dhbīñ), and said, "A dog which barks, a ram which buts with its horns and a grim and menacing lion" (Ibn Kūtayba, 'Uyūn, ii, 147).

Another story, arising out of the legend of al-Zābba' (Zenoeha) makes one think of a usage current within social relations. This queen sent a skillful painter to make for her a portrait of her enemy 'Amr b. 'Adi (al-Tabari, i, 762 ff.). A similar tale is told about Muhammad, to whom Kīsār is said to have sent a painter in order to make a portrait for himself (al-Dhahī, Mustatraf, ii, 177; al-Nawawī, Nihāya, iii, cited in Fahd, La défense des images chez les Musulmans, i, 107-10; Mustatraf, 'Ālfi, 111-12). Hence one day, God made it disappear. Ibn Sa'd records via 'Ā'isha a conversation which took place between the Prophet's wives, who had gathered round him when he was ill. They were speaking about a church in Abyssinia, dedicating to Mary, whilst admiring its beauty and its images (one should note that Umm Salama and Umm Habība had been in Abyssinia with the first group of Muhammad's followers who emigrated thither). The Prophet interrupted them and said, "Those people erect on the tomb of one of the just persons amongst them an oratory (masjid), then they paint these kind of pictures. Such people are the worst of creation" (Tabakat, ii, 234).

Paintings were to be found in houses. One text leads us to think that they had a propitiatory effect. 'Abd Allāh (or 'Ubayd Allāh, both of these being sons of Ziyād b. Abīhī) had a dog, a lion and a ram painted in the entrance porch (dhbīñ), and said, "A dog which barks, a ram which buts with its horns and a grim and menacing lion" (Ibn Kūtayba, 'Uyūn, ii, 147).

Another story, arising out of the legend of al-Zābba' (Zenoeha) makes one think of a usage current within social relations. This queen sent a skillful painter to make for her a portrait of her enemy 'Amr b. 'Adi (al-Tabari, i, 762 ff.). A similar tale is told about Muhammad, to whom Kīsār is said to have sent a painter in order to make a portrait for himself (al-Dhahī, Mustatraf, ii, 177; al-Nawawī, Nihāya, iii, cited in Fahd, La défense des images chez les Musulmans, i, 107-10; Mustatraf, 'Ālfi, 111-12). Hence one day, God made it disappear. Ibn Sa'd records via 'Ā'isha a conversation which took place between the Prophet's wives, who had gathered round him when he was ill. They were speaking about a church in Abyssinia, dedicating to Mary, whilst admiring its beauty and its images (one should note that Umm Salama and Umm Habība had been in Abyssinia with the first group of Muhammad's followers who emigrated thither). The Prophet interrupted them and said, "Those people erect on the tomb of one of the just persons amongst them an oratory (masjid), then they paint these kind of pictures. Such people are the worst of creation" (Tabakat, ii, 234).

Paintings were to be found in houses. One text leads us to think that they had a propitiatory effect. 'Abd Allāh (or 'Ubayd Allāh, both of these being sons of Ziyād b. Abīhī) had a dog, a lion and a ram painted in the entrance porch (dhbīñ), and said, "A dog which barks, a ram which buts with its horns and a grim and menacing lion" (Ibn Kūtayba, 'Uyūn, ii, 147).

Another story, arising out of the legend of al-Zābba' (Zenoeha) makes one think of a usage current within social relations. This queen sent a skillful painter to make for her a portrait of her enemy 'Amr b. 'Adi (al-Tabari, i, 762 ff.). A similar tale is told about Muhammad, to whom Kīsār is said to have sent a painter in order to make a portrait for himself (al-Dhahī, Mustatraf, ii, 177; al-Nawawī, Nihāya, iii, cited in Fahd, La défense des images chez les Musulmans, i, 107-10; Mustatraf, 'Ālfi, 111-12). Hence one day, God made it disappear. Ibn Sa'd records via 'Ā'isha a conversation which took place between the Prophet's wives, who had gathered round him when he was ill. They were speaking about a church in Abyssinia, dedicating to Mary, whilst admiring its beauty and its images (one should note that Umm Salama and Umm Habība had been in Abyssinia with the first group of Muhammad's followers who emigrated thither). The Prophet interrupted them and said, "Those people erect on the tomb of one of the just persons amongst them an oratory (masjid), then they paint these kind of pictures. Such people are the worst of creation" (Tabakat, ii, 234).

Paintings were to be found in houses. One text leads us to think that they had a propitiatory effect. 'Abd Allāh (or 'Ubayd Allāh, both of these being sons of Ziyād b. Abīhī) had a dog, a lion and a ram painted in the entrance porch (dhbīñ), and said, "A dog which barks, a ram which buts with its horns and a grim and menacing lion" (Ibn Kūtayba, 'Uyūn, ii, 147).

2. In philosophy. For sura as eidos, form, see Hatvája.

SURÁKA b. MIRDÁS AL-ASGHAR, Umayyad poet and contemporary of Djarfr and al-Farazdaq [q.v.], a member of the Yemeni tribe of Bārik, of the Azd [q.v.], and one of three poets to bear the name Surática Mirdás (see Sezgin, 477).

Abu 'l-Farādīj al-Ishābānī did not devote an entry to him in the Aghāni, although al-Tabārī mentions him often enough in his Taʿrīkh, because of the at times prominent role which Sūrāka played in the politics of his day; Sūrāka also, apparently at the instigation of Bīghr b. Marwān [q.v.], participated in the public haranguing matches between Djarfr and al-Farazdaq, lending his support to the latter. Various anecdotes connect him with the opposition to al-Muḳṭhir al-Thakafi [q.v.], who had him imprisoned and then released upon Sūrāka’s composition of a panegyric ṭalīgh (a nāmysya), with involvement with Muṣ’ab b. al-Zubayr [q.v.] in Basra, and with membership of the court circle of Bīghr b. Marwān, to whom he dedicated a panegyric (a bā’ya’ya). Sūrāka’s dīvān also contains a marthiya [q.v.] in honour of ʿAbd al-Rahmn b. Miḥna (a nāmysya). His death is fixed to the year 80/699. Sūrāka’s extant poetry predominantly to the genres of ḥaḍīd and ʿaynī with some madhī and distinctive fākhī espousing a pan-Yemeni fervour. It also contains a superlative horse description (a bā’ya’ya) and a fine poetico-metaphysical line of sixteen verses, verses 57-72 of a bipartite fākhī (a lāmysya), in which the poet awards poetical pre-eminence to himself over his non-Yemenic predecessors.


SURA — SURAKARTA, a city in Central Java, Indonesia, pop. 511,585 (1988), formerly also the name of a Javanese kingdom.

Originally, the whole area was part of the kingdom of Mataram, with its capitals Yogyakarta (since 1582) and Kartasura (since 1677/80), in which Islam was accepted as official religion, but with both Hindu-Javanese and Javanese-monic traditions functioning as well as ideology legitimating the rule of the dynasty. After a rebellion against the strong economic and political influence of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC), which originated in Batavia during a confrontation between the Dutch and Chinese traders who were subsequently massacred, and which soon spread to Central Java, the ruler of Mataram, Paku Buwono II, decided to abandon his kraton (palace) in Kartasura and established a new one in a village named Sala (Solo, in Javanese pronunciation), some 12 km/7 miles to the east and close to the river Bengawan Solo, renaming it Surakarta and taking his residence there in 1745. He was forced by the VOC to lease to them vast areas on the coasts and some in the interior of the island as well.

When Paku Buwono II died in 1749, the Dutch declared the crown prince as susuhunan (ruler), as Paku Buwono III. In Yogyakarta, however, a younger brother and long-time rival to Paku Buwono II and uncompromising opponent to the treaty with the Dutch, Mangku Bumi III, was declared king by his follow-

SÜRÄT, a city and port of western India, on the south bank of the Tāptī and some 16 km/10 miles upstream from where the river debouches into the Gulf of Cambay (lat. 21° 10' N., long 72° 54' E.). The geographer Ptolemy (A.D. 150), speaks of the trade of Pulipula, perhaps Phulpā, the sacred part of Sūrāt city. Early references to Sūrāt by Muslim historians must be scrutinized, owing to the confusion of the name with Sorath (Saurāṭhra), but in 747/1347 Firūz Shāh Tughluk III built a fort to protect the place against the Bhils. The foundation of the modern city is traditionally assigned to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when its prosperity was restored by Gopār, a rich Hindu merchant, and in 1514 it was already an important seaport. The Portuguese burnt the town in 1512, 1550, and 1551, and the present fort was founded in 1547/1548 by Khodā Khān, a Turkish officer in the service of Māhmūd III of Gudarjart. In 1520/1572 it fell into the hands of the Mīrzān, then in rebellion against the Mughal Emperor Akbar, who besieged and took the place in the following year. It was plundered in 1018/1609 by Malik 'Ambar [q.v.], the Ḥābābbū wazīr of the Niẓām Shāh's of Aḥmadnagar [q.v.], but on the whole, for 160 years Sūrāt enjoyed peace and prosperity under Mughal rule, and at its peak in the 17th century, may have had a population of ca. 200,000; it was known as "the Gate of Mecca" and "the Blessed Port" from its being the point of departure for Pilgrims to Arabia. An English ship first arrived at "Swally Hole" (Suwālf) the anchorage near the mouth of the Tāptī, in 1608, but the English encountered great difficulty in founding a factory, owing to the hostility of the Portuguese. They succeeded, and their position was secured by the treaty brought back from Diāhāngīr at Agra by Sir Thomas Roe in 1618. The Dutch East India Company likewise secured a factory at Sūrāt at the same time, their principal one in India, and there was also a French factory opened in 1667. The principal articles of trade at this time were silks and cotton textiles exported to Europe.

There was growing insecurity in the latter part of Awarangbāz's reign. The Marāṭha [q.v.] leader Šivāji plundered the city in 1684, but was not able to touch the English and Dutch factories. Sūrāt suffered a certain decline from the English East India Company's decision in 1687 to transfer the seat of its trading operations on the west coast of India to Bombay, and the Dutch became leading traders there. Marāṭha raids became almost an annual occurrence. In 1733 the nominal Mughal governor Teg Bakhī Khān declared his independence, and his family held the city till 1759 when a British expedition from Bombay, with Marāṭha compliance, took over Sūrāt, the local Nawāläss continuing as nominal rulers till 1800, when it was formally incorporated into the Bombay Presidency.

In 1844 Sūrāt, at the time economically depressed through the rise of Bombay, was shaken by large-scale riots against the Bombay Government's imposition of a new tax on salt to compensate for its losses through abolition of transit dues on manufactured goods; the new tax fell heavily on poor fishermen who salted their catches. However, the rise in cotton prices during the American Civil War benefited the city, and it began to recover from its depressed state with the coming of railways. It is now the administrative centre of a District of the same name in the Gujarat State of the Indian Union, with a population in 1971 of 470,000.

Monuments include the mosque built by Khudāwand Khān (947/1540) and that of Sayyid Dījaft-ī 'Ayarāfā (1049/1639 [see 'AYDARUS, no. 8]). The present population is mainly Hindu, but there is a significant Parsee community, with fire temples, and the Muslims include a significant community of the Bohorā Ismā'īlī. The head of the Dī'īdī branch of the Bohoṇās, called the Dī'ī al-Mā'ūlak or MulāĂū Sābhī, has his headquarters in Sūrāt although he normally resides in Bombay [see BOHORĀ].


(T.W. Haig-[C.E. Bosworth])

Sūrāt al-ard (a.), lit. "the form or shape of the earth", the term serving as the title for two early Islamic geographical works covering the world as it was then known, that of Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (d. ca. 232/847 [q.v.]); and that of Ibn Hawżāl (d. after 362/973 [q.v.].) See further gurgfūnā, al-surājdīyya, al-mas'alā, the question of [Ibn Surājdī] in the Islamic law on divorce. The jurists term this one of the formulae of the "conditional divorce" (al-talāk al-muawalls al-dū grā) to this type of divorce admitted by the majority of jurists and consisting of the husband addressing his wife with a formula of the kind "If you go into this house, you are divorced." In most of the fiqh treatises, extended developments of a casuistic nature are devoted to the different forms of this type of divorce, forms distinguished from each other by the particular conditional particle used (man, in, idhd, matd, etc.) in the formula of divorce or by the terms of the condition evoked.

The mas'āla suzdīyya envisages the case of a divorce formula in the following terms: "When I divorce you, you will have already been divorced, before this divorce, three times" (matd talākū fathānī-ālī talāk" khabāhā tīghollī). Different jurists, including the Šahīf Ibn Surājdī [d. 306/918 [q.v.]-] after whom this question is named—considered that a formula like this remained invalid (i.e. realisation of the condition did not entail that of that which was made conditional), since, they said, "affirmation of a divorce leads to its negation". There is a "circular argument" (da'ar) here, as al-Subkī notes, because in this case, when a husband divorces his spouse, one must consider whether this act is already a third one (hence irrevocable), and if one considers that the woman is already divorced in that fashion, the talāk pronounced (or the realisation of the condition) lacks any object and cannot therefore have the effect of provoking a threelfold divorce. Certain jurists held that a simple (not threefold) divorce resulted, whilst others, that a threelfold divorce depended entirely on this form of conditional divorce.
894 Al-Suraydjiyya — Surt

Bibliography: Shirāzī, al-Mudablakhab, ed. Dār al-
Fikr, ii, 99; Subki, Ṭabakāt, ed. al-Ṭanāhī and al-
Hūṣūs, ed. al-Fikr, 245-6; (E. Chaumont)

Sūrgūn [see Suppl.].

Ṣūrra (ṣūra) lit. "purse", a sealed purse containing coins. In this meaning it is found in early Arabic papyri. It stands for the late Roman sacculum signatum or greek follos (see Hendy). The ṣūra was used for monetary transactions. Purses with a coin amount of money were sealed, because coins usually differ in weight (see Goitein).

In 9th/10th century, Maliūl Egypt, ṣūra is used for any money distributed as a gift by the ruler. Ibn Ṣūrā mentions foremost the purses annually given to the 'ulama' and fukahd as well as the gifts given to the Sharīf of Mecca on the occasion of the Ḥajj. Before this period, the general terms inšād and ṣaddākt were applied for those gifts.

After 922/1516 the Ottoman sultan became the protector of the Holy Cities. Ṣūra developed into a financial and administrative term (Ṭksh. sūr). It defined all expenses of the Pilgrimage caravan, payments to the Bedouins tribes as its escort and protective payments to the Sharīf in Mecca, as well as payments to the people connected with the services in religious institutions in Mecca and Medina, and later in Jerusalem too (see Shaw). From the 19th century, several descriptions of the connected office of the amīn al-ṣūrā by amirs of the Pilgrimage and European travellers are known (see Peters, Strakotker, Landau).

Bibliography: Ibn Ṣūrā (d. 930/1524), Bātīl al-

Sūrs or Sūrat dynasty, a line of Dihl Sultans (947-62/1540-55) founded by the Afghan commander Shīr Shāh Sūr b. Miyan Hasan [q.v.], who had been in the service of the preceding Lodi sultans [q.v.]. This brief Indian dynasty's period of rule spanned the interval between the first reign of the Mughal Humāyn [q.v.] (937-47/1530-40) and his second reign and the final consolidation of Mughal rule (962/1555).

From a base in Bihār, Shīr Shāh in the 1530s made himself master of northern India, including Bengal, and twice repelled invasions from Agra by Humāyn, so that in 947/1540 he assumed the sultanate (for details of his career and reign, see Shīr Shāh Sūr). When he was killed in warfare at Kāñdājir in 952/1545, he was succeeded by his younger son Islām Khān (952-61/1545-54), who managed to hold the sultanate together in the face of ambitious Afghan nobles, whose landed power he endeavoured to reduce; but on his death in autumn 960/1553, the throne was seized by Mubāriz Khān, who murdered Islām Khān's son Fīrūz Shāh and assumed royal authority as Muhammad 'Adil Shāh. The next year was filled with anarchy and strife as the central authority in Dihl, and the sound administrative and financial system of Shīr Shāh and Islām Khān, collapsed. Various members of the Sūr family such as Ibrāhīm, 'Aḥmad and Muhammad Khāns contested the throne from such bases as Lahore and Bengal, with the commander Tāj Khān Karāzānī rebelling at Gwāliyār. Assuming the throne in Dihl, Ibrāhīm Khān soon had to yield power to Sīkandar Khān; an important additional feature in these power struggles was the Hindu general of the Sūrs, HĀMŪN, who was eventually killed combating the Mughals at the second battle of Pāñipat [q.v.]. This confusion within the Sūr family enabled Humā-
yūn to reappear in 962/1555, occupying Lahore, defeating the Afgānīs at Sirhind [q.v.] and entering Dihl in 4 Ramadan 962/23 July 1555.

Biographie: Ibn Ṣūrā to reappear in 962/1555, occupying Lahore, defeating the Afgānīs at Sirhind [q.v.] and entering Dihl in 4 Ramadan 962/23 July 1555.


Surt, a mediaeval city of Libya, also known today as al-Mudayna or Madīnī Sultān, lies 55 km/34 miles east of the modern city of Surt.

It was originally a Punic emporium called Charax. Later, in Roman times, it was called Iscina and became the site of a Jewish colony. In many Berber revolts against Byzantine authority the city seems to have been destroyed. After the Umayyad conquest of North Africa, the town has no recorded history except for the fact that the Mūsāmakīyān, the Mahānāyan, and Fārāyīnī管辖s of the Butt confederation of Berbers began to settle there. To the east of them, the Māzāt and the Lawātī Berbers were settling, and to the west of them and beyond Tawargá up to Tripolī [see Tārābulus al-
Qurāb] were the Hawwārī Berbers of the rival Barānīyā confederation. All these settlers from Adjdābiyya [q.v.] to Tripolī seem to have been converted to Ibadī Khārījīsm around the mid-2nd/8th century. Khārījī affiliation made these townships independent of the newly-established 'Abbasīd caliphate. These settlements are mentioned by the Muslim geographers al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn Khurradādbih and al-Mu'ādādi, but the most detailed description is given by Ibn Hawkal, who passed through Surt in 366/974 on his way to the Fātimid capital al-Mahdiyya [q.v.]. He describes Surt as lying a bow-shot away from the sea, built on hard, sandy ground with strong walls of mud and brick. It was inhabited by Berber tribes who owned farms there. They had cisterns to store rainwater and they harvested sufficient dates, grapes and other fruit. They bred goats and camels and mined alum, which they exported. The city grew wealthier than the neighbouring Adjdābiyya and paid tribute to the Fātimid caliph. Ibn Hawkal mentions the walls and cisterns, but not a mosque or forts. A Muslim community without a mosque is not imaginable, and one must have been built by the original Ibādī settlers. The forts were probably built later by the Fātimid caliph al-Mu'izz (341-65/952-75 [q.v.]) in preparation for the final march of his general Dāwār [q.v.] for the conquest of Egypt. Al-Mu'izz gives the date 355/965.

In the period after the Fātimids' shift of their capital to the newly-built city of Cairo, the entire Syritic region became a battleground between the Fātimids of Egypt and the new Berber rulers, the Zīrīds [q.v.] of Kayrawān. For a time, the Zara'ī Berber Banū Khāzrūn of Tripoli, who declared themselves independent of the Zīrīds, controlled the Syritic region and brought it into a temporary alliance with the Fātimids. Also at this time (429/1037), we read about the settlement of the Arab Bedouin tribe of Zughba
and later of Riyah and Kurra, all members of the Hilal group, in this region, and this later exploded into the great Hilalian invasion of 443/1051. It started with the city of the sea and enclosed by a wall of brick. It is a large, walled city, but it has three gates: Kiblī [i.e. southeast], Djawfi [i.e. landwards], and a small one facing the sea [i.e. north]. This city has no suburbs around it, but it possesses date-palms, gardens, sweet-water springs and many cisterns. Its animals are goats and their meat is juicy and tender, the like of which is not found in Egypt. The new elements are a mosque, the bath, and bazaars. Al-Bakrī's report was the basis for the contemporary accounts of the modern excavations in this area. He hints at the existence of Arab, Berber, Persian and Coptic merchants, whose commercial practices he criticises.

In the latter Fātimid period, Surt began to be abandoned, being probably no longer a junction of east-west and north-south trade routes. The decline of Surt and Adjudabiya is attested by al-Idrīsfī (d. 561/1166), who refers to the city having survived. In the 19th century, the Ottoman writer Ağmad Al-Nāʾib al-Anāṣārī also mentions Surt, but mainly on the basis of Al-Bakrī's report.

The city withered away between the 16th/12th and the early 19th centuries. It is at this time that western exploration and modern archaeology revived knowledge of it. The Beachey brothers visited it in 1921; Heinrich Barth in 1846 (whose ideas were restated by Karl Müller); G.A. Freund in 1881; Luigi Cerrata in 1931; and Richard Goodchild in 1950. Later explorations by ‘Abd al-Hamīd Ābū l-Sa‘ādī in 1963-4, Muhammed Muṣṭafā in 1965-6, H. Blake, A. Hutt, and D. Whitehouse in 1971, and by Geţa Fehérvari, Ābū l-Sa‘ādī and Geoffrey and Joan King, as well as Maṣʻūd Shaghīl and E. Chin, in 1978, have covered four seasons of excavations revealing walls that encompassed the city during the time of Ibn Hāwāl within 184,603 m², the mosque, the forts, the cisterns, and the roads and gates. No trace of the harbour remains, but as evidence of trade, 20 Fātimid lustre fragments and a coin of the time of the caliph, Muḥammad al-Mu’tazz have been discovered.


(A. Hamdani)

SURŪR, MISRA RAGañ ‘ALĪ BĒG (ca. 1787-1867) early writer of Urdu fiction, born in Lucknow, for which city he retained great affection all his life. He was well educated, noted for his command of Arabic and Persian, as well as Urdu, and excelled in calligraphy. He was also an expert musician. He was trained in poetry by a pupil of Suzī [q.v.], Nawwāb Ṣajīd. He was a friend of the poet Ghalīb [q.v.], who regarded him as the leading, Urdu prose writer of his age. Apparently, Surūr fell foul of the Nawwāb of Lucknow Ghāzī Al-Dīn Ḥaydār Shāh, and had to leave for Cawnpore and Benares, where he wrote his masterpiece, the romantic novel Fūsāna-yī ʿaḍībī. For further information about this work, see Ḵīṣaṣ, 5. In Urdu, at vol. V, 202. The title of the work is apt, meaning "Story of wonders", as it contains "plenty of necromancy and witchcraft, speed with adventures in charmed forests and duels with demons and wizards" (Saksena). It is an archetypal dāstān or fairy-story in the tradition of the old maṭlaḵwārs [q.v.]. Two features must, however, be stressed. Firstly, the prose style tends to be ornate with much rhyme. But Muḥammad Sadiq does concede that "whenever the story interest predominates ... he comes quite close to the spoken language of the day, and is racy and idiomatic". Secondly, considerable light is shed on contemporary Lucknow life, in the contexts of introduction, Surūr played an important role in the rise of the Urdu novel. He was imitated and, at times, satirised. Further developments were to come from European—chiefly English— influences. Although written in 1824, Fūsāna-yī ʿaḍībī was not published until nearly twenty years later. In the meantime, Surūr, had returned to Lucknow, and had been appointed a court poet to Wādījī Al-Shāh, Nawwāb of Awadh or Oudh who was, however, exiled by the British to Cawnpore in 1856. Surūr was left destitute, but later enjoyed the patronage of the Māhrādās successively of Benares, Alwar and Patiala. He died in Benares.

The position of Surūr in Urdu literary history is that his fame is in one form only, the novel; indeed, almost entirely in one work. Yet, he excelled in several fields, and this was recognised by his contemporaries. Unfortunately, little of his vast output is readily available in print. This is attested by Saksena, writing in 1927. Among works mentioned are a review of Ghalīb in rhymed prose, and an adaptation of the Arabian Nights, Shabistān-i Surūr. There is also a congratulatory ode on the marriage of Prince Edward, later King Edward VII. Very little of his works, apart from his prose, has survived, and of that, his works on calligraphy and music have been forgotten. As for his poetry, although it must have been of a high order, no duāsīt is to be found. Some poems are available in his prose works and in various anthologies. According to Saksena, though he was a member of the Lucknow school, he followed an independent path, scorning artificiality and bombast. On the whole, Saksena's account of Surūr is one of the best parts of his History of Urdu literature, though at times verbose and inconclusive. It does show him as a controversial figure who merits further study.

Bibliography: Surūr's letters describing his travels in northern India were published, as were praised by Saksena. For further information, reference should be made to Ḵīṣaṣ, 5, and also to Muḥammad Sadiq, A History of Urdu literature, Oxford 1964, and Ram Babu Saksena, History of Urdu literature, Allahabad 1927. (J.A. Haywood)

SURŪR, NAḌĪB [see NAḌĪB MUḤAMMAD SURŪR]. SURŪR (SURŪR), the pen-name (makhlas) used by several Ottoman poets, of whom the following two are the most remarkable:

1. MUḤAMMAD AL-DĪN MUṬṢĀFĪ, a distinguished
philologist and commentator, born in Gallipoli in 897/1491 the son of the merchant Sha'ban. After studying with learned men of renown, he became a mufti of Fener-zade Mühtü 1'l-Din Efendi [q.v.], who appointed him kâdî-nâbi in 927/1521 when he was kâdî of Istanbul. After an interval in his career during which he became a derwish of Nakshebendi Mahmûd Efendi, the shadh of the Emir Bukharî's tâbiyya, Sururi became mûddertî in 930/1523-4 of the Şarîje Pasha medresse in Gallipoli, then of the Pîrî Paşa tâbiyye in Istanbul in 933/1526-7, and in 944/1537-8 he became the first mûddertî to teach at the medresse which (Güzelde) Kâsim Paşa [q.v.] had Sinân built in the Quarter of Istanbul named after him. Although he resigned in 954/1547 to resume the position of a derwish, he later returned to the Kâsim Paşa medresse (lecturing also on Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's Mathnawî-yi ma'nawî in the Kâsim Paşa mosque in the afternoons). In 955/1548 he was appointed tutor to Muştafa [see Muştafa 3], the ill-fated son of Suleyman the Magnificent, for whom he wrote some of his best-known works. Upon the execution of this prince in 960/1553, he withdrew into private life, teaching in the medresse he had built in the Kasimpasha quarter of Istanbul. (The author of the Kânûn el-â'dâmîrât, [q.v.], also a native of Gallipoli, was a pupil of his here in 965/1557-8.) He died on 7 Dümâda I 969/13 January 1562 and was buried at his own masjid (but nothing remains of either his tomb or mesjidi).

The works of Sururi, who was mainly a commentator and translator, treat a great variety of topics, such as exegesis of the Qur'an, prophetic tradition, Islamic law, logic, astrology, medicine, grammar, and literature. Of over thirty commentaries of his (some in Arabic or Persian) his Hâşîye on al-Baydawî's As-wâr al-tanzîl and his şârâhs on al-Bukharî's Şâhîdât, on the Ìåsâñ in [q.v.], and on al-Mu'tarrî's Al-Masbâh are among the best-known. Especially remarkable among his translations is that of al-Kazwînî's cosmography Al'âdîb al-makhlûkât, a synopsis with the title Kânûn el-â'dâmîrât ve vârîsîn. As to literature, his commentaries on Sa'dî's Bûstân and Divânî and even more on the works of the Nakshbendi Mahmûd [q.v.] are famous, that on the Mathnawî having even earned him the epithet of Shâhîd-i Mathnawî. Among his original works, Bahr el-ma'ârîf, a compendium of prosody, rhyme, rhetoric elements, and terms of divân poetry (with samples from Arabic and Persian poetry), which he wrote for prince Muştafa in Turkish, was deservedly held in the highest esteem over the centuries. Sururi is also the author of a Turkish divân (he remarks himself that he wrote the majority of his 500 ghazels in his youth), but the fragments of his poetry that have reached us are not remarkable.


2. SEYYID 'OTMÂN, the greatest Ottoman writer of chronograms (târîkh), which mastery earned him the epithet Mûserrîhî, the chronogrammatist. He was born in Adana on 25 Rabî' I 1165/1553 February 1752 as the son of Hafiz Mustâ. He came to the capital in 1179/1767 encouraged by Yabhî Tewfîk Efendi, who later became Şeyxêl el-Fîlâm, and who the same year changed the poet's pen-name from Hûnî (which he had already used six years) to Sururi. Through his intercession, Sururi became a muftî of Şeyxêl el-Fîlâm Esâd-zade Mehmed Serif Efendi; as such, he had to live in straitened means until his several appointments as kâdî starting 1195/1781. During the years 1203-4/1789-90 he was the kâdî-nâbi of his close friend the poet Şûbûl-zade Wehbî Efendi [q.v.] in Eski Zaghra (Stara Zagora, in southern Bulgaria, where the latter was kâdî). He died on 11 Safar 1229/2 February 1814 and was buried beside Şûbûl-zade Wehbî Efendi outside Edirne kâpsi in Istanbul; neither grave exists today.

Sururi's talent as poet was not all-encompassing (his kâsîlés and ghazels are not remarkable) but restricted to the writing of chronograms, where however he showed such mastery that he earned for himself the position of unrivalled master of the Ottoman târîkh. He stands apart from all other Ottoman poets who wrote chronograms before and after him, having written an incomparably greater number of târîkhîs (nearly 2,000) on an unlimited variety of topics, commemo- rating events ranging from the historic to the most trivial everyday occasion, often with a touch of hu- mour. His admirable ease of composition is especially evident not only when he commemorates one and the same event with a great number of târîkhîs but also when he inbeds an amazing number of chronograms in one and the same hemistic or verse. Sururi's Divânî, which he called Nezâît-meqsîd, was printed at Bâlâk in 1255/1839. He is also the author of Hezîâfîdî (humoristic and satirical poems) under the maskîlas Hawâîl; these were printed twice in Istanbul (undated) and include about 100 târîkhîs. Especially often lampooned by Sururi was Şûbûl-zade Wehbî Efendi [q.v.], who in various chronograms praised his own achievement. The position for the chronogram is also shown by his putting together a collection of târîkhîs miyârâ (chronogram hemistics); this includes but a very few târîkhî verses from his own work as well as from that of poets who were his predecessors or contemporaries. This collection, which had been enlarged through additions by the poet Kecedî-zade [see IZZET MOLLA] and the of- ficial historiographer Esâd Efendi [q.v.], was printed by Djewdet Paşa [q.v.] in 1299/1881-2 at Istanbul with the title Sururi melâmânâ; about half of the ca. 2,300 târîkhîs in this collection are by Sururi.

Bibliography: Fatîh, Telhîkât, Istanbul 1271, 189- 90; Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte der osmanischen Dicht- kunst, iv, 489-94; Djewdet Paşa, Bâlâkât-i 'oçmînîyânî, Istanbul 1299, 185-98; Ebuûzîyû Tewfîk, Sururi-i mûserrîhî, Istanbul 1305; Mu'âlîmî Nâdi, Sururi, in Medîmûn-î Mu'âlîmî, 1305, i, 111-6; Siddîqî-i 'oçmînî, iii, 13; Gibîb, HOF, iv, 235-278; 'Oçmînî mi'âlîfîlîrî, ii, 238; Babinger, GÔR, 379; idem, in EL, i, 579; O.F. Akîn, text in EL, i, 489; Ebiizziya Tewfîk, Muwerrikh, Istanbul 1992, 198-210. (EDITH G. AMBROS)

SURURI KÂSHÂNÎ, the pen-name of Muhammed Kâsim, Persian lexicographer of the 10th-11th/16th-17th century.

His father, Hâdîji Muhammad, is said to have been a shoemaker. Sururi, during his early youth, practised the same profession but, later turned to
SURURI KASHANL — SUS 897

scholarship. According to a tradition, he was endowed with a prolific memory and could recite thirty thousand verses by heart. He chose to reside in Isfahan, and there he is reported to have met the traveller Pietro de la Valle, who visited the city in 1032/1626-7. From there he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but died on the way.

Sururi was the author of the famous Persian-to-Persian dictionary, the Madjma al-Furs, "a collection of words from the Persian language", also known asFarhang-i Sururi. In the preface of the book (see Farhang-i madjma al-Furs, ed. Muhammad Dabir Siyâkî, Tehran 1338/1960, i, 1-6), the author states that he compiled his dictionary after consulting a number of works, gives the names of many of these works, and dedicates his production to Shâh 'Abbas I [q.v.]. Several years later, he prepared an enlarged edition of his book after he had come into possession of Djamal al-Dîn Husayn Indju's dictionary, the Farhang-i Dha'hangirî, a copy of which was brought to him from India, and from which he was to benefit in the revision of his own work. In the meantime, Sururi had compiled a concise version of Madjma al-Furs, named Kuhlâsî al-Madjma', the preface of which carries an endorsement to Itsâlî al-Dawla Hátim Beg, minister of 'Abbas I. It must have been compiled not later than 1018/1609-10, since the Catalogue of the Sipah Salar Library refers to a copy of the work in a private collection bearing that date (see Fêrîsî: Kitâbkhâna-yi Madrasa-yi 'Alî-yi Sipah Salar, Tehran 1316-18/1938-40, ii, 222).

Sururi's Madjma al-Furs is a useful piece of Persian lexicography, for the meaning of its terms, which are arranged according to their initial and final letters, it provides illustrative examples from the works of the poets.

Sururi was also a poet, and some of the verses composed by him are cited by Muhammad Tahir Naşrâbâdi in his Tabîkîna, ed. Wahid Dastgardr, Tehran 1361/1982, 291.


(MUNIBUR RAHMÁN)

SÜRYA [see al-GÁMÁ]

SÜS (A) "licorice, i.e. the root, and more specifically the decoction from the root of Glycyrrhiza glabra L. var. (family Fabaceae), a perennial herb indigenous to southern Europe and western Asia. Arabic synonyms of süs (a common Semitic word corresponding to Akkadian šaṣa and Aramaic šakka) include 'al-süs and šagordât al-furs, whereas the Persian makh/ matbakh seems to reflect Sanskrit madhura; the Greek name glykoryzìs, of which licorice is a corruption (< late Latin liquiritia), literally means "sweet-root". From ancient times, the herb has been cultivated throughout the Mediterranean. It grows up to one metre, with four to eight egg-shaped leaves, and axillary bunches of blue flowers. The long, thin underground roots are flexible, fibrous, easily cut, coloured yellow inside, and have a distinctively sweet taste. The
powder obtained from the dried root is supposed to hold cathartic properties, and was added to beverages and cataplasms. The evaporated juice extracted by boiling the root (succus liquiritiae) is mainly used as an excipient in the form of lozenges or syrups, but it is also considered useful against pain in the stomach, kidneys, and bladder; besides, it serves as a mask for bitter medicines, and the sweetmeat known as licorice candy or black sugar is made from it.


_AL-SŪS_, the early Islamic form for the ancient site of Susa in the south-west Persian province of Khuzistan, modern Persian Shūsh. It lies on the plain between the two main rivers of Khuzistan, the Kārūn and the Kerkhā [q.v.], which were once connected by canals, and the Shāwūr river runs along the western side of the site.

From at least the second millennium B.C., it was the capital of the Elamite kingdom, destroyed by the Assyrian Ashurbanipal in the 7th century B.C., but rebuilt by the Achaemenids and a flourishing town under the Sāsānids; Syriac sources show that it was the seat of a Christian bishop in the years A.D. 410-695. Sūs fell into the hands of the Arabs in 17/638 (or the next year), when Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ārī [q.v.] carried through the conquest of Khuzistan. The fortress there, commanded by the Persian governor Hurmūznān, apparently offered little resistance to the Muslim troops (cf. the Syriac _Chronicle_, ed. Guidi, in _Actes du 8e Congrès Intern. des Orient._, in _JA_ [1891], 32, and history of the Armenian Sēbōs of the 7th century; see Hübshmann, in _ZMDG_, xlvii [1893], 625). The older historians al-Balādhuri, _Fihūt_, 374 ff., and al-Ṭabari, i, 256-7, know nothing of severe fighting with the natives and a destruction of the city by Arab troops, mentioned by al-Mukaddasī [q.v.] (and cf. _Loftus, op. cit._, 344). Under Islam, Sūs remained for centuries more a populous flourishing city—we have coins struck in it (cf. W.K. Loftus, _Travels and researches in Chaldaea and Susiana_, London 1857, 400)—but it was no longer the capital of the whole region of Khuzistan or Ahwāz; this role now fell to the city of Ahwāz (more precisely Sūk al-Ahwāz; see _al-Ahwāzī_). Sūs was now merely the capital of one of the seven (and at times more) districts of this country. The district of Sūs belonged to several smaller towns, notably Karkhā (Syriac Karkhā dhī Lēdhān), which is well known from Syriac literature. Sūs was surpassed in importance not only by the capital Sīk al-Ahwāz but soon also by other places in Khuzistan, e.g. Shūshīr [q.v.] or Tustar and _ʿAskār(a)-Mukram [q.v._. All these three places lay on the river Kārūn, towards which during the caliphate the mathematical and economic centre of gravity of the region moved.

The Arab geographers emphasise the busy industries of Sūs, notably weaving, which was highly developed. Its silk was famous (cf. the _Diwan_ of Ibn Kays al-Rukāyāṭ, ed. Rhodokanakis, in _S.B. Ak. Wien_, cxxiv [1902], 63 v. 8, and R.B. Serjeant, _Islamic textiles_, _Material for a history up to the Mongol conquest_, Beirut 1972, 40-1, 44-5). The lemons grown here were held in high esteem in Khuzistan. The very extensive ruins at Sus have been under investigation since the time of the British scholar W.K. Loftus in 1851-2, in the 20th century above all by French archaeologists (for a good survey of the site, see Sylvia A. Matheson, _Persia, an archaeological guide_, London 1976, 147-52). The site includes the tomb-mosque of the Prophet Daniel [see _Daniel_], called by the local people _Pīy or Paygambār Dānīyāl_. According to Arabic sources, the sarcophagus and bones of Daniel were found after the capture of the town by the Arabs (al-Balādhuri, 378; al-Ṭabari, i, 840, 2566), although another tradition held that Daniel's sarcophagus was found at Shūshīr, so that the two towns disputed over possession of the saint's relics, which were highly venerated for their curative properties (see _al-Mukaddasī_, 417, who accounts this rivalry amongst the _āṣāfīyāt_ of Khuzistan).

The country round Sūs suffers from nine months of the year from the glowing heat of the South Persian sky. In January, however, a luxurious, almost tropical, vegetation springs up after the winter rains. The rich pastures that then cover the soil attract the nomads thither. In the spring it is mainly Arabian Bedouins that camp here and, indeed, they are in the majority in Khuzistan generally, so that this district is actually often called _Arabistan_ by the Persians. The region of Sūs is particularly visited by the tribes of _ʿAlī Kaṯīr_ and Banī Lām [q.v.]. On the _ʿAlī Kaṯīr_, who migrated hither over three centuries ago from Nadīj in Central Arabia, cf. A.H. Layard, in _JRS_, xvi (1846), 33, 56, 90; Loftus, _op. cit._, 327, 331, 356, 358, 381-2, and Schwarz, _Iran im Mittelalter_, 417. Of the great tribe of _ʿAlī Kaṯīr_, we are here mainly concerned with two of its subdivisions, the Każb and Zabīb (cf. Layard, _op. cit._, 33). The Każb [q.v.] were originally members of the powerful Każb tribe leading a nomadic life on the lower Kārūn; see Layard, _op. cit._, 37-9, 41-5, and Loftus, _op. cit._, 285-6, 381, 390. Lur nomad tribes are often found in the plain of Sūs. At the beginning of May all is again as quiet as the grave. Even the guardian of the tomb of Daniel leaves the district, which is filled with miasma from the swamps and the heat now becomes unendurable.

The site of al-Sūs is now marked by the town of Shūsh, the chief-locus of a _hāsūn_ of
Dizful. In ca. 1950 it had a population of around 5,000, which had risen by 1991 to 48,134 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). Bibliography: For a detailed bibl. of early travelers and researchers, see EP art. s.v., and in addition to references given in the article, see Noldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber, Leiden 1879, 58; Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 240-1; Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, 313, 358-64; Admiralty Handbooks, Persia, London 1945, 82, 86, 228-31, 298, 426-7; A. Gabriel, Die Erschauung Persiens, Vienna 1952, 29-30, 135, 236-9 and index; F.McG. Donnelt, The early Islamic conquests, Princeton 1961, 216-17.

1. History.

These notes show clearly that the term al-Sus al-adnd was then applied to a much wider area than at the present day; it included not only the valley of the Wad! Dar'a, but also the mountainous country towards the Anti-Atlas, gradually narrowing till it reaches the junction of these two ranges. It is watered by the Wd! Sfs and its tributaries. The Arab geographers of the Middle Ages usually distinguish between al-Sus al-adnd, “Farther Sus” and al-Sus al-adnd “Hither Sus”. Al-Sus al-adnd seems in those days to have meant the whole of northern Morocco with Tangier as its capital, and al-Sus al-adnd, the whole of the massif of the two Atlas. According to Ykdt, the distance which separated the two Sus was two months’ journey. The term al-Sus al-adnd seems in any case to have been very early ousted by that of Cheb. The same geographers praise the excellence of the products of Farther Sus and describe it as a thickly populated country. Al-Idrisi speaks of the cereals which grew there—wheat, barley and rice, fruits of all kinds in abundance—nuts, figs, grapes, quinces, pomegranates, lemons, peaches, apples and, particularly, an incomparable sugar-cane. When he wrote, a sugar was made in the Sus that was celebrated throughout almost the whole world. Cloth which enjoyed a good reputation was also made there. The same author gives some notes on the people, who were a mixed race of Masmuda Berbers. He charges them with a lack of urbanity, coarseness and insolence. The dress of the men consisted of a kisā of wool which enveloped them entirely, with a māzār of wool around the waist which they called dghfīs. They were armed with short spears with steel heads. They drank a liquor made from the must of sweet grapes which they called azzct and considered it a permitted beverage as it did not bring about drunkenness.

2. Agriculture.

Farther Sus, as a province of the Maghrib, has always been closely connected with the history of the whole country and with the histories of the different dynasties which have successively established themselves there. In 117/735 it was conquered and converted to Islam by Habib b. Abi ‘Ubayda, the grandson of ‘Ukba b. Náfṣ. Under the Idrisids it passed on the death of Idris II in 213/828 to his eldest grandson, al-Aṣṣ. In 236/850 the Idrisids were overthrown by the Almoravids who seized the towns of Massaṣ and Tāruḍānt but the authority of the Almoravids was never very secure in the Sus, in spite of the submission of the province to Abd al-Malik b. Tādhfīn in 478/1085.

The Sus played a prominent part in the early days of the Almohad movement in the Maghrib. It was, along with the plain of Marrakesh, the centre of Almoravid resistance against the attempts at expansion by the companions of the Mahdi Ibn Tūmānt beyond the massif of the Grand Atlas where the movement began. A son of the Almoravid ruler ‘Ali b. ‘Yusuf, Baghd, organised the resistance there and it was only in 535/1140-1 that the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik definetly conquered the whole of the Sus. During the whole period of the Almohad dynasty it was one of the most important provinces of the empire. On its decline in the reign of al-Murtdād (646-65/1248-66), it was the scene of a rebellion on a great scale fomented by the agitator ‘Ali b. Yaddar. This individual, a former dignitary of the Almohad court, wishing to found a little independent kingdom in the Sus, appealed to the Arab tribes settled between Tlemcen and the Rif, the Dāw Ḥasan and the Shabānāt of the Maʿkil group. He was able to hold out against the Almohad governor of Tāruḍānt, but his success was not of long duration. In 1266 the Almohad prince Aḥb Dabbūs, with the help of Marmid contingents, regained the province from him and seized Tīqāṭni and Tīyūnīn. Nevertheless, the independent kingdom of the Sus was able after the final fall of the Almohads to maintain some sort of independence in the period of the early Marinid sultans until the reign of Abu l-Ḥasan ‘Ali, who broke it up for ever.

In 1504 the Portuguese gained a footing on the coast of Sus in the bay of Aġādir [q.v.] and founded the fortress of Santa Cruz; it was a strategic point of great importance, the gateway to an rich hinterland and at the same time an excellent harbour, one of the best on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The people of the country tried in vain to dissuade the Portuguese from establishing a settlement; they tried to blockade it by land they established quite close to the Portuguese station, a ribāt or concentration point and residence of the “volunteers of the faith” who used to come there in relays to deliver open attacks on their Christian foes or prepare murderous ambushes for them. Between the sea and Tāruḍānt, the tāṣṣa was soon formed to take charge of the local qīḥād, the tāṣṣa of Tēdās, the cradle of the Saṭhān [q.v.] dynasty. It was founded by some Ḥasan Shūfī [q.v.], whose ancestor ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad b. al-Kāsim, had come in the 12th century from the Hijāz and settled in the valley of the Wāḍī Dar’a, at Tāmādart. His descendants then migrated to the Sus near Tēdās, settled there and took up a position in the country which daily increased in importance. At the beginning of the 16th century, the head of the tāṣṣa, Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, became the real leader in the holy war in the Sus; assisted by his two sons, ‘Abd al-Ḥarrij and Muhammad al-Shaykh, he displayed great activity and denounced the impotence of the ruling dynasty to the people. He was not long in achieving his object; the tribes of the Sus proclaimed him their sultan in 1510. He died soon afterwards, leaving his son to continue his work. The eldest, al-Ḩarrij, who had assumed the title of king of the Sus in the lifetime of his father, established himself as sovereign in Tāruḍānt and in 1541 succeeded in driving the Portuguese finally out of Aġādir.
We see from the above what a large part the Śus played in the history of the first of the two Shanfsīn dynasties of Morocco. The Sahārans also always kept a watchful eye on this vital part of their empire. Muhammad al-Shāhī al-Mahdī was the first to extend the cultivation of sugar in the Śus and thus created an important source of revenue for the treasury. It was in the reign of the great prince Aḥmad al-Mansūr that this province saw its greatest revival of prosperity. A regular army, formed of citizens recruited in the Śus, at this time formed the garrison of Marrakesh and relations between the capital and the province were never closer. But after the death of Aḥmad, whom another once more reigned throughout the empire, the Śus did not escape the various rebellions which broke out on all sides. Prince Zaydān, a claimant to the throne, made his headquarters there. A few years later, the Śus fell into the hands of a powerful rebel, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Samālī, who made an alliance with the Fitālī Shārī of Ṣiğīlmāsā. But this alliance was only ephemeral, and the early days of the second Shanfsīn dynasty of Morocco were marked by the struggle between Abu Ḥassān and the Alawī pretender, Tālīfīh. He was succeeded on his death by his son Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, who was soon brought to terms by the 'Alawī sultan āl-Raḥīd. In 1670 the latter led an expedition to the very heart of the Śus and captured the stronghold of Iḥlī. Next year, the people of the Śus sent a deputation to him at Marrakesh to offer their submission. The latter was not of long duration, for in 1677 Sultan Muḥammad Ismā'īl had to send an expedition to the Śus and another in 1682. The country was finally pacified, and at the end of his reign when Muḥammad Ḥasan divided his empire among several of his sons, the Śus fell to Muḥammad al-Ālīn, with Tārūdānt as his capital. But this prince only went to his domain to set up as a pretender to the throne, and from this time onwards, we find each successive 'Alawī sultan forced to suppress one or more rebellions in the Śus during his reign. We may just mention the expeditions to put down the doums of the Śus in 1733, Mawlay Sulaymān (1802) and particularly those of Mawlay Ṣulaymān in 1882 and 1886. The Śus was not definitively brought under the control of the Protectorate administration till the 1930s.

2. The present position.

Climatically, the Śus is clearly an arid region, with an average annual rainfall of less than 250 mm. From April to October, in particular, precipitation is totally absent. The water courses are unable to supply this because the alluvial sediments of the Wāṭṭi Śus only have water when they come down from the mountains, and even the main channel dries up through seepage into the ground. It is only through use of the underground, water-table that surface cultivation for human needs has been possible. Downstream from Tārūdānt, in the Ḥuwwārā country, as likewise between the Wāṭṭi Śus and Tiznit, amongst the Shīṭīkā, wells are numerous, with their water in previous times raised by animal-power but now by diesel pumps, except where the wells are held back by the dam completed in 1973 on the Wāṭṭi Máṣāh which have not changed anything. Nevertheless, only one-fifth of the surface area of the Śus is used for agriculture, a proportion by no means the least of all the lowlands of Morocco. In addition to winter barley and a little maize in summer, the traditional peasant cultivates vegetables for his own use and also for market. He also has orchards of olive trees, almonds, figs and pomegranates. Within the modern sector of the economy, there are important citrus fruit plantations irrigated from pumps, all along the Wāṭṭi Śus and near the coast, and early produce, above all tomatoes, which arrives on European markets out of the normal season. Otherwise, it is bare plain which, towards the north and east, blends with the wooded slopes of the same kind as in the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, the open forest land of the argan trees. The argan is exploited by man, who presses from its fruit an edible oil which is appreciated and who leads up goats to browse on the foliage. 3. The towns.

The main town of the Śus is no longer Tārūdānt, but it has surpassed Tārūdānt since the 1940s on account of the colonial period investment there, in the first place, on basic installations for the harbour. In the 1982 census, Tārūdānt had a population of 100,000, with 160,000 if the quasi-conurbation Tārūdānt—Ben Merah had been included. Tārūdānt had at that time 36,000. It was with a population of this order in which Agādīr—that the products of the Śus plain and the network connected with it are exported. The airport of Inezgane-Agādīr adds further services to it. Fish curing is important, and investments for tourism have made it a resort of the highest quality. Tārūdānt seems to have been founded at a very early period, and we already find it playing a part in history in the Almoravid period. In mediaeval times, the Śus had as its capital sometimes Tārūdānt and sometimes Iḍīfī. After the death of Mawlay Ḥasan, at the end of the 19th century, Tārūdānt was the centre of the rebellion of Aḥmad al-Ḫībā in Suppl', who held out there till the town was taken in 1913 by the Sultan 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī. It is surrounded by a great wall of clay which dates from the end of the 17th century. Like Tārūdānt, Tiznit is a traditional town. Sultan Mawlay al-Ḫāsan is said to have founded it in 1882 at the time of the first of his expeditions into the Śus. At all events, he threw a rampart round the nuclei of the four main contiguous quarters which is known today. Being 87 km/50 miles south of Agādīr and 20 km/12 miles from the coast, at the foot of the Anti-Atlas, Tiznit had 23,000 inhabitants in 1982. This centre receives large sums of money sent as remittances by workers who have emigrated to Europe. The aim of the sultan's expedition to Tiznit, one which was not achieved, was to recover control of the Śus, at that time held by the chief of the house of Iḥlī, a much-frequented lodge of the very near area of Sīfī Aḥmad al-Mīnā in the Tazerwalt. One recalls that, from this locality, some 25 km/15 miles south-east of Tiznit, came the troupes of dancers and acrobats who formerly travelled through the whole of North Africa and as far as Europe.

The people of the Śus continue to speak a Berber dialect of the Tashelhit [g.v.] group, but Arabic-speakers are becoming more numerous through extensive emigration to the cities and towns of Morocco, Casablanca in the first place and then Europe, above all France, where they become mingled with other contingents of Maghribis. The Śus's dynamism does not merely
admit them to petty trading activities; since the 1980s, a minority of them, who have become entrepreneurs, have jostled with the Fas! bourgeoisie for positions, but Susa was also a town of trade: local commerce and the foundations of the basilica. In 821 the Aghlabid kadi, Kayrawan, undertook the conquest of al-Kayrawan, and to the south by Wad! '1-Kharrub, and to the north-west by Wädi 'Idhlrrub, and to the south by Wädi '1-Hallûf, near the Sabkahât Sûsa. The subsoil is essentially of sedimentary origin with ancient alluvial deposits, while to the north and the south, near the sea, the alluvial deposits are recent. Like other neighbouring settlements, such as al-Kal'a al-Kabira, al-Kal'a al-Sâghîra, Akûda and others, Sûsa has always had a defensive character. It lies on the Mediterranean coast in the eastern-central part of Tunisia at 35° 51' lat. N. and 10° 36' long. E. Winters are therefore mild; the average rainfall is limited to 69 days per year, while the region has a reduced cloud cover and a great deal of sunshine.

Sûsa lies in the centre of the Sûhil, in an agricultural, industrial and heavily populated region. Due to its commercial port, the town is the outlet of a large area in central Tunisia, especially of the steppes around al-Kayrawân [q.v.] and Kaârin. It is also a junction of roads and railways, and as such, it connects the northern and southern parts of the country.

2. History.

Founded by the Phoenicians around the 9th century B.C. (see Tissot in Bibl.), it had developed into an important town at the height of Carthage. After 146 B.C., Sûsa, known to the Romans as Hadrumetum, became the county town of a Roman colony. In the 3rd century A.D., it was the capital of the province of Byzantium. After the Vandal period, Sûsa was reconquered by the Byzantines and renamed Justinapoli. The Arabs, under command of 'Abd Allâh b. al-Zubayr, conquered and destroyed the town in 27/647. The Christian basila, built in the 9th century, was razed to the ground. Between 159-79/775-96, Yâzîd b. Hâtim, the 'Abbâsîd governor of al-Kayrawân, had the first small fort built on part of the foundations of the basila. In 821 the Aghlabîd Ziyâdat Allâh destroyed the south-western tower of the fort and constructed a ribât [q.v.] instead. The Great Mosque was built in 237/851—in later times it was to be restored several times, most recently in 1964—and the ramparts of ancient Hadrumetum were reconstructed in 245/859 and again in 602/1205.

From the 16th century onwards, the ribât lost its military function and remained just a dervish convent. Another much higher watch tower, the Burdî Khalaf, was constructed at the south-western corner of the town wall, on the highest spot of the site together with a new kasba. The Aghlabîds also provided Sûsa with a powerful arsenal; it was from this port that Asad b. al-Furîth, khâdî of al-Kayrawân, undertook the conquest of Sicily [see sâkîlîya. 1]. According to the Arab geographers, the town counted many bazars with a multitude of merchandise, fruit, meat, and textiles.

After this period of prosperity, Sûsa knew a relative decline, due to plundering by Arab nomads who, between the 5th/11th and the 8th/14th centuries, arrived from Upper Egypt. Sûsa regained a certain importance under the Turkish domination. After al-Mahdîyya [q.v.] had been ruined in the 9th/10th/15th-16th centuries, Sûsa remained the most important town of the Sûhil, with a population of ca. 15,000 inhabitants.

European travellers such as Peyssonnel describe Sûsa as a town which lived largely on the products of the soil. Many inhabitants were landowners, and most of its industries depended upon rural products: oil-works, soap factories, pottery, fabrication of sandals (balgha), weaving of burnouses and blankets. But Sûsa was also a town of trade: local commerce
in the suks and at the weekly Sunday market (sîk al-ahad), which took place near the Bab al-Gharbi, as well as trade with Europe and the Orient. To a great extent, this trade depended upon al-Kayrawân, which served as an entrepôt of the steps and of a part of the al-Kâf region in the north-west. Towards the end of the 13th/19th century, Susa, with some 7,000 inhabitants, was the most active town after the capital Tunis; but its role then became strictly regional.

3. The modern period.

At the beginning of the French Protectorate, towards the end of the 19th century, the urban structure of the Sâhil had already become evident. For a very long time, Susa had been surrounded by urban settlements whose industries were exclusively agricultural. Two of these, Kala Kubira and Msaken, were more densely populated than Susa itself. The Protectorate immediately reinforced the tertiary character of Sousse by establishing Civil Control, enlarging the port and immediately reinforced the tertiary character of Sousse. Between 1896 and 1911, Susa was linked by railways with Tunis, Kayrawan, Moknin, Mahdiyya, Henshir Suwatir, as well as trade with Europe and the Orient. To a great extent, this trade depended upon al-Kayrawân, which served as an entrepôt of the steps and of a part of the al-Kâf region in the north-west. Towards the end of the 13th/19th century, Susa, with some 7,000 inhabitants, was the most active town after the capital Tunis; but its role then became strictly regional.

After Tunisia became independent in 1956, Susa was made the seat of a wilaya and developed into a regional metropolis. These transformations have had their influence on the demographic, spatial and functional growth of the town:

(a) The population increase was spectacular. It grew from 8,537 in 1865 to 134,935 in 1994. Susa now is the third largest city of Tunisia, after Greater Tunis and Greater Sfax.

(b) The spatial extension is no less important. Until the first years of the Protectorate, the entire population of Susa lived inside the medina, whose walls were right on the seaside. Already before 1939, a modern city in the European style was constructed around the old centre, but between 1926 and 1946 the developed site remained thinly populated. Between December 1942 and May 1943, in the fighting between the armier of the Axis powers and the Allies, Susa suffered 39 bombardments which wrought great havoc, and in 1946 priority was given to reconstruction. After independence, Susa developed in all directions. The urban perimeter, only 29 ha (71.66 acres) in 1881, had grown to 3,100 ha (7,660 acres) in 1992.

(c) The functional growth of Susa is almost exclusively secondary and tertiary, primary activities being limited to fishing. More than 43% of the working population is active in secondary functions, such as textile and leather industries, in the fabrication of mechanical, electrical and electronic devices, in construction and chemicals. The real importance of Susa, however, is to be found in its tertiary function (administration, education up to higher academic level, health and other social activities, trade, communications, banking) which occupies more than half of the working population. As a port, Susa is surpassed by Sfax, but it is important for the tourist industry.


MOHAMED JEDDI

SUSAN or more often SAWSAN, iris or lily; generally Iris florentina L., or Lilium sp. Of Middle Persian origin, from susan, it is related to Hebrew ḥq̄q̄ân, and is possibly originally a loan-word from Egyptian (I. Lôw, Die Flora der Juden, Vienna-Leipzig 1924-25, ii, 1-4, 160-64). The rûsâm ʿummângâš (Pers. domân-ghâš “sky-coloured”) was the blue iris; other colours were white and yellow.

In the Arabic Dioscorides, ârid, a “type of sawsan,” is equated with the Greek ʿirîs; zahr al-sawasân with lily (britton) (see M.M. Sadek, The Arabic materia of Dioscorides, Quebec City 1863). Ibn-al-Ṭabarây lists three varieties: white or azâzâ; wild; and cultivated. (Ǧâmîʿ al-μufraddât, Cairo 1974, iii, 45-4). He quotes Dioscorides, Galen, and other authors. Its “power” is mainly desiccative (ṭâjjfî) and dissolvent (ṭâḥūfî). Its roots, seeds and leaves were used as an oil or a juice.

External use was for skin complaints such as scab (girah), scalds, burns and ulcers; internally, it could be chewed for toothache, or drunk for vermin bite and cough (al-Ǧâfîkî) or to sharpen the intellect and remove “yellow water” (Ibn Sinâ). Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarây says that the wild and the white varieties relieve pain in muscles or nerves (ṣâfîh).

Precise identification of species is not practicable (see W. Schmucker, Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firduâs al-Hikma des Taban, Bonn 1969, 253-4). W. Ainslie refers to Iris florentina, or Orris root, as used by Arabs and Persians as supplicative and deobstruent; and in Europe formerly as a cathartic in dropsy (Materia Indica, London 1826, i, 182, 284). Iris is still sometimes used in herbal-based medicine.


SUTRA (a.), covering, protection, shelter, especially at the ṣârâ, where suta means the object which the worshipper places in front of himself or lays in the direction of the kibâh, whereby he shuts himself off in an imaginary area within which he is not disturbed by human or demoniacal influences. “The fictitious fencing off of an open place of prayer, the suta, seems to have had among other objectives that of warding off demons” (Wellhausen, Reste, 158). In one tradition, the man who deliberately penetrates into this imaginary area is actually called a ḥūṣṭân (al-Bukhârî, ṣârât, bâb 100; cf. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, Mornad, iv, 2; al-Ṭayyâlîst, Mornad, Haydarâbâd 1931, no. 1342).

The word is not found in the Kurân. In Hadîth, the root occurs often in the expression satar (ṣustara, ṣistara) bi-thawb in traditions which describe the ritual ablution, in which one conceals one’s nakedness or causes it to be concealed by a cloak or curtain (e.g. al-Bukhârî, Sayd, bâb 14; Ghûl, bâb 21; Muslim, Ḥadîd, trad. 70, 79; Abû Dâwûd, Tâhâra, bâb 123; Mundûk, bâb 37). Similarly, sîr is the name given to the curtain by which Muhammad concealed his women from the gaze of the world (al-Bukhârî,
SUTRA — SU'UD, AL

903

Maghāzī, báb 56; Nikāh, báb 67). We are further told that one performs the salāt in the direction of an object which isolates him from the multitude (yastu-rūhu min al-nās) so that he is not disturbed by them (e.g. al-Bukhārī, Hadīth, báb 93; Muslim, Salāt, trad. 259; Abu Dawsūd, Muslim, báb 53).

Muhammad is said to have been quite unrestricted in his choice of a suatra: baggage camels, horses, trees, saddles (al-Bukhārī, Salāt, báb 98), a couch (ibid., báb 99), lance (harba, báb 92), stick (ināzah, báb 93) and the pillars of the mosque (báb 95) are mentioned. Hadīth has preserved the memory of two opinions regarding the suatra; one gives minute rules and the other quite general ones.

The first opinion endeavours to lay down accurately what distance should be preserved between the suatra and him who performs the salāt (manārar al-shāt “space to allow a sheep to pass”; al-Bukhārī, Salāt, báb 91; Muslim, Salāt, trads. 263, 264, etc.); it makes Muhammad explain that no one is to be allowed to pass between anyone and his suatra (al-Bukhārī, Salāt, báb 100, 101; Muslim, Salāt, trads. 256-62, etc.). That passage, especially dogs, asses and women, render void the Salāt: The Apostle of God said: “If one performs the salāt without having in front of him something, such as the end or central part of a saddle, his salāt is rendered void by a passing dog, ass or woman” (al-Tirmidhī, Muslim, báb 136; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 86).

The other view holds that the salāt is never rendered void by passers-by (this is also al-Shafi‘i’s view, according to al-Tirmidhī’s note on Manṣūrī, báb 135). ‘Ā’isha excludes indignantly, “you place us on the same level as asses and dogs; by Allāh, the Prophet used to perform the salāt while I lay on the couch between him and the kihba” (al-Bukhārī, Salāt, báb 105). The same tendency is seen in an anecdote by Ibn ‘Abbās: “I was riding behind al-Fadl on a she-ass; we came up to the Prophet just as he was performing the salāt with his companions in Minā. We dismounted and took our places in the row, while the animal ran among the people without rendering void the salāt” (al-Tirmidhī, Manṣūrī, báb 135; cf. Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 196).

The Shafi‘is call the suatra a summa. The various views of the jurists are given in al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim’s Sumā‘ī, Cairo 1283, ii, 76-7; cf. also al-Tirmidhī’s remarks on bāb 133-6 in his chapter manṣūrī al-salāt.

Abū Isḥāq al-Shafī‘ī, ed. Juynboll, 29, writes as follows: “If anyone passes a man who is performing the salāt and there is a suatra or stick between them of about an arm’s length in size, it is makruh; nor is it makruh if there is no stick but a line which the worshipper has drawn at a distance of 3 ells; if, on the contrary, there should be nothing of the kind at all then (sc. passing by) would be makruh. The salāt would however remain valid”.

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the suatra of the imām at the salāt is valid for those with whom he performs the salāt (al-Bukhārī, Salāt, báb 90).

Bibliography: The material of the classical hadith is given in A.J. Wensinck, Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition, Leiden 1927, s.v.; Abu Hadjar al-Haytamī, Tahfīz, Cairo 1282, i, 180-1. See also Salāt. (A.J. Wensinck)

SU'UD, ĀL, a major Arabian dynasty belonging to the ‘Anaza tribe, first rising to power in Nadjīd in the 12th/18th century in association with the religious reform movement of Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (q.v.). The Āl Su’ūd provided the leadership for three successive states inspired by Wahhābī doctrines: the first Su’ūdī-Wahhābī state, 1159-1233/1746-1818, with its centre in Nadjīd, but controlling much of central and northern Arabia at its greatest extent; the second such state re-established in Nadjīd, 1240-1305/1824-87; the third state restored with its capital in al-Riḍā (q.v.) from 1319/1902 and culminating in the modern kingdom of Su’ūd Arabia (q.v.) from 1351/1932. The Islamic basis of the rule of the Āl Su’ūd is evidenced by their assumption of the title imām, denoting their spiritual headship of the community, in addition to the temporal rank of amīr, although the two titles were on occasion held by different members of the family.

The founder of the dynasty, Muhammad b. Su’ūd (1159-79/1746-65 (q.v.)), is chiefly remembered for lending his support to the reform efforts of Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb from his power base as amīr of al-Dir’iyya (q.v.), seeking to enforce a Hanbalī interpretation of Shā‘ī‘a and to root out perceived un-Islamic innovation, bid‘a, notably as represented in the cult of saints. In exchange, his rule acquired religious legitimacy, but for twenty years he was engaged in a struggle with forces opposed to the creation of the new theocratic state.

During his reign, military campaigning had been entrusted to his capable and dedicated son ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, who assumed office as the new imām on his death in 1179/1765, embarking on an energetic thirty-eight year period of rule, ending with his assassination by a Šī‘ī, or possibly Šī‘ī, assailant in 1218/1803. During his time the power of the Āl Su’ūd was consolidated in Nadjīd and extended to al-Hijāz with the capture of the Holy Cities, while raids were made deep into al-‘Irāk, Karbala being sacked in Dhu ‘l-Ḥijāda 1215/1801 as part of the Wahhābī attack on Šī‘ism. Much of the coastal region of eastern Arabia was brought under Su’ūd control, including for some time the island of al-Bahrayn (q.v.). Both ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and his son Su’ūd (1218-29/1803-14) have been widely regarded as capable rulers and strategists, respected among their Wahhābī followers for their strict adherence to the principles of the faith and their readiness and ability to ensure justice and security among the Bedouin in areas that had suffered from blood feuds and lawlessness. Understandably, they were not so appreciated by the Ottomans, whose authority and status as Muslims they challenged, and by the settled Hijāzīs and the eastern Arabian and ‘Irākī Šī‘a.

‘Abd Allāh b. Su’ūd (1229-33/1814-18) inherited a difficult situation, which he was less well equipped to handle than his predecessors, lacking their strategic skills. The Ottomans were determined to end Su’ūdī and Wahhābī hegemony in Arabia and the threat posed by them to the region. In 1222/1807 Muhammad ‘Alī (q.v.) as viceroy of Egypt had received orders from the Ottoman sultan Muṣṭafā IV to launch an expedition against the Su’ūdī imām. However, it was not until 1226-7/the winter of 1811-12 that the Egyptian forces were able to wrest control of the Holy Cities from Su’ūd, and only in 1232/early 1817 that Muhammad ‘Alī’s son, Ibrāhīm Pasha (q.v.), led a fresh expedition into central Arabia. There has frequently been criticism of ‘Abd Allāh’s tactics in choosing to hold out in al-Dir’iyya rather than to attack Ibrāhīm’s vulnerable lines of communication more effectively. Yet he was also faced with the problem of treachery by those tribes who succumbed to Egyptian financial inducements to turn against the Āl Su’ūd. Nevertheless, he was able to withstand a six-month siege before surrendering the town in Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da
The first Su'udi state had come to an end and al-Dir'iyya was razed to the ground. 'Abd Allâh himself was sent for execution to Istanbul. Many of the Al Su'ûd had been killed in the fighting and a number of others were deported to Egypt.

It was several years before the second Su'udi state could be recreated in Najd by Turki b. 'Abd Allâh (1240-9/1824-34), a cousin of Su'ûd and grandson of Muhammad b. Su'ûd. Abandoning hope of reviving al-Dir'iyya, he made his new capital to the south of it in al-Riyâd, which he captured from the Egyptians, who subsequently withdrew to al-Hijâz. Turki was noted for his just government and efforts to maintain order, also for his guaranteeing safe passage to non-Wahhâbi pilgrims passing through his territories. He effectively restored the Su'ûd's position in eastern Arabia, but became the victim of intrigues within the Al Su'ûd, being assassinated by a nephew in 1249/1834. However, his son Fayûs took prompt action against the assassins and succeeded in establishing his rule, until a second Egyptian expedition invaded Najd, forcing him to surrender and taking him as captive to Istanbul.

A period of Su'ûd weakness and instability followed, Khâlid b. Su'ûd (1253-7/1837-41), brother of the late Imâm 'Abd Allâh, being returned from his exile in Egypt and imposed as ruler by Muhammad All's forces. He had little popular support and briefly gave way before a rebellious relative, 'Abd Allâh b. 'Thu'ayyân (1257-9/1841-3), who also proved unpopular owing to harsh taxation and inability to preserve security and assert his authority.

Real independence was asserted by the Al Su'ûd with the escape of Fayûs b. Turki from his captivity in Egypt and his successful return to his homeland. His second reign (1259-82/1843-65) marked a high point in Su'ûd fortunes. The British Political Resident in the Gulf, Lt. Col. Lewis Pelly, visited him shortly before his death and noted him as "a just and stern ruler", who was interested in encouraging the Bedouin to adopt a more settled life and to pursue agriculture and trade. Unfortunately, his death ushered in a time of fratricidal struggle between his sons 'Abd Allâh and Su'ûd, 'Abd Allâh ruling twice, from 1282-88/1865-71 until his deposition by Su'ûd (1288-91/1871-4), then again from 1291-1305/1874-87 when he lost power to the Al Rashîd [see Rashîd, Al] of Djabal Shammar in northern Najd. Thus the second Su'ûd state came to an end, its fall owed both to internal power struggles and to the temporarily greater dynamism and political skill of the Rashîds. Fayûs's youngest son, 'Abd al-Rahmân, tried to hang on to a limited local authority, but, after a disastrous defeat at the battle of al-Mulayda in 1309/1891, was forced to leave al-Riyâd accompanied by his family, among them his young son 'Abd al-'Aziz, the future king of Su'ûd's Arabia.

'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Fayûs Al Su'ûd [q.v.] began his long reign with his return from exile in al-Kuwayt and bold recapture of al-Riyâd in 1319/1902. There followed many years in which he sought to establish Su'ûd control over Najd and extend his power eastwards to al-Ahsâ' by a combination of military and diplomatic tactics, confronting challenges from the combined forces of the Ottomans and Al Rashîd as well as the dissension of relatives, rebellious tribes and the growing power of the amir of Mecca, the Sharîf Huṣayn b. All'. He was also well aware of the advantages of gaining British support, while preserving the maximum degree of independence, and the treaty he signed with Britain in Safar 1394/December 1915 assured him of a regular subsidy and assistance in the event of aggression against him. In 1393/1921 he crushed the Rashîd power in northern Najd, taking their centre of Hâ'il [q.v.] and assumed the title of su'ûd of Najd. After years of sound relations and occasional hostilities with the Sharîf Huṣayn, now king of al-Hijâz, 'Abd al-'Aziz invaded his territory in 1343/1924, being provoked by the Sharîf's claim to the caliphate and his refusal to allow Wahhâbi pilgrims to perform the Naajâ. In 1344/1926 he assumed the title of king of al-Hijâz for himself, an un-Islamic title disliked by the Wahhâbis. His father 'Abd al-Rahmân had held the spiritual position of imâm until his death in 1346/1928, when it devolved on to 'Abd al-'Aziz, although he had informally been so addressed earlier.

Those who met 'Abd al-'Aziz seem invariably to have been impressed. Thus Gertrude Bell in a letter of 1916 wrote of him as "one of the most striking personalities I have encountered. He is splendid to look at, well over 6', with an immense amount of dignity and self-possession". However, assessments vary as to the importance of his character and personality in building the power of the Al Su'ûd in Arabia, from eulogy of him as the key figure in the enterprise to judgment of his role as overrated and his being no more than fortunate in his historical circumstances. As a Muslim leader, he was pious and conscientious in the performance of his religious duties, convinced that Islam must triumph and dedicated to its promotion. This may be witnessed in his policy of establishing the hîdâr [q.v.], agricultural religious settlements for the Wahhâbi Ikhwân [q.v.] and his systematic implementation of the Sharîa in al-Hijâz after its conquest with the same strictness as in Najd. Yet there were those among the Ikhwân for whom his religious zeal was insufficient and who condemned him for his dealings with the unbelieving British, his use of informal innovations such as cars and telephones, his allowing the tribes of Transjordan and al-Írâk to graze their herds on the lands of true Wahhâbi Musliims and his failure to impose Wahhâbism among the Shi'is of al-Ahsâ'. While noted for the traditional Arab virtues of generosity and magnanimity to defeated enemies, 'Abd al-'Aziz could also be implacable if angered and utterly ruthless, as is evidenced by his final suppression of the Ikhwân in Shab'bân 1348/January 1930. To the end of his life, even after the commercial exploitation of his country's vast oil reserves, he retained his simple and austere lifestyle.

The same could hardly be said of his son and successor, Su'ûd b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (1373-84/1953-64), who was widely criticised for his exceptional extravagance as well as for his political ineptitude and the corruption in his government. This was to bring his country to the edge of bankruptcy by 1377/1957 and lead to speculation that the days of the Al Su'ûd were numbered. In 1384/1964 Su'ûd was formally deposed by a council made up of senior members of the royal family, 'ulamâ' and government officials on the grounds that his rule was in violation of the Sharîa.

His brother Fayûs, who succeeded him and ruled until his assassination by a nephew in 1395/1975, inherited his father's political acumen and is credited with establishing the modern institutions of Su'ûd Arabia, moving away from the traditional patriarchal rule associated with 'Abd al-'Aziz and Su'ûd. He oversaw successful development programmes financed by more efficiently managed oil revenues, ensuring increased prosperity for all sectors of the population. As a deeply committed Muslim, Fayûs was active in
promoting pan-Islamic policies even before his accession to the throne. In 1382/1962 he encouraged the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Djidda, leading to the establishment of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (Munazzamat al-Mu'tamar al-Islami).

Faisal’s successor, Khalid b. ‘Abd al-Aziz (1395-1402/1975-82), was already elderly at the time of his accession and plagued by poor health. During his reign, his Islamic credentials were challenged by a revolt organized by neo-Ikhwan with the takeover of the Great Mosque at Mecca on 1 Muharram 1400/21 November 1979 [see Makkah 3].

The Al Su’ud today are estimated as numbering between 4,000 and 7,000, of whom several hundred are direct descendants of ‘Abd al-Aziz. They are intermarried with many traditionally important tribal families, notably the Sudayri of northern Najd, and with the Al al-Shaykh, the descendants of Muhammad b. Faysal’s successor, Khalid b. ‘Abd al-Aziz (1395-1402/1975-82), was already elderly at the time of his accession and plagued by poor health. During his reign, his Islamic credentials were challenged by a revolt organized by neo-Ikhwan with the takeover of the Great Mosque at Mecca on 1 Muharram 1400/21 November 1979 [see Makkah 3].

The Al Su’ud today are estimated as numbering between 4,000 and 7,000, of whom several hundred are direct descendants of ‘Abd al-Aziz. They are intermarried with many traditionally important tribal families, notably the Sudayri of northern Najd, and with the Al al-Shaykh, the descendants of Muhammad b. Faysal’s successor, Khalid b. ‘Abd al-Aziz (1395-1402/1975-82), was already elderly at the time of his accession and plagued by poor health. During his reign, his Islamic credentials were challenged by a revolt organized by neo-Ikhwan with the takeover of the Great Mosque at Mecca on 1 Muharram 1400/21 November 1979 [see Makkah 3].

The Al Su’ud today are estimated as numbering between 4,000 and 7,000, of whom several hundred are direct descendants of ‘Abd al-Aziz. They are intermarried with many traditionally important tribal families, notably the Sudayri of northern Najd, and with the Al al-Shaykh, the descendants of Muhammad b. Faysal’s successor, Khalid b. ‘Abd al-Aziz (1395-1402/1975-82), was already elderly at the time of his accession and plagued by poor health. During his reign, his Islamic credentials were challenged by a revolt organized by neo-Ikhwan with the takeover of the Great Mosque at Mecca on 1 Muharram 1400/21 November 1979 [see Makkah 3].
sion into neighbouring territories, accompanied by an attempt to rid Muslim society of unlawful innovations (bid'a). These attempts, however, resulted in the chieftain's destruction in 1818-21 by Muhammad 'Ali's Egyptian forces on behalf of the Ottomans. A subsequent second Su'udi chieftain was continuously immersed in internal struggles, leading to internal warfare and disintegration in 1891. A third Su'udi chieftain emerged in 1902, when the new leader of the Su'udi family, 'Abd al-'Azîz b. 'Abd al-Ra'hamîn, returned from exile in Kuwait to recoup the city of al-Riyadh and its vicinity, reinforcing Su'udi rule there in the ensuing years [for details, see su'ud, 3]. The transformation of this Su'udi chieftain had two stimulating factors. One was a drive, attributed to 'Abd al-'Azîz and other family members, to restore the ancestral first and second Su'udi states, thereby reactivating the Wahhâbi movement aimed at giving the ʿShîrīn a position of supremacy in society and at purifying Islam from bid'a [see wahhabiyah]. This motive, while it explains the desire to re-establish a third Su'udi chieftain, with its raison d'être, does not shed light on the need to transform the chieftaindom as it evolved after 1902, without defined borders, minimal government based on ad hoc arrangements among the ruling elite, main tribal groups and townspeople, and the persistence of tribal loyalties, into a more organised state, nor on the dynamics of this process.

The second motive, which accounts for these developments, concerns the principles of evolution of states in tribal societies. It was articulated in 'Abd al-'Azîz's skill in responding to new challenges by increasing the Su'udi chieftaindom's cohesion, governmental centralisation and territorial expansion. This motive became evident during and after the First World War when, by facing the challenges of British and Ottoman rivalry, the Arab Revolt led by the rival 'Abd al-'Azîz and his aides during 1927-30, the ruler was able to establish the principle that, while the senior 'ulamâ' remained the main interpreters of the Wahhâbi principles of Islam, as in the 18th and 19th centuries, their religious rulings would defer to the policies of the ruler and the state. A form of central government. A most conspicuous aspect of centralization was subjugation of opposition. The Ikhwan tribal groups, notably the Mutâyir, parts of the 'Uthayba and the 'Udîman, who favoured the continuity of the chieftaindom system (including the tribes' own choice of markets, raiding, and political conduct according to their own zealous interpretation of the Wahhâbi code), were defeated and subjugated in a series of battles during 1929-30. The formation of political parties, and any kind of political opposition, were subsequently forbidden. Centralisation was accompanied by the establishment, between 1926 and 1929, of a new, minimal, physical infrastructure of communications, several main roads leading from Najd to the new occupied territories, a radio telegraph system at the leaders' disposal, and new markets in the Gulf coast cities of Huflû and Dîbâyil. Centralisation was also evident in economic change: from 1924 'Abd al-'Azîz began to use civilian taxation and pilgrimage income (ca. £100,000 annually in the late 1920s, declining by two-thirds during the 1930s economic recession) to establish a central treasury. The forbidding of raids into neighbouring states was also laid down during this period.

Two new governmental formations then emerged: the ʿShîrīn, in its Wahhâbi interpretation, was a substitute for a constitution and the primary source of daily law. In a series of conferences of 'ulamâ' and Ikhwan with 'Abd al-'Azîz and his aides during 1927-30, the ruler was able to establish the principle that, while the senior 'ulamâ' remained the main interpreters of the Wahhâbi principles of Islam, as in the 18th and 19th centuries, their religious rulings would defer to the policies of the ruler and the state. A form of state Islam thereby emerged: the senior 'ulamâ', incorporated within a Supreme Council, were responsible for judicial and religious rulings (fikâhir) but appointed by the ruler and representing state interests.

A further sphere of centralisation was seen in institutional building. In 1932, there was a ca. 43,000-strong army, and a police force of indeterminate size (probably several thousand), acting in the cities and provinces. Several government departments were inaugurated between 1925 and 1933, notably internal and foreign affairs, finance, pilgrimage and health, the whole functioning as a Council of Ministers from 1932. There were two main provincial judicial and administrative systems, one in Najd and the other in Hijjaz. In view of its religious importance and separate history,
From 1970, economic development evolved through "Five-year plans," focusing both on diversification and growth. Through administrative outreach and economic reforms, the state established centralising networks, including schools and seven universities (the number of graduates rose from 1,700 in 1975 to ca. 17,000 in 1985); 24,000 km of roads connected the main towns with each other; and ca. 226,000 houses, telecommunication and medical facilities were built.

Centralisation was also evident, through a policy of "divide and rule," in the evolution of two separate bodies of armed forces: the regular army, composed of conscripted recruits from the main Najd tribes (such as the Mutayr and 'Utyaba) with long-established contacts with the royal family, under the command of the crown prince (currently 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, King Fahd's half-brother). In itself, this division attests to a factional division within the royal family, which King Faisal was able to balance, so as to ensure the functioning of the Saudi royal family in its role as the Kingdom's central-governing elite. He established a policy of co-operation between Fahd and his six full brothers, sons of 'Abd al-'Aziz and Hasa bint Ahmad al-Sudairi (who therefore became known as the "Sudari seven") who are now principal ministers, with a group of other princes, descendents of 'Abd al-'Aziz and various mothers, led by Crown Prince 'Abd Allah, with the effect that the factions' candidates alternate as Kings and as Crown Princes. Thus during the reigns of Faysal and Khalid, the centralisation of the Saudi state reached its peak.

Saudi Arabia underwent another process of state building, which concerns its socio-political cohesion. Unification under Saudi rule of the different territories and segments, which until 1932 were known as Najd, Hijaz and their dependencies, did not mean full assimilation, but rather the introduction of a loose, unifying framework of tribal groups, which remained socio-economically autonomous. It showed society's compliance or acquiescence with Saudi rule, and war-weariness with the effects of territorial expansion and Ikha'min fighting. This loose unification was demonstrated by the King's functioning, in tribal tradition, as an arbiter between the two main provinces of Najd and Hijaz, reflecting each region's interests vis-à-vis the other, and symbolising their readiness to co-operate. Su'tid's and Faysal's appointments as governors of Najd and Hijaz respectively, further signifies the role of the Su'tid family as the principal unifier of the kingdom. The imposition of the Shaf'a interpretation, as the legal norm of the entire realm, was another step in this loose unification, although followers of other legal schools continued to practice their own doctrines (notably Shi'i in al-Absh and Shafi'i in Hijaz).

Finally, 'Abd al-'Aziz used unification as a means to foster feelings of regional loyalty to the central government, amidst economic recession and several tribal uprisings in Northern Hijaz and 'Asir during 1930-4. After enlisting the support of various tribal leaders and prominent businessmen, on 16 September 1932, 'Abd al-'Aziz declared formal unity among Saudi-ruled territories, under the newly-named Saudi Arabian Kingdom (al-Mamlaka al-Arabiyah al-Su'diyah). However, the provinces were ruled separately, according to traditional principles of allegiance to tribal...
chiefs, based on a complex system of subventions and taxation. Only during the reigns of Faysal and Khalid were all parts of society technologically made more accessible to each other and more dependent on the central government, with rural populations forming a state-based, bureaucratic identity to their cohesion.

However, reforms also had disruptive socio-political effects, emanating from the impact of modernisation. Relying on financial and oil sales reserves, which in 1981-2 reached a peak of £165 billion, Saudi Arabia became urbanised: its population, which in the 1930s was 70% nomadic, was in the 1980s about 90% urban. Djjada and Mecca in Hijjaz, and al-Riyadh in Najd, became megalopolises of over one million people each. Five new city-centre city-bases (notably Yanbu’, Djubayl, and Khamis Mushayt) were built and other older centres were renovated and enlarged. Society became more stratified, divided into a wealthy businessmen élite, a professional middle class and a lower class of manual workers, including several millions of imported Asians and Africans. An atmosphere of materialism and consumerism disorientated the formerly more austere and rather egalitarian Saudi society. However, Islamic and tribal principles remained effective as value systems, even after the tribal groups became sedentarised. Thus the norms of Wahhabi conduct remained dominant, both through the role which the ‘ulum of conduct played as teachers (notably in girls’ schools), judges, prayer-leaders and religious instructors (muftis), and, most notably, as legal-political advisers to the government. Religious zealots for building political support. Finally, a welfare system upheld as the guiding principle of intermarriage, whose duty is to supervise public conduct and punish offenders. Moreover, tribal, kin-based co-operation is upheld as the guiding principle of intermarriage, administrative appointments, business enterprises and for building political support. Finally, a welfare system of free health and education services, subsidised food, electricity and water, combined with free, weekly access to the lower classes to a provincial governor or count of various religious duties, maintained internal balance and a sense of cohesion and stability in a rapidly-changing Saudi society.

Events in the 1990s indicate that the political and socio-economic dynamic which has characterised Saudi Arabia’s state-building since the days of King Faysal, resulting in centralisation and cohesion, may have exhausted itself. Lower oil prices and huge military expenses (both as assistance to ‘Irak in its war against Iran in the 1980s and for the Desert Storm operation in 1990-) caused a decline in state revenues. The fast-growing population (at a rate of 4% annually, reaching ca. 13 million Saudis and over three million foreign workers) has made it difficult for the government to provide employment and welfare services. Islamic and tribal values stimulate opposition movements rather than generate support. Lower oil prices and huge military expenses (both as assistance to ‘Irak in its war against Iran in the 1980s and for the Desert Storm operation in 1990-) caused a decline in state revenues. The fast-growing population (at a rate of 4% annually, reaching ca. 13 million Saudis and over three million foreign workers) has made it difficult for the government to provide employment and welfare services. Islamic and tribal values stimulate opposition movements rather than generate support for the government. Even terrorist attempts have occasionally erupted. Consequently, there is a growing need for a new state-of-building which will create a new order and stability.


3. Archival sources. These may be found at the Public Records Office, London (esp. Fo 371, 882, 886, 905, Co 725, 727, 730, Air Ministry 23 series; India Office Library and Records, Lo/Paš/10 and 12, R15/1, R15/2, R15/5 series; Philby’s papers at the Middle East Centre, St. Antony’s College, Oxford; U.S. National Archives, State Dept. files, 790F, 890F series. (J. Kostiner)

SULAWA, the name of one of the five gods dating from the time of Noah mentioned in the Qur’an (LXX, 23), together with Wadd, Yaghuth, Ya’qub and Nasr. [gm].

Suwa‘ was worshipped by the Hudhayl [gm.] at Ruhāt in the region of Yanbu’ (Ibn al-Kalbi, 6) in one of the valleys running from the Red Sea towards Medina (Yakūt, Būdūn, iv, 1038). The tribe assiduously frequented his shrine, made pilgrimages to it and constantly offered sacrifices of their best smaller beasts to it (Ibn al-Kalbi, 6, 35, citing two verses attributed to a Yemeni, cf. also Yāqūt, iii, 181-2, iv, 878). The idol was said to have been given by ‘Amr b. Luḥayy, the reformer of idol worship in Arabia, to al-Hāridh b. Tamīn b. Sa‘d; its custodians [see SAD IN] were the Banū Lihyan. The name’s etymology reflects the fact that the Hudhayl, a pastoral tribe, might have given Suwa‘ the name of one of the five gods dating from the time of Noah mentioned in the Qur’an (LXX, 23), together with Wadd, Yaghuth, Ya’qub and Nasr. [gm.]

Suwa‘ has been seen as a female deity and the consort of Wadd, the first representing the fertility principle (the Moon) and the second, the fertilising principle (the Sun) (cf. Osiander, in ZDMG, vii [1853], 496; Kreß, Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber, 66 ff.). Wellhausen (Reste2, 19) was dismissive of this; to him, both the sex of this divinity and its connection with Wadd, its alleged consort, were highly doubtful. The five gods from Noah’s time are represented as male ones, and Suwa‘ appears as a genealogical element in Hudhali onomastic. Moreover, Suwa‘s male sex emerges clearly from the verses of Ibn al-
The absence of the name Suwā‘ from Semitic inscriptions confirms its essentially Ḥiḍājī character. Like Hubal, it was a god peculiar to the Ḥudhayl pastoralists, represented by a stone (al-Ṭabarānī, i, 1648-9) like all the primitive Arabic deities. Its sanctuary was destroyed by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ at the same time as that of al-Uzza in the year 8. In the face of the god's powerlessness to protect itself, its ṣādīm became a Muslim (Ibn Sa‘d, ii/1, 105).

Bibliography: See essentially, Fahd, Le panthéon de l’Arabie Centrale à la veille de l’Hégire, Paris 1968, 154-6, with references; one may cite H. Derenbourg, Le dieu Suwd, in a [/.0z>]. The latter reports it as a [/.0z>]

Sowar

In 981/1573-4 Akbar first made in advance for a contingent of a size, generally less than the titular rank. This came to be known as bar-dwardī ("by estimate"). Ultimately, the bar-dwardī defined the number of the second or saward rank, and payments for this were made according to complex rules. The rate per unit of bar-dwardī/saward under Akbar initially ranged from between 12,000 dāms (rupees 300 per unit) of saward rank per annum and 9,600 dāms (rupees 240). Subsequently, payments were adjusted in accordance with the actual number of horsemen and horses presented at muster [see Ṣawār]. The book has, however, only a limited value as a source of information, since the remedies are only mentioned, but not described in detail.

3. In addition to these two pharmacognostic works, al-Suwāydī also composed a small mineralogical work with the title K. al-Būrī fi ‘l-ṭawārīkh wa al-khaṣṣāyih min al-yawāzī (also known as K. Khawāṣṣ al-ahdār min al-yawāzī wa l-khawāṣṣ al-ahdār, 1981). It treats of twenty-six minerals. Being a late compilation, without any originality, it is interesting only for the authors quoted.

4. A work cited by Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a (‘Uyūn, ii, 267), al-Dhakhira al-kifāya fi ‘l-tibb, has not yet been found.
AL-SUWAYDIYYA (modern Turk. Samandağ), nowadays an important town and headquarters of the sub-province [i.e. of Samandağ]. It is situated 26 km/16 miles south-west of Antakya (Antakya [q.v.]), the capital of the Hatay province of Turkey, near to the Mediterranean Sea, 5 km/3 miles north of the Orontes River (Ar. al-’Aṣi [q.v.]). In the mediaeval period, when al-Suwaydiyya is first mentioned, the name apparently refers to the port at the mouth of the river on the north bank, which the Crusaders knew as Soudin or Port Saint-Simeon, after St. Simeon Stylites the Younger, the remains of whose monastery are to be found on Mont Admirable (Samandağ), situated a little to the east. Port Saint-Simeon occupied the site of a Greek trading colony which was abandoned in later antiquity in favour of Seleucia Pieria to the north, but then reoccupied by the route to the Indies. At the same time, English agents were thinking of making Mogador a base against the corsairs who, through the menace they offered, were proving an obstacle both to the fleets of Europe, forced the Christian nations to conclude treaties with the sultan. In order to populate the town and start business in it, he demanded which the town is built, against those from the west by an island about 1 km/1,000 yards in length, forms the anchorages of the Atlantic coast of Morocco which are inaccessible for ships of large tonnage, has however been occupied at the time of the Arab conquests, when the port, also known as al-Mfna [i.e. of Mogdul], through the forms Mogodor, Mogodor, Mogdul, Wadi ‘1-Ksob. It is however possible that the saint gets his name from an old Berber place-name. Mogador is only a Spanish or Portuguese transcription of Mogdul, from the name Mogodul, Mogodor, which we sometimes find in the texts. The harbour and the island bear the name Mogador or Mogdul, which was probably abandoned again in the 8th/14th century, and few traces remain. After centuries of obscurity, present-day Samandağ profits from the light industrial and agricultural prosperity that has transformed Hatay, without, however, effacing Samandağ’s Levantine flavour. This recalls the time, before the 1393 plebiscite, when it belonged to the partisans of Mawlay Isma’il, the harbour was mainly used as a refuge for corsairs who came there to rest and regain strength, before continuing on their voyage. It was through Mogador that in the first quarter of the 17th century, the greater part of the trade between Marrakûkh and Holland took place. Later, in the time of Mawlay Ima’llî, the harbour was mainly used as a refuge for corsairs who came there to rest and repair their vessels.

AL-SUWAYRA, MOGADOR, a town in Morocco on the Atlantic coast. The Bay of Mogador, protected against the north winds by the rocky promontory on which the town is built, against those from the west by an island about 1 km/1,000 yards in length, forms a natural harbour which, although not large and inaccessible for ships of large tonnage, has however the merit of being accessible at all seasons, an advantage which secures it a favourable place among the anchorages of the Atlantic coast of Morocco which is, generally speaking, inhospitable. This favoured situation was taken advantage of at a very early period. In spite of the lack of precision in the sources, it is probable that we should seek at Mogador the site of one of the five Phoenician colonies founded by Hamno (5th century B.C.). Pliny records that at the end of the 1st century B.C. the king Juba II founded purple dye-works on the Purpurariae Insulae, apparently islands and islets opposite al-Suwayra. Getulic purple, which was cultivated at Rome, was supplied by the molluscs abundant on this coast.

In the 5th/11th century, according to al-Bakrî, Amogdul, a very safe anchorage, was the port for all the provinces of Sûs. We see in the name that of a local saint, Sîdî Mogdadî, still venerated in this region, whose tomb is on the bank near the mouth of the Wâdi ‘1-Ksob. It is however possible that the saint gets his name from an old Berber place-name. Mogador is only a Spanish or Portuguese transcription of Mogdul, through the forms Mogodul, Mogador, which we sometimes find in the texts. The harbour and the island bear the name Mogador or Mogdul, which was probably abandoned again in the 8th/14th century, and few traces remain. After centuries of obscurity, present-day Samandağ profits from the light industrial and agricultural prosperity that has transformed Hatay, without, however, effacing Samandağ’s Levantine flavour. This recalls the time, before the 1393 plebiscite, when it belonged to the partisans of Mawlay Isma’il, the harbour was mainly used as a refuge for corsairs who came there to rest and regain strength, before continuing on their voyage. It was through Mogador that in the first quarter of the 17th century, the greater part of the trade between Marrakûkh and Holland took place. Later, in the time of Mawlay Ima’llî, the harbour was mainly used as a refuge for corsairs who came there to rest and repair their vessels.

Shortly after 1750, Sîdî Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allâh, having become sultan and having made Marrâkûkh his capital, decided to found a town at Mogador and to conduct all the commerce of the south of his kingdom through it. The harbour also served as a base for the corsairs who, through the menace they offered to the fleets of Europe, forced the Christian nations to conclude treaties with the sultan. In order to populate the town and start business in it, he demanded...
that European consuls and merchants should settle there and have houses built at their own expense. It is from the autumn of 1764 that the foundation of the town really dates; it was given the name al-Suwayra (SuwaTra), the little fortress; the name Mogador was only used later. It was founded under the Berberised form (Tasuid). The English provided the sultan with an architect. They sent him a French "engineer", a native of Avignon, called Nicolas Cournot, who had made the plans for the fortifications of some places in Roussillon. He was an adventurer who, after working in France as a contractor, had entered the English service during the Seven Years' War. The sultan did not gain much by his services and sent him back to France at the beginning of 1767. None of the present buildings in Mogador can be attributed with certainty to Cournot, for after him a number of European architects and masons worked for the sultan, notably a Genoese architect who built the battery called the skala situated on the western rampart facing the sea. Suwayra owed to its builders the narrow streets, massive gateways and bastions of European type, the like of which cannot be found in other Moroccan towns and which give it quite a specific character as an "orthogonal medina". Stüt Muhammad also built outside the town a country palace which still stands half buried in sand opposite the little village of Diyabah.

The dreams of the sultan were all imperceptibly realised. The prosperity of al-Suwayra remained insignificant under Stüt Muhammad and declined under his successors. The situation of the town, a long way from great cities and main roads, made it frequently use her very company as a penal prison and compulsory place of residence for high officials in disgrace. Mogador remained, however, the starting-place for the caravans to the Sûs, Mauritania and the Sudân, and retained from this position a certain commercial importance, to which the opening of the port of Agadir to commerce was to cause considerable harm.

On 15 August 1844, a French squadron commanded by the Prince de Joinville, who had just bombarded Tanger, came and bombarded al-Suwayra likewise. It was intended to make an impression on Mawlay 'Abd al-Rahmân by striking at a town which belonged to him personally and from which he drew considerable revenues. Three hours' bombardment silenced the batteries; the French army then disembarked on the island, the garrison of which, entrenched in the mosque, made a vigorous defence until the next morning. On 16 August, a detachment of 600 men went to spike the guns, throw the gunpowder into the sea and destroy the last defences of the town.

Under the French Protectorate, the town now called Mogador became the seat of a contrôle civil. In the 1926 census, it had 18,401 inhabitants, including 7,730 Jews. This important community progressively decreased, and on the eve of independence was reduced to only 1,341. During the colonial period, Mogador became an important fishing port, furnished with canning factories, on the impulse of Breton entrepreneurs. A commercial port was set up, and dealt with the agricultural products of the town's hinterland: cereals, almonds, cumin, wax, woolens, hides and gums. In 1956, the town re-assumed the name of al-Suwayra.

The drying-up of the oceans' resources and the development of better-equipped ports both to the north (Safi) and to the south (Agadir and then Tan Tan) brought to a precipitate close the industrial activities of processing fish, throwing part of the working population into unemployment, a quarter of which had worked in the fishing industry and its ancillaries. It was Morocco's third fishing port in 1970, with over 40,000 tonnes of fish landed annually, but this fell to 20-25,000 tonnes after 1982 and down to 6,000 tonnes in 1991. Commercial activity in the port became negligible. Its mediano is of great importance (al-Suwayra was indeed the chef-lieu (a province), the presence of a large-scale and a petty commerce serving the Chiaidma (Shiâidma) region, and the survival of workers in marquetry (of national importance, starting from working with the thuya or arbor vitae wood), have enabled it to survive with difficulty. The industry benefited from some incoming capital and employed 4,600 persons in 1993 (Ministry of Industry statistics). But al-Suwayra remains above all a town whose tertiary sector has withered away.

Despite an exceptionally mild summer and winter climate, an original countryside mingled with sand dunes, forests of argan trees and a splendid, diversified coastline, al-Suwayra has not been able to grow into a residential centre for international tourism. It is mainly frequented by Moroccan town-dwellers, especially those from Marrâkûsh (Marrakech), in search of bathing and an unusual coolness. It has become a refuge for "hitch hikers" and, at times, for groups of hippies, so that its image as a tourist centre has been impaired. On the other hand, its unspoilt appearance has meant that it is frequently used as a stage for shooting films: "Saharan desert" scenes, utilising the surrounding massive sand dunes; urban and seaport settings for Orson Welles' Othello; and, more recently, for a film on Rimbaud (L'homme aux semelles de vent) by Marc Riviere.

In these conditions, population growth has remained relatively modest. From 30,000 inhabitants in 1971, there were 42,000 in 1982 and 56,000 in 1994. The rate of annual increase of the twelve years 1982-94 has been 2.4%, whilst the urban population of the economic region of Tensift, in which al-Suwayra is situated, has grown by 3.6% during the same period. As a town isolated amid the dunes, poorly connected with its hinterland (which is in any case poor), away, as it always has been, from the great axial road connecting Safi with Agadir, al-Suwayra cannot compete with the two towns between which it is situated. It appears today as the archetype of a medium-sized Moroccan town in crisis, at the end of the world as it were, and a town turned inwards with the memories of its rich past.

AL-SUWAYS or SUEZ, a seaport in Egypt, located at the northern end of the Red Sea (lat. 29° 59' N., long. 32° 33' E.).

The town centre is situated closely south to the ancient town of Kulzum [q.v.] which continued the Ptolemaic settlement of Khomsa or Khisna at the western shore of the bay of Suways and of which only a few ruins remain, known as Kūm al-Kulzum. The foundations of al-Suways were laid after the formerly famous trading centre al-Kulzum (al-Makriṣi, Ḫikātā, i, 213) had been fallen into decay in the 5th/11th century because of severe problems in supplying the inhabitants with fresh water and the difficulties in using the place as a permanent harbour, which had been increased by increasing silting up of the coast. Al-Makriṣi still mentioned al-Kulzum on his map of the world (Charta Rogeriana) dated 1154. Yākūt says that “today”, al-Kulzum is ruined and the newly-founded al-Suways, which al-Mukaddasi had already mentioned nearly two centuries before “was also like ruins where only a few people lived” (Buldān, iv, 388). In earlier times, al-Suways had just been one of several wells which had been used to supply the inhabitants of al-Kulzum with fresh water. In the Middle Ages, al-Suways served as a modest harbour for pilgrims travelling to Mecca and Medina by sea, as a trading place for Bedouin tribes and as the point of departure for the Egyptian annual tribute for the Hijāz (see ibid., iii, 286). At al-Suways, the old pilgrim road from Cairo and the caravan track through the Wādī al-Tuh ended. The use of the seaport was limited, although at the end of the 9th/15th century, the Mamluks tried to restore the importance of the place as a military harbour. In Ottoman times, however, al-Suways became a supply centre for ships of the Ottoman Red Sea naval forces which were lying in the roads. In addition, the Ottomans built a fortress which, however, fell into decay. Prior to the urban extension works of the 19th century, the old town, covering 0.15 km², enclosed 11 quarters (ḥāras) with a total of 112 residences, 2 mosques, a mill, several ovens, some 18 larger shops and ḥāns, six markets with 120 shops and workshops and a gåttā. Two new quarters named Salimiyah and al-Munajja'a were built in the 1810s as Muḥammad 'Alī promoted a small ship-building industry in order to facilitate the transportation of troops to the Hijāz during the Egyptian-Wahhābi wars (1811-18). This already anticipated the urban development of the 19th century, when al-Suways experienced a remarkable refounda-
tion, and, after Alexandria, became Egypt's second trading centre. In 1838 al-Suways was connected to the new post road to Cairo and Alexandria, and also became the starting point for the new steamship lines to Bombay, with steam now allowing the all-year-round use of al-Suways as harbour. Its importance grew when, during the Crimean War, the telegraph link between Egypt and Aden was laid.

In the early 1840s, Ferdinando de Lesseps (1805-94) made further investigations into the possibility of digging a new canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. He elaborated earlier plans published by J.P. Le Père (1800) and Linant de Bellefons (1821), and, after earlier measurements, according to which the level of the Red Sea was about 9 m/30 feet higher than that of the Mediterranean Sea (Lepère 1798), had been corrected, de Lesseps finally submitted a proposal to the then sultan of Egypt, Sa'id Pasha [q.v.]. He supported the opinion of Bellefonds' Saint-Simons student group and of an Egyptian-European commission which had been set up in 1846, according to which the building of a canal through the Isthmus of Suez was possible. On 5 January 1856, Sa'id signed the concession, hoping that the canal would strengthen his ambitions of making Egypt more independent of the Ottoman Empire. After three years of fund-raising and political quarrels, which involved the question of Ottoman sovereignty, the Suez Canal Company was founded with the support of Napoleon III in Paris in 1858. In the course of time, French entrepreneurs bought more than 50% of the shares. Sa'id Pasha himself, who had originally acquired 21% of the shares, had to sell some of them already in 1860. Finally, canal construction started on 22 April 1859.

The Egyptian government recruited 25,000 peasants to work in the Canal region. Simultaneously, a sweet water canal was dug from Cairo to the region of Ismā'īliyya. This canal followed the old canal which had linked the Red Sea with the Nile in Late Pharaonic times and which had been restored several times till the 2nd/3rd century [for details, see El' art. Suez]; it took years to dig this canal. After 1863 and the introduction of machines, the infrastructure and working conditions were considerably improved. When on 16 November 1869 the Canal was opened, construction costs had reached about 19 million pounds sterling, one-third of which had been paid by the Egyptian government. The Canal was now owned by the Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez, which controlled further property along the Canal. As a result of severe financial problems the Egyptian Khedive Ismā'īl Pasha [q.v.] was forced to sell his shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British government. Following the digging of the Canal (1859-69), two new permanent artificial harbours (formerly called Port Ibrahim and Port Tawfiq) were built 3 km/2 miles to the south of Suez at the entry into the Canal. The Convention of Constantinople (29 October 1888) guaranteed the freedom of shipping through the Canal even in time of war. This treaty was again recognised by the Egyptian government on 24 April 1952. When opened, the Canal had a length of 164 m and a breadth of 52 m; in 1902, the length was 195 m and its breadth 164 m, now allowing even larger tankers (up to 150,000 registered tons in 1980) to pass through.

In 1858, Suez was connected to the railway network, and the railway was used to import fresh water into Suez, which gradually turned into a town. Having become the southern port of entry into the Canal, its population had steadily increased (1860: 4,160; 1897: 17,500; 1992: 388,000), being nowadays the sixth largest town of Egypt. From 1882 to 1954, the Canal Zone remained a British military deployment area. Following the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 10 October 1954, the British were to demilitarise the zone within 20 months; on 26 July 1956, the Egyptian government nationalised the canal. Until 1960, Suez formed part of the Canal Governorate, but in that year it became the centre of a separate province (mudāfāa). From 1956 to 1967, the sharp increase in oil shipment favoured an economic boom of the town, and the Canal was dredged out several times in order to bring the depth into line with the steadily increasing
tonnage of tankers. Suez severely suffered from the wars and military activities from 1948 to 1973. During the Suez Crisis in 1956, Suez was not occupied and only a few bombing attacks hit the town. Suez was almost a dead city. After 1975, there were ambitious plans to reconstruct Suez and it was projected as an urban agglomeration of nearly 1 million inhabitants by the year 2000, although only a few of these plans have since been realised. Refineries have been established, and a production pipeline now links the town with Cairo, and some chemical industries and an aluminium works constitute the present industrial importance of Suez.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources mentioned in El art. Suez, see ‘Ali Muharak, al-khatat al-tawfiqiy al-qifta, Cairo 1886-8, xii, 69-95; R.M. Burton, Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to Al-Madinah & Meccah, London 1893, i, 160-85; A. von Kremer, Agypten, Leipzig 1863, ii, 173-206; R. Manuert, Bibliographie économique, juridique et sociale de l'Egypte moderne (1798-1916), New York 1918, 177-212; F. de Lesseps, Perpetue de l'histoire de Suez. Exposé et documents officiels, 5 vols., Paris 1855-60; L'histoire de Suez, in Journal de l'union des deux mers, 1856-69; J. Charles-Roux, L'histoire et le canal de Suez, Paris 1901; Hussein Husny, Le canal de Suez et la politique égyptienne, Montpellier 1923; Muhammad Fahmi Luhayta, Ta'rikh Misr al-iktisadi fi 'l-adi (et al-Suyut, c.d. al-karn al-sdbi), Cairo 1348/1929-30, ij 328-35). Al-Sakhawf's acrimony in al-Badr al-telif bi-mahdsin man ba'd al-karn al-sdbif, Cairo 1348/1929-30, ij 328-35). Al-Sakhawf's acrimony was raised against al-Suyut, who was the author of the aegis of a dozen women specialising in this discipline (M. al-Shak'a, Da'wil al-Dm al-Suyatif, masiratuhu la ilmiyya wa-mabdhithuhu al-lughawiyya, c.l. d' al-Dm al-Suyuti, masiratuhu, c.l. al-Shak'a, c.l. 'al-Dm al-Suyuti, al-karn al-sdbif, Cairo 1981, 35-40). In 867/1463, hardly eighteen years old, he inherited his father's position, taught Shafi'i law in the mosque of Shaykh on and gave juridical consultations in which he handled various sciences in a brilliant way (an example of a complex fatwa given at that early age is reported by S. Abu Djj in Hayat Da'wil al-Dm al-Suyatif ma' ilmin al-madhd il', Ibn Tulf, Damascus 1933, 189-93). In 872/1467 al-Suyut took up again the tradition of dictating (imita) hadith in the mosque of Ibn Tulf, where his father had been a preacher. This method had been interrupted twenty years earlier at the death of Ibn Hadjar. As a result, al-Suyut obtained in the post of teacher of hadith at the Shaykhuniyya. Though nominated by his teacher al-Kafyadjf, it seems that he obtained this post because of the support of a Mamluk amir. From 891/1486 he was also in charge of the Baybarsiyya khankh (c.l. gaza). These obligations left him time to write his works and to see to their spread outside Egypt. Before he had reached thirty years of age, his works were sought after in the entire Near East, and later circulated from India to Takrur in Sahilian Africa, where he, from Cairo, played the role of counsellor in matters of Islamisation (see the A'da' wa-rda' min al-Takrur, in the Haws presented below, i, 377-85). In fact, his career developed much more smoothly abroad than in Egypt. Here he found himself in the middle of numerous polemics: the intransigence and arrogance he displayed certainly contained elements which irritated his colleagues and stirred up their jealousies. These controversies touched upon questions of theology and law as well as mysticism, and the Haws li 'l-fatwd (new ed. Beirut, n.d.), through the titles of the fatwds and chapters which the work brings together, attests that al-Suyuti must have refused (al-radd il'dal...) many times the views of his adversaries. His main detractor was Muhammad al-Sakkaw (d. 902/1497 c.l.), a traditionalist who took offense at the fame of his colleague (as is admitted by al-Shawknf in al-Badr al-telif bi-mahdsin man ba'd al-karn al-sdbif, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 328-35). Al-Sakkaw's acrimony as the most prolific author in the whole of Islamic literature.

1. Life.

Through his father, al-Suyut was of Persian ori-
appears in the pages which he reserves for al-Suyuti in *al-Daw3 al-lami* in *al-karn al-tas3* (Beirut n.d., iv, 65-70). The tension came to a head when al-Suyuti, probably in 888/1483, pretended to have reached the degree of mudjtabah muslik muntasab, that is to say that he exercised *idjtihdd* [q.v.] by following the method of one of the four imans, in this case that of imam al-Shafi'i. He thus does not present himself as an "independent" musjtabah (mustakhiif). In *al-Radd' ala man akhldha tla 7-ar* (Algiers 1907), he reminds the reader that *idjtihdd* is a collective duty (*jurd kifayah*), underlined not only by the masters of the Shafi'i school but also by Ibn Taymiyya. He also affirms that his *idjtihdd* is not at all limited to the Shafi'i but also applies to the disciplines of the hadith and of the Arabic language. Al-Suyuti's allegations aroused a real *fitna* (cf. his epistle *Ma rawdhu al-asdtln*). If the worldly rulers, he profounded, was condemned by *iajtihdd* (op. cit., 17-36). In consistency with his pretentions to *idjtihdd*, al-Suyuti, two or three years before the year 900/1494, announces himself as the renewer of Islam (mujjaddd) [q.v.] for the 9th century of the Hijra (see his epistle on this subject in the *Hast*, ii, 248 ff. and his autobiography with the title *al-Tahadduth bi-ni 6*). The indestructible support al-Suyuti gave to the caliphate is also applied to the disciplines of the *iajtihdd* [q.v.].

From 891/1486, at the age of about forty, al-Suyuti decided to retire from public life. Progressively he resigned his functions and stopped delivering *fatwas*. Apart from the reasons toward his colleagues towards which the reasons he put forward were corruption in the milieu of the *ulum* and their ignorance. Indeed, the decline of the cultural level at the end of the Mamluk period was manifest. At the same time, al-Suyuti's relations with sultan Khit Bây [q.v.] became more acrimonious. He refused to pay a visit to the sultan at the beginning of each month: frequenting the worldly rulers, he pronounced, was condemned by the first Muslims (cf. his epistle *Ma rawdhu al-asdtln*). In *al-Badd'i al-zuhur* (ed. E.M. Sartain, Cambridge 1975, 215-27). On several occasions, he clashed with Khit Bây (see his *fitna* in the *Hast*, ii, 154-79) and declined the offer made later by sultan al-Ghayri [q.v.] to assume direction of *Hdwi*, ii, 154-79 and his *idjtihdd* on this subject in the *al-Tabakat al-sughrd*, Cairo 1984, cix/1 [1989], 125, and so it becomes understandable that al-Suyuti cannot be considered as a mere compiler. He indeed takes up themes that were usually neglected in Islamic literature. He is the first to have introduced Muslim mystics into the Arabic language. Al-Suyuti's complete retreat into his house on Rawdala island took place in 906/1501, following the death of his father. For all that, al-Suyuti cannot be considered as a mere compiler. He indeed takes up themes that were usually neglected in Islamic literature. He is the first to have introduced Muslim mystics into the Arabic language. Al-Suyuti's complete retreat into his house on Rawdala island took place in 906/1501, following the death of his father. For all that, al-Suyuti cannot be considered as a mere compiler. He indeed takes up themes that were usually neglected in Islamic literature. He is the first to have introduced Muslim mystics into the Arabic language. Al-Suyuti's complete retreat into his house on Rawdala island took place in 906/1501, following the death of his father. For all that, al-Suyuti cannot be considered as a mere compiler. He indeed takes up themes that were usually neglected in Islamic literature. He is the first to have introduced Muslim mystics into the Arabic language. Al-Suyuti's complete retreat into his house on Rawdala island took place in 906/1501, following the death of his father. For all that, al-Suyuti cannot be considered as a mere compiler. He indeed takes up themes that were usually neglected in Islamic literature. He is the first to have introduced Muslim mystics into the Arabic language. Al-Suyuti's complete retreat into his house on Rawdala island took place in 906/1501, following the death of his father. For all that, al-Suyuti cannot be considered as a mere compiler. He indeed takes up themes that were usually neglected in Islamic literature. He is the first to have introduced Muslim mystics into the Arabic language. Al-Suyuti's complete retreat into his house on Rawdala island took place in 906/1501, following the death of his father. For all that, al-Suyuti cannot be considered as a mere compiler. He indeed takes up themes that were usually neglected in Islamic literature. He is the first to have introduced Muslim mystics into
the field of the fatwa (in this, he was to be followed by other Shafi'i scholars of the 10th/16th century, such as Nadjm al-Dm al-Ghaytr and, above all, Ibn Haydar al-Haytaml [q.v.]. As for the form, al-Suyutl’s procedure is scientific in so far as he quotes his sources with precision and presents them in a critical way. In the introduction to a work, he often defines the method which he is going to follow. His works benefit from a clear structure, and he often broke new ground by expounding his material according to its alphabetical order.

Regarding the number of his works, Arab and Western authors have brought forward different figures, and these go up parallel to our knowledge. A study of 1983 mentions up to 981 works (A. al-Khazindar and M.I. al-Shaybaml, DaUit madhd&al al-Suyutl wa an-an&m&an saug&ad&tha, Cairo), whereas al-Suyutl lived only for sixty solar years. In our days, his manuscripts are published with great success, and from this point of view, he has won the battle which laid him open to his detractors. Al-Suyutl’s versatility is the illustration of the Islamic ideal, according to which there is no really profane science. He explored geography as well as lexicography, pharmacopoeia, dietetics and erotica. Certain works of his are studded with the most anecdotal details, which in his eyes are all worthy of attention in the light of the concepts of al-kh&m ad&ma wa y&d&la al-mag&ha, Cairo 1931—if this indeed is his—or “The hundred questions” to which he answers in his Hai&y, ii, 527-67. More profoundly, his approach of a subject is often multidisciplinary. The purpose of his small treatise al-Ah&m&th al-h&d&m fi ft&d al-tay&las&n is to prove to sultan K&y B&y that wearing the tay&las&n is a sunna, but he does not deprive himself of introducing philological expositions. Moreover, he asserts that, at the elaboration of his al-k&m ad&ma al-t&b&&&, on the specific virtues of the Prophet (Beirut 1985, 2 vols.), he made use of the sciences of tafs&r, had&th, law and its foundations (usul), of Sufism, etc. (S. Abi Dh&b, op. cit., 52).

However, a well-defined main line of al-Suyutl’s attachment to the Prophet and his Suna stands out from this versatility. In his field of vision he includes all the scattered sciences as long as they do not contradict the revelation which has come down upon Muhammad. That is why he confines in several texts Hellenistic logic (al-m&ntik) (cf. in particular Sae&m al-m&ntik vs ‘al&al-m&ntik vs ‘al&al-n&z&l, Cairo 1947). He is a man of Tradition, and for him every speculation is submitted to it. From this comes al-Suyutl’s salafite aspect, which explains why he often walks in the footsteps of Ibn Taymiyya, although he dissociates himself from him in certain points (cf. E. Geoffroy, Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie, IFEAD, Damascus 1995, 448-9). Among the disciplines which he says he controls (Husm al-muh&d&nara ft akhar&h Mur vs ‘al-k&him, Cairo 1968, i, 238-9; al-Tah&d&d&h, 204), of the had&th prevails, for its impregnates the atmosphere, defended the orthodoxy of Ibn al-Farid and Ibn al-Arabi, etc. (the relationship between al-Suyutl and Sufism is treated in detail in the above mentioned Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie). Among the supernatural favours attributed to al-Suyutl we may cite his predictions on the first Ottoman period (Hun&ck, op. cit., 92). It is worthwhile to note that, in his other works on language, al-Suyutl follows the method of the religious sciences, that of the usul al-fikh, in al-kt&h&h ft ‘im usul al-l&&a, and that of fiqh in al-A&h&h wa l-n&z&l r ft ‘l-l&&a, which he puts side to side with al-A&h&h wa l-n&z&l r ft fiQ al-Suyutl (Cairo 1959). Though claiming that he innovated the science of the “foundations of the Arabic language” (usul al-lugha), he worked as a philologist rather than as a linguist. Another pole of al-Suyutl’s work are the Kur&l&nic sciences (about twenty works), and if the above-mentioned Ikb&m gives a generous share to language and rhetoric, al-Suyutl’s main commentary, al-D&r al-m&ntik ft ‘l-m&&h (Beirut 1990, 8 vols.) is exclusively supplied with had&th and the sayings of the first Muslims. In this field should also be mentioned the very practical Tafs&r al-Q&d&alayn (many editions), the commentary begun by Djal&l al-Dm al-Mah&ll (d. 864/1459 [q.v.]), one of al-Suyutl’s teachers, and perfected by the latter. Brock-elmann wrongly identified this work with the lb&b al-n&k&m ft as&b&h al-n&z&l, which deals with the “c&rcumstances of the revelation” (Cairo n.d.; see El’ art. al-Suyutl, at IV, 573b).

If in al-Suyutl’s eyes the discipline of the had&th represents “the noblest of sciences” (Husm al-muh&d&nara, i, 155), this is because it is related to the prophetic model, which for him is the only way leading to God. In this field, al-Suyutl completes Ibn Haydar’s contribution by establishing the chain of guarantors and the degree of reliability of certain traditions introduced by his precursor. Here al-Suyutl’s key work is perhaps Tahd&r al-ru& m ft shar&h T&h&r al-Nase& (Beirut 1979), which deals with the terminology of had&th (see e.g. the extensive use made of it by S. al-Mim&r ibn his Ul&m al-had&th wa-mustala&hu, Beirut 1982), but many others could be quoted. The prophetic model evoked previously cannot be transmitted exclusively by bookish science; it must be vitalised from inside. Al-Suyutl, who claimed to have seen the Prophet more than seventy times while awake (al-Sa&m&n, op. cit., 29; al-Suyutl justifies this faculty in a long fatwa in Ha&u, ii, 473-92), assures people that, during a vision, one may be entertained directly by the Prophet about the validity of a had&th (Tahd&r al-k&m&, mim ak&h& al-bas&&, Beirut n.d., 50). He attached importance to the complementarity between the esoteric and exoteric aspects of the Prophet in a work with the explicit title al-B&h fi ft&n al-n&b (S) ft ‘l-b&m wa ‘l-z&h (Cairo 1987). As a Mt&f, al-Suyutl found in the Sh&d&l&ya [q.v.] a just equilibrium between the Law and the Way (cf. his Ta&y al-h&h&h al-a&y&a ‘u&-t&h&h al-patk&a al-sh&d&l&iya, Cairo 1934). As master, he had a sh&k&h of this order, Muhammad al-Mag&hiba (d. 910/ 1504), and his principal disciple, who served him for forty years, was called ‘Abd al-K&d&m al-Sh&d&h&m. In accordance with this personal engagement, al-Suyutl profited from his fame as ‘ul&m and juristconsult to spearhead a clear-sighted apology for Sufism and its masters. He saw the highest form of adoration in the dh&b, showed that one must interpret the sayings of the Sh&fs and not stop at their first appearance, main-
SÜZI CELEBI, Mehmed b. Mahmud b. Allah, Ottoman poet who lived in the second half of the 17th/18th century. A native of Nasaf (Nakhshab), he eulogised several of the Karakhanid rulers of Samarkand, from Arsikh Shāh Muhammād II (945-ca. 1002-ca. 1129) up to Kīlīč Tāmghā Khan Masʿud II (ca. 556-7 4/ca. 1161-78), but also several of the Burkhānids sāhrs of Būkhārā [see sādhr, 1], the Sālikid sāhdr [see sādhr], and others. Dowlatshāh, who appears to have seen Sūzī’s grave in Samarqand, says that he died in 569/1173-4, and adds that before his death he repented his many sins and turned his hand to devotional poetry.

However this may be, Sūzī is now remembered mainly as the author of vehemently abusive invectives and of pornographic (mostly homoerotic) facetiae. For modern scholars (as already for the mediaeval Persian lexicographers) their interest resides largely in the fact that they contain many examples of the Samarkand dialect and of unusual slang expressions. The poems were collected, together with a good number of scurrilous anecdotes, by the Safawid antiquarian Taklīfī (mss. in London, Dublin, Kuwait), as well as Shams al-Dīn al-Dāvidī, Tāhirī al-Dīn (ms. Tübingen); Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, al-Kāsāfī al-ṣūrīn bi-dawātīn al-mīn al-ṣāhir, Beirut 1945, i, 226-31. E.M. Sartain, Jāhilī al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, remains the most complete study in a Western language; see also eadem, Jahlī Dīn as-Sūyūṭī’s relations with the people of Tabrīz, in JSS, xvi (1971), 193-8. In his bibliography, S. Abu Ḏīb mentions several studies in Arabic (op. cit., 331-2).

His skill as a poet is recognised, but while the salient points of his poetry are well-known, we lack an authoritative dīwan. He was known for his emotional recitation, which contrasted with the more common taṣbīh al-lāfẓ method, which perhaps placed phonology before feeling. His Urdu poetry is dominated by ghazāl, but also includes makhṣūs, rabī‘ī and makhmāns. He at first used the taq̣ḍīlī dīwan, but, to avoid confusion with Mīr Taṭār Mīr [q.v.], changed it to Sūzī (= “passion, burning”). He was the first Urdu poet to achieve fame with an adālī verse, that is, a long woman’s language, in which Rāngīn later became better-known. Spontaneity, simplicity, avoidance of high-flowing similes and obscure allusions, all these, according to Saksena (op. cit. in Bibli., 60), are among his characteristics. He does not make excessive use of Persian expressions and, unlike his contemporary, Sawdā [q.v.], he has no penchant for virtuosity in prosody, such as rich and difficult rhymes. It is all very tantalising, and from what we know of his life and works, one is tempted to ask, “Is this a genius manqué?” Though essentially a Dīhī poet, he was, like others, driven by Marāgha and Afghān incursions to leave the city, and after a stay in Mawlabād, seat of the Nawāb’s of Bengāl, he became mentor of the Nawāb al-Ḥasan al-Dawālī in Lucknow in 1797, but died the following year. A pleasant, witty and courteous gentleman, he did not take easily to patronage, but won a niche for himself as a “prince of amorous style” (Saksena, 60). It must be admitted, however, that it contains more paths than passion.

Bibliography: Kudrat ‘Alī Shawk, Tabakāt al-as-ṣūrā, ed. Nithar Ahmad Fārsī, Lahore 1968, 231-40, contains a short account and useful examples of Sūzī’s poetry. This should be taken together with Abu ‘l-Laylī Jāḍīṭ, Lakhnāw kā dabistān-i ghā’rī, Lahore 1955, 135-8. Ram Babu Saksena, A history of Urdu literature, Allahabad 1926, 59-60, is helpful. In addition to Kudrat ‘Alī Shawk’s work mentioned above, the taq̣ḍīl of the following authors merit reference: Muṣḥafī [q.v.]; Nāṣṣīh, Sāḥīb-i shu’arā’; and Mīr Ḏāhan [q.v.].

SÜZANI (better Sūzānī), Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (or Masʿud?) al-Samarkandī, Persian satirical poet of the 6th/12th century. A native of Nasaf (Nakhshab), he eulogised several of the Karakhanid rulers of Samarkand, from Arsikh Shāh Muhammād II (495-ca. 553/1050-ca. 1119) up to Kīlīč Tāmghā Khan Masʿud II (ca. 556-7 4/ca. 1161-78), but also several of the Burkhānids sāhrs of Būkhārā [see sādhr, 1], the Saljūqids Sandjar [q.v.] and others. Dowlatshāh, who appears to have seen Sūzānī’s grave in Samarqand, says that he died in 569/1173-4, and adds that before his death he repented his many sins and turned his hand to devotional poetry.

However this may be, Sūzānī is now remembered mainly as the author of vehemently abusive invectives and of pornographic (mostly homoerotic) facetiae. For modern scholars (as already for the mediaeval Persian lexicographers) their interest resides largely in the fact that they contain many examples of the Samarkand dialect and of unusual slang expressions. The poems were collected, together with a good number of scurrilous anecdotes, by the Ṣafawī antiquarian Taḵī Kāshī [q.v. in his Ḳudāsīt al-aṣghār, from which virtually all of the manuscripts purporting to contain Sūzānī’s dīwān are apparently derived, and a selection of these mediocre manuscripts forms the basis of the published edition by N. Ṣāḥīb-Ḥusaynī, Tehran 1338 Sh./1959. However a fair number of Sūzānī’s poems are contained in a textually superior form also in anthologies of the 7th/13th/14th centuries.

Bibliography: ‘Awfī, Lūbāb ii, 191-8; Mustawfī, Tāhirī-i gūẓda, ed. Nawāštī, Tehran 1339 Sh./1960, 733-4; Dowlatshāh, Ṭabkhānī, 100-3; Taḵī Kāshī, Ḳudāsīt al-aṣghār, B.L. ms. Or. 3506, fols. 361a-396a; Browne, LHP, ii, 342-3; de Blois, Persian literature, v, 546-50 (with further references); R. Zippoli, I Carmina Priapea di Sūzānī, in Annali di Ca’ Foscari, xxxvii/3 (Venice 1995), 205-6.

SÜZİ ČELEBI, Mehmed b. Maḥmûd b. ‘Abd Allâh, Ottoman poet who lived in the second half of the 9th/15th and the first decades of the following one, d. 931/1524.

Born at Prizren [q.v.] near Uskub [q.v. (Skopje)], he became secretary to Miḥdział-Oğlu [q.v.] ‘Alt Beg,
and after the latter's death in 913/1507, secretary to Mîkhâl-Oghlu Mehmêd Beg up to 918/1512. From a waqfyye of his dated 919/1513, it appears that Sultan Selim I granted him the farm of Grajdanik with a terrâ宅 and that he left the service of Mehmêd Beg. He settled down in Prizren and established a mesjid and a school in the Khâdja İlyâs district, becoming an imâm and mu'eddhîn and teaching there. He probably remained there till his death, and was buried in the graveyard of his own mosque near the grave of his elder brother Nehârî.

The tezkhires quote two elegies by him and a few couplets, but do not mention whether he composed a complete Diwân. However, it seems that he composed a Gazâsatât-nâmâ of 15,000 couplets in muthanim form, describing and lauding 'Alî Beg's campaigns in Rumelia, but only 1,795 couplets survive today. In its first part are narrated the campaigns of the Mîkhâl-Oghlu, and in its second the love affair of 'Alî Beg and Meryem, daughter of Ertel Beg, so that the work can be considered as a hybrid epic-romance. The extant four ms. have been critically edited by Ağâh Serif Levend, together with a facsimile of the Millêt ms. manzum 1339 (Gazâsatât-nameler. Mihalçlíu Aği Bey'n Gazvâtâtâmesi, Ankara 1956) and with an extensive study on this type of literature in general and of 'Alî Beg's Balkan campaigns. At the end, Levend includes some new information on Sûzî Celebi from Olesnicki's biography in Serbo-Croat (Uškip 1934).


**SUZMÂNİ** [see l.Ö.Tî]

**SVÎSTOV** [see zîstîowa].

**SWÂHLİ** , a language extensively used on the coastland of East Africa (< Ar. sawâhîl "coastlands")

1. **Language.**

Swahili, also known as Kiswahili, belongs to the Bantu family of languages which are spoken in the southern third of Africa, from Cameroon and Kenya to South Africa. The languages share striking features of grammar—all nouns, for example, belong to one of a number of concord-classes, with characteristic prefixes and agreements—and a considerable common lexicon.

Swahili is spoken as a mother-tongue on the east coast of Africa, from the southern part of Somalia to the northern areas of Mombasa (Moçambique), including the islands of the Lamu archipelago off the coast of Kenya, Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia, and Kilwa off the coast of Tanzania, and on the Comoro islands. The location of the region on the rim of the Indian Ocean basin has enabled it to engage in maritime trade with other countries across the seas. The anonymous Greek traveller of ca. A.D. 50 (thus dated by Casson) notes such trade with Arabia in his Periphas of the Euphrates Sea. He also observed that the Arab captains and agents, as he called them, did not merely possess a superficial acquaintance of the coastal towns but were familiar with the people, intermarried with them, and that they knew the whole coast and understood the language. The coast also traded with Sîrîf and Shîrâz in Persia.

Trade was followed in time by the introduction of Islam to the coast by at least the 10th century. In the 12th century, al-İdrîşî gives a Swahili word waqfyye "practitioner of white magic", and four centuries later, Ahmad b. Mîşîkî [see tav uwaqfyye] speaks of the taghât al-Zanj, presumably Swahili. With the appearance of Islam on the coast arose the necessity to learn the Arabic alphabet in order to read the Kur'ân, a practice which gave rise to a certain amount of literacy, especially among the urban population; this, in turn, prepared the ground for this development of poetry. Islam also widened the contact with the Middle East, initiating a continual flow of migration to the East African coast of scholars and learned persons with a good command of Arabic. Consequently, the influence of Arabic on Swahili has been semantically extensive in religious and commercial fields. Three ways have been suggested whereby Islamic concepts and Arabic religious terms entered the language: (i) the original Arabic term was Swahilised, e.g. râdî ("soul") became roko; (ii) the original Arab term was Swahilised but a Bantu synonym was also used, e.g. rasûl "messenger" was realised both as rasûl and as nâmë the one sent; (iii) the original Arab term was not adopted as such but its concept was realised through the use of a pre-existing Swahili word, e.g. Allâhu was rendered by the Swahili Muga.

Words of Arabic origin in commercial discourse include those used for "trade", which is a combination of the Arabic words for "buying" and "selling", bay and ghîrâ, Swahilised as bagiira; others are soko ("market"), fâidsa ("profit"), bidhâa ("goods"). The Swahili word for "contract", mkataba is formed out of the root k-t-b, which has also supplied kitabu ("book"), katiba ("constituent"), katiba ("secretary"), muktata ("library").

The importance of Swahili as a language complementary to Arabic has long been recognised by some scholars. One such, Sheikh Abdulla Saleh al-Farsî (d. 1982), deliberately employed Swahili in his sermons, radio broadcasts and writing. The use of an African language was to him a legitimate medium for the expression of Swahili Islam, a necessity for a fuller assertion of one's identity. His translation of the Kur'ân, originally serialised in a Zanzibari weekly newspaper, Muungôzi, is a major contribution in this field. Al-Farsî's ideas are being continued today by his pupils, notable among whom is Sheikh Saidi Musa (b. 1944), who writes extensively from his headquarters at Upweno, Moshi, on mainland Tanzania. The outcome is that Swahili has today made inroads in areas previously reserved for Arabic. The Friday sermon, for example, is now preached in Swahili, though Arabic is employed in the "formulaic" parts which require reading from a set text.

The way in which the two languages complement each other is best exemplified in the adoption of what is known as the "Swahili-Arabic script" as the orthography of the coast. The script was used extensively prior to the introduction of the Latin script by the Germans, and remains in limited use among Swahili Muslims of the coast. Thus the earliest phase of Swahili literature—16th to the 19th centuries—is given expression in this script. It is a phase dominated by poems written on religious themes. The poets drew their inspiration from the life of the Prophet: the earliest extant work is the Hamçñrah, composed in 1652 by Idarûs Îmân, which is a translation in verse of the Kaslîl Hamçñra (d. 1296 [g.x. in Suppl.]).

But while the earlier poets projected themselves to the Arabia of the 7th century for their inspiration and themes, later poets expressed their understanding of Islam through local idioms and imagery. An interesting example is the Swahili poem al-Însîfâdhî by Sayyid Abdallah Nasîr (d. 1820), in which the poet uses the deserted city of Pate (g.x.) as an image of the transitoriness of life, a theme often invoked in Muslim literature.
Gradually, both language and literature spread beyond the coast, moving inland more rapidly and deeply in Tanganyika than in Kenya. Trading caravans from around 1800 onwards diffused Swahili up-country, creating settlements (e.g. at Tabora and Ujiji) where the language and its Muslim culture took root. Christian missionaries of various nationalities and orders also used Swahili in their evangelistic work, in both oral and written media, including the translation of the Bible. The early missionaries contributed significantly to the study of the language through their scholarly works. Ludwig Krapf (of the Church Missionary Society) published the first grammar of Swahili in 1850, to be followed by his dictionary in 1882. Bishop Edward Steere of Zanzibar (of the Universities Mission to Central Africa) produced a *Handbook of Swahili* in 1870, and, a few years later, Fr. Charles Sacleux (of the Holy Ghost Mission in Zanzibar and Morogoro) started his studies of the dialects of Swahili which culminated in the publication of his Swahili-French dictionary in 1891, “a dictionary in which there is a wealth of dialectal and verse material not elsewhere available.” Mentions must also be made of the Rev. W.E. Tayiru, who collaborated with a local Swahili scholar, Mwalimu Sikujua, in the 1880s in collecting and preserving the work of the Swahili poet Muyaka bin Mwinyi Haji (d. 1840).

Another factor which aided the spread of Swahili and its consolidation as a *lingua franca* in Tanganyika was its use by the colonial powers as the language of administration, police and education. The German administration of Tanganyika (1891 to 1918) laid the foundations upon which the British (1918-61) continued to build. A far-reaching decision was taken in 1930 to select the Swahili spoken on Zanzibar as the “standard” language to be used officially in education and for all publications to be written in a standard Latin orthography.

In Tanganyika, Swahili was adopted by early manifestations of organised labour which grew into the political parties that fought for independence; in Kenya, the future President, Jomo Kenyatta, chose to speak in Swahili to raise his originally local Gikuyu organisation into a national movement. In both countries, the language contributed to the creation of a sense of unity. In recognition of this fact, the independent government of Tanganyika (1961) declared it a national language; and, together with English, Swahili is an official language in Kenya. At least 40 million people speak it today. Its extensive use in Tanzania [g.v.] (the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar) has given rise to a group of mother-tongue speakers of Swahili whose parents use the language as their common medium of communication. Not all of them are Muslims. Whereas a century or so ago, to be a Swahili was synonymous with being a Muslim on the coast, that equation is increasingly being challenged and debated. A crucial factor of change has been the use of Swahili as a home-tongue by families belonging to different nationalities, different ethnic communities and different faiths.


*Farouk Topan*

2. Literature.

This is covered in detail in the following articles:

- *Golsa: vi*, in *Suppl.*; *Kisii: vii*; *Madi: vii*; *Madi: v*
- *Martha: v*; *Mathal: v*; *Muriad: 3*; *Shaaban Robert*.

See also *Tariq*: East Africa.

**SWAT**, a region of the North-West Frontier region of what is now Pakistan, lying roughly between lat. 34° 30' and 35° 50' N. and long. 72° and 73° E. It is bounded on the north-west by the *Gur* on the west by Dir, on the east by Bunur and Hazara and on the south by Mardan. It comprises essentially the basin of the Swat River, from its headwaters down to the Malakand Pass, after which it runs into the Kabul River below Peshawar and near Nawshera. The northern part of the basin, Swat Kohistan, includes high mountains, but Koz or lower Swat is the alluvial basin of the river, fertile and intensively cultivated. In classical times, Lower Swat may well have been traversed by Alexander the Great and his army.

Swat must originally have been peopled by speakers of Indian or Dardic languages. By the 16th century, the majority of the Swatis were incoming (displacing Dilazaks) Pashto-speaking Yusufzay and other Pathans, although there remain Dardic-speaking Torwals and Garwis in Swat Kohistan [*see DARDIC and RAFI LANGUAGES*]. Also by this time, Swat became Muslim, and its history since then, into the 20th century, has been inextricably linked with that of Dir, Ciroal and Badjaur [g.v.]. Dir and Swat were centres of the Rawshaniya movement [g.v.] of the late 16th century, and the whole region north of the Kabul River was never really controlled by the Mughals or by Ahmad Shah Durrani [g.v.]. Arising out of the *muqaddimah* movement led by Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly (killed 1246/1831) in the early 19th century [see AHMAD BRELWI and MUGHAL]. The *Aghund* 'Abd al-Qasir (d. 1877) in 1835 established himself as a religious leader at Sayidu in lower Swat, and the shrine at Sayidu Sharif later became one of the holiest Islamic sites in northern India.

Although British rule was imposed on the Peshawar valley after 1849, British influence was only fitfully exercised in the lands further north. Swat and the adjacent petty states were the targets of the British Indian Army’s punitive campaign of Ambella in 1863, and Swat (but not Dir) was involved in the Malakand rising of 1897 led by Mullal Sa’dd Allah Sattur (“The Madman”). It was shortly after this, in 1901, that a railway branch from Nowshahra (Nowshera) to Dargai at the foot of the Malakand Pass was completed.

Temporal rule in Swat had been exercised until his death in 1857 by the Pidgishay Sayyid Akbar of Sitana, patron of Sayyid Ahmad Brebli and leader of warfare against the Sikhs. After the death of the Aghund ’Abd al-Qasir and, shortly afterwards, those of his two sons, Sayyid Akbar’s family again had tem-
poral power in Swat, whilst the spiritual succession was disputed amongst the Akhund's four grandsons, the Miyânguls. Swât was recognised by the Government of India as Wâlî or ruler of the Swât princely state; by his death he had extended the State northwards and eastwards into Indus Kohistân and had taken over Bunêr. His son Miyângul Dâhâinzâb succeeded in 1949. After Partition, Swât remained a princely state within Pakistan, with the Wâlî independent in regard to internal affairs and ruling with a partially-elected Advisory Council, until 1969, when Swât was peacefully integrated within the regular administration of Pakistan. A demographic trend there has been the steep rise in the population of the valley, now dense, with pressure on resources there.


SYLHET [see SILHET].

SZECHUAN (also spelled as Soû-ch'uan in the Wade and Si-chuan in the Pin-yin systems) is a province in the south-west of the People's Republic of China. Geographically, the four grand rivers (Min, To, Chialing and Wu; three of them are tributaries of the Yangtze River) flowing north-southward give the modern name of Sze-chuan (meaning "four rivers") to the province. The whole province is a huge basin, some 75,000 square miles in extent. The mountains on all sides bar easy access to the outside world. The azure mountains of the Tibetan borderland rise in the west, crossed only by the road to Lhasa and penetrated by only a few trails. The T'apa and Tsining ranges run across the north, traversed by a single road and one railway. These mountains continue south-eastward and close to the Yangtze Gorges. Terrain which is difficult to cross surrounds the basin in the south, next to Kweichou and Yunnan provinces. The Szechuan basin is also known as the "Red Basin" because of its underlying soft sandstone and shales, ranging from red to purple in colour. In ancient times, the region was called "Pa Shu," denoting the original non-Han cultures of this region. The geographical isolation of the region has made its culture unique, and distinct from that of inland China. Various aboriginal cultures still exist today.

Modern studies suggest that the ancient Chinese silk industry was invented by the Ti and Ch'iâng peoples in Szechuan. According to the Han Annals, Ch'iâng Ch'ien, the Han envoy sent by Emperor Wu to the Central Asian countries, found Szechuan silk, crafts and other industrial products in the country of Ta Hsa (modern Afghanistan) around 139-126 B.C. Apparently, a trade route between Szechuan and Central Asia existed in ancient times. The ancient south-western silk road was probably the earliest communication route between China and Hsi Yu ("the western countries": Central and Western Asia). This route is supposedly 700 years older than the northern one, which was discovered by Ch'ang Ch'ien on his mission to the Hums in Central Asia.

The south-western silk road started from Ch'êng-t'ung city, which has been, throughout history, the cultural, economic and political centre of Szechuan; and then split into two routes: the eastern river way along the Min river entered Yunnan province to Kunming city; the western land route, running from the ancient steel-making centre of Ch'iu-lunglai through various valleys, entered western Yunnan to Tâli city, then the two routes joined at Tâli and, following the traditional horse caravan route, entered Burma and ended in India. This road is the so-called ancient Shu Jun'tu T'ao ("Szechuan—Indian Path"). From India, it then went in two directions: either southward via the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, then to Arabia; or northward by land to Central Asia. The south-western silk road was often used by Muslims of Yunnan and Szechuan as the caravan trade route to India or as the Pilgrimage route to Mecca before modern transport became available.

From the Han period (195 B.C.-A.D. 220), the Han culture gradually permeated Szechuan and was imbibed by the local people, with subsequent syncretisation. In spite of its existence in China during the T'ang and Sung periods, Islam never appeared in Szechuan until the Mongol conquest of the province. According to Chinese sources, the first appearance of Islam here took place probably in the year A.D. 1253, when a Muslim contingent of the Mongol Tâmil army was sent by Kubilay Khân [g.v.] to conquer Szechuan and Yunnan. After the conquest, Muslim troops stayed there to cultivate the conquered lands. From then on throughout the Mongol-Yuan (1278-1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Manchu-Ch'îng (1644-1911) dynasties, Muslims, mostly from the north-western provinces of Kansu, Shensi and Ninghsia, and some from inland provinces, continued to migrate into the region either for trade or for military campaigns. Islamic communities were thus formed and mosques built in the main cities all over the province. The Ku-ch'ie Lou mosque in Ch'êng-t'ung city, which was built in the Ming period and reconstructed in the 17th century, is apparently the oldest of those still in existence. It is known for its traditional architectural design and use of local construction materials.

The Muslim population in Szechuan grew rapidly during the Ch'îng period, especially when the Muslim rebellions of Ma Hua-lung [g.v.] in Shensi and Kansu and T'û Wen-hsü [q.v.] in Yunnan failed and a great number of Muslims fled the Manchu massacres to Szechuan. The Nâkhsâbândiya-Djârihîyya order thus spread into Szechuan. However, the Kadiriyya and Nakhsâbândiya-Kha'ifîyya orders had existed in the province from early in the 17th century, and the Kadiriyya are reported to have set up seven shrines in the province. The indigenous Chinese Sîfî order called Ha-Tao-Tang and founded by Ma Ch'i-hsi in Lin-t'ân-Kansu at the beginning of the 20th century, also set up its branch zaorâjê, which also served as their trading and preaching centres, in the north-west of the province. The order probably entered the region mainly through Muslim traders. At the present time, the Muslim population of Szechuan is about 109,000 (2.2% of the provincial minority population), according to the rather laconic report of the 1990s official census. During the last three decades, due to the Communist central government's assimilation policy
towards the national minorities, Szechuan Muslims have increasingly been integrated into Han-Chinese society. Nowadays, it is not easy to distinguish Muslims from ordinary Chinese, apart from pork avoidance.

**Bibliography.** Hu Shih-wen, Ch'eng-tu hui-min hui-chang ("Muslims in Ch'eng-tu") in Yau-kang, vii/4 (1936); Hu Ch’en-yeh, Shu-ya jih-chih ("Journey in Szechuan") in Hsiao-fang hu-chai i-ti ti’ung ch’ao, Taipei 1956 repr. of Chu i-t’ang (Shanghai) ed.; Chu Wen-djang, The Mission rebellion in northwest China 1862-1878, The Hague 1966; Chu li, T’ien-fu chh-kuo, Ssu-chh’uan ("Szechuan, the kingdom of paradise") Hong Kong 1976; Liu Chih-p’ing, Chung-kuo T’ien-tan chiao chwan-chih ("Chinese Islamic architecture"), Urumchi 1982; Meng Mo et al., Ssu-chh’uan k’u-t’ai shih-k’ao ("History of Szechuan from ancient times to the Ch’ing period"), Ch’eng-tu 1988; Chu’ao T’ing-k’uang (ed.), The Silk Road in southwest China, Kunming 1992; Hu Chun-hua (ed.), Chung-kuo hui-tzu ("Chinese Muslims: Szechuan section"), Nanching 1993. (CHANG-KUAN LIN)

**SZEGED** (Ottoman, Segedin), a town and centre of a sandjak in the Great Plain of Hungary, along the river Tisza. First mentioned in a 1183 charter, Szeged acquired town privileges in the 13th century and became a civitas ("free royal town") in 1498. After being ransacked by the Ottomans in 1526 and by the Serbian militia of "Tsa’r" Yovan in 1527, it enjoyed peaceful years until 1541. Since the town had some ruinous remnants of a mediaeval castle only, it was unable to show resistance, and was easily taken by the Ottoman Paşa of Buda early in 1543. A sandjak was created immediately around Szeged, which was extended over a large territory later, and whose first miriša, Derwış Beg, was an active participant in the 1543 campaign.

By 1547-8 the castle was rebuilt by the Ottomans. In 1552 Mihály Tóth and his haiducks, as well as the mercenary troops of Bernardo de Aldana, made an abortive attempt at regaining Szeged. After this, Ottoman rule remained uninterrupted until September 1686. Following the 1596 establishment of the sanjak of extensive territories was established around Székesfehérvár, including some western regions which were not actually in Ottoman possession; out of the 591 towns and villages registered in the idjmal defteri of 1570, only some 250 paid the gízý in 1563-5. Among its sanjak beys, significant personalities can be found such as Hamza Beg, who spent most of his life in Hungary, as well as Kašim Paşa, who served also as beglerbeg of Buda and Temesvár, and Ibrahim Paşa, the famous chronicler, in the years 1632-5.

The castle underwent restoration in 1545-6, before 1550, in 1572 (this time, more than 1,000 workers and 650 carts were employed), and finally in the period 1640-60. Otherwise, only a few Ottoman buildings were erected: two džamii or medjıds and two baths. Following the usual pattern in administrative centres, the original Hungarian population—estimated at 7-8,000—diminished to 1,200-1,500 by 1563-5 and to some 500 by the time of the rule of Murad III. The number of Ottoman garrison soldiers, which was nearly 3,000 in 1568 in Öden, fell to 1,400 by 1612-13; besides, some 1,000 timariots lived here in the 17th century, including their ğebelles and families.

Apart from occasional fluctuations, Székesfehérvár preserved its economic importance, at least in the 16th century. This is proved by financial sums in customs lists and the high number of shops. The town was a significant place on the transit route of cattle exported to Austria, Germany, and Italy. However, due to lack of sources the 17th century history of the town is almost unknown.